

HAMITO-SEMITIC ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY
MATERIALS FOR A RECONSTRUCTION

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MATERIALS FOR A RECONSTRUCTION



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HAMITO-SEMITIC ETYMOLOGICAL
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MATERIALS FOR A RECONSTRUCTION

BY

VLADIMIR E. OREL AND OLGA V. STOLBOVA



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And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech . . . And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be withheld from them, which they have schemed to do. Come, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from there upon the face of all earth: and they ceased to build the city.

Genesis 11: 1, 6–8

CONTENTS

Introduction	IX
List of abbreviations	XXIX
Main works of reference	XXXII
Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary	1
Index	557

INTRODUCTION

The present Dictionary comprises the reconstruction of the main lexical stock of Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic).¹ It is based on previous studies in the field (including such works as COHEN 1947 and DJAKONOV 1981 – 1986) as well as on the results of our joint research in 1987 – 1993. The authors were and are quite aware of the challenge presented by the present project as well as of numerous shortcomings and potential fallacies of the resulting work. However, we are certain that the absolutely clear necessity of such a work in the Hamito-Semitic field outweighs eventual drawbacks and imperfections in what we are presently suggesting to the reader. Moreover, we consider it an inevitable fate of our Dictionary to be in constant use and, therefore, to be constantly verified and corrected in the course of time. We will be grateful to all our prospective readers for their amendments, notes and marginalia as well as for more general constructive discussion.

The term Hamito-Semitic is used as a name of a protolanguage and of a linguistic phylum whose limits are explicitly shown below, in the classification of Hamito-Semitic languages. Proto-Hamito-Semitic was spoken not later than 10,000 – 9,000 B.C.E.² in the areas of Levant and/or North Africa (see OREL 1995). The present Dictionary may be used as a source of lexical data reflecting the Proto-Hamito-Semitic culture and homeland.

Main families belonging to the Hamito-Semitic phylum are traditionally described as Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Chadic and Cushitic. Indeed, some of these families (Egyptian) are characterized by more or less definite boundaries and inner structure, or at least, by well-determined outer contours (Semitic, Berber, Chadic).

¹ We use here a triad of terms *phylum—family—branch* in order to facilitate the description technically and not to use the same term in a confusing way for different time depths and different positions in the taxonomy. There is no theoretical difference between the three. As to the term *Hamito-Semitic* itself, it is used as an absolute synonym of *Semito-Hamitic* and *Afro-Asiatic*. Our choice of this particular variant reflects a long tradition which, from our point of view, is the only relevant factor in terminology.

² Approximate time of divergence according to the glotto-chronological evaluation based on the *Star* programme. See also MILITAREV 1984.

In the case of Cushitic even the limits of the family are not exactly known and have to be established on a certain level of approximation, cf. the famous case of Mbugu ~ Mao (see COPLAND 1933 – 1934; GOODMAN 1971) which we do not include in the Dictionary.³

It seemed practically justified to present Chadic and Cushitic data without recurring to Common Chadic and Common Cushitic reconstructions. Even though Common Chadic reconstructions are possible, both theoretically and practically, and may correspond to a certain historical reality, a Proto-Chadic language, it seemed much more convenient to group Chadic material under three headings: West, Central and East Chadic. These (sub)families also seem to be a linguo-historical reality. At the same time, using them allows us to group Chadic data into more compact and manageable clusters. Thus, our presentation of Chadic as separate West, Central and East Chadic is purely conventional. We deal similarly with Cushitic but for different reasons. Cushitic material appears in the Dictionary not as an integral whole but as a number of separate (sub)families (e.g. Werizoid or Omotic), some of them consisting of one language (Beja, Mogogodo, Dahalo).

In contrast to Chadic, our reasons, as far as Cushitic is concerned, are less technical. Although all Cushitic (sub)families belong to the Hamito-Semitic phylum, we cannot be absolutely sure whether their prehistory included a stage that might be called "Cushitic" (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1992d). It is quite possible that grammatical and lexical features which are similar in Cushitic languages but differ from other Hamito-Semitic idioms are, in fact, nothing more than a result of a series of secondary interactions. If so, Cushitic is an areal but not a genetic union, a Sprachbund of certain Hamito-Semitic dialects. But even if Proto-Cushitic existed, the relations between its branches are so vague that is, obviously, rational to present the material of different branches separately as it is, in fact, done in our Dictionary. Thus, the presentation of Cushitic data on the level of subfamilies and without a Proto-Cushitic reconstruction may be treated either as a pure technicality or as a meaningful solution depending upon the view of the reader.

³ This is a technical decision having no immediate connection with our opinion on the actual position of Mbugu ~ Mao.

Within the individual families, their classification (whenever it is well established and defensible) is reflected by the order in which data are presented in the Dictionary.

Unfortunately, numerous elements of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic taxonomy are known to have more than one name. In such cases, our practical solutions are usually traditional and have no theoretical or extralinguistic implications.

The resulting classification of Hamito-Semitic languages is as follows:⁴

(A) SEMITIC

- Akkadian;
- Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Amoraic, Moabite, Hebrew, Aramaic (Syriac, Palestinian etc.);
- Arabic;
- South Arabian (Sabaic, Minaean etc.);
- Ge'ez, Tigre, Tigray, Amharic, Argobba, Gafat, Harari, Gurage (Selti, Gogot etc.);
- Mehri, Jibbali, Shheri, Harsusi, Soqotri.

(B) BERBER

- Shilh (Semlal, Ntifa, Baamrani, Aksimen), Tamazight (Izdeg, Izayan, Segrushen);
- Rif, Iznasen, Snus, Menaser, Shenua, Senhaja, Kabyle, Shauya, Figig, Mzab, Wargla, Sened, Jerba;
- Awjila, Nefusa, Ghadames, Siwa, Sokna;
- Ghat, Ayr, Ahaggar, Tawlemt, Taneslemt;
- Zenaga;
- Guanche;
- Libyan.

(C) EGYPTIAN

- Egyptian, Demotic, Coptic (Old Coptic, Fayumian etc.).

(D) CHADIC

(D¹) WEST CHADIC

- Hausa, Gwandara;
- Sura, Angas, Ankwe, Mupun, Chip, Montol, Gerka;

⁴ See the *List of Abbreviations*.

- Bolewa, Karekare, Dera, Tangale, Pero, Ngamo, Maha, Bele, Kirfi, Gera, Galambu, Geruma;
- Warji, Kariya, Diri, Miya, Paa, Cagu, Siri, Mburku, Jimbin, Jimi;
- Boghom, Kir, Mangas, Geji, Tala, Burma, Guruntum, Buu, Zul, Buli, Polchi, Zem, Tule, Dokshi, Dwot, Zakshi, Zaar, Sayanchi;
- Fyer, Bokkos, Sha, Kulere, Dafo-Butura;
- Ngizim, Bade.

(D²) *CENTRAL CHADIC*

- Tera, Jara, Gaanda, Gabin, Boga, Hwona;
- Bura, Chibak, Kilba, Ngwahi, Margi, Wamdiu, Heba, Hildi;
- Higi Futu, Higi Nkafa, Higi Ghye, Fali Kiri, Fali Gili, Kapiski;
- Dghwede, Mandara, Padokwo, Glavda, Guduf, Zeghwana, Gvoko, Gava, Nakaci, Lamang;
- Matakam, Mofu, Mafa, Gisiga, Balda, Muktele;
- Sukur;
- Daba, Musgoy;
- Musgum, Mbara, Munjuk;
- Bata, Bachama, Gude, Gudu, Nzangi, Fali Jilvu, Fali Mubi, Fali Muchela, Fali Bwagira, Mwulyen;
- Logone, Buduma, Gulfey, Kuseri, Afade;
- Gidar;
- Lame, Lame Pewe, Zime, Zime Bata;
- Masa, Mesme, Banana.

(D³) *EAST CHADIC*

- Somray, Sibine, Tumak, Ndam;
- Nanchere, Tobanga, Lele, Gabri, Kabalay, Dorma;
- Kera, Kwan, Mobu, Ngam;
- Dangla, Migama, Jankor, Jegu, Bidiya;
- Mubi, Birgit;
- Mokilko;
- Sokoro, Barayn.

(E) *BEJA*(G) *AGAW*

- Bilin;

- Xamir, Xamta;
- Kwara, Dembea, Kemant;
- Aungi, Damot.

(H) “*EAST CUSHITIC*”(H¹) *SAHO – AFAR*

- Saho, Afar.

(H²) *LOWLAND EAST CUSHITIC*

- Somali, Oromo, Boni, Rendille, Bayso;
- Arbore, Dume, Geleba, Konso, Gato, Bussa, Gidole.

(H³) *WERIZOID*

- Warazi, Gawwada, Dullay, Gobeze, Camay, Harso, Dobeze, Gollango, Gorrose, Gaba.

(H⁴) *HIGHLAND EAST CUSHITIC*

- Sidamo, Darasa, Hadiya, Alaba, Kabenna, Bambala, Kambata, Tambaro.

(I) *DAHALO*(J) *MOGOGODO*(K) *OMOTIC*

- Ometo (Gidicho, Basketo etc.);
- Yamma, Kaficho, Mocha, Bworo, Anfila;
- Hozo, Sezo, Gim, Nao, Sheko, Maji;
- Dime, Ari, Banna, Hamer, Karo, Basada.

(L) *RIFT (“SOUTH CUSHITIC”)*

- Iraqw (dial.: Gorowa), Alagwa, Burunge;
- Asa, Kwadza.

Within the framework of the present Dictionary, several types of lexical items appear. Some of the reconstructed roots are not only

Proto-Hamito-Semitic; they may be also called Common Hamito-Semitic. In other words, they are present in all or nearly all families and branches of the Hamito-Semitic phylum. Proto-Hamito-Semitic *les- 'tongue' is also a part of Common Hamito-Semitic heritage as it is found in Semitic (*lišan- id., derivative with a suffix *-ān-), Berber (*lVś- id.), Egyptian (Eg ns id., Copt *les), Chadic (WCh *ha-lis-um- id., CCh *V-lyas- id., ECh *lyas- id.) and Cushitic (Omot *mi-las- id., with a prefix *mi-). A similar case is represented by Proto-Hamito-Semitic *hab-/habī- 'vessel' which is also Common Hamito-Semitic registered in Semitic (Sem *habī-/habiy- 'jug, bowl'), Berber (*hVb- 'big wooden plate'), Egyptian (hbb 'vessel'), Chadic (WCh *habī(?) 'pot, gourd') and Cushitic (LEC *habub- 'kind of gourd'). Cf. other roots attested in numerous branches of Hamito-Semitic: *sim- (Sem *šVmVw-/šVmVy- 'call, give name', Berb *sVm- 'call, name' (v.), Eg smy 'tell' (n), CCh *syam-sim- 'whisper', LEC *sim- 'welcome (v.)'), *kün- (Sem *kann-/kinn- 'co-wife, female in-law', Berb *kVn- 'co-wife', WCh *kin- 'co-wife, sister', Agaw *kwin- 'woman').

However, Common Hamito-Semitic words and roots form only a modest part of the reconstructed Proto-Hamito-Semitic vocabulary. Common Hamito-Semitic status is not a *conditio sine qua non* for a root to be unequivocally reconstructed as a Proto-Hamito-Semitic element. According to the theories accepted in modern historical linguistics and, particularly, in Indo-European linguistics, weaker requirements are acceptable (see SZEMERÉNYI 1962; PORZIG 1954). The reconstructed word may be attested in three or even in two branches if they are known not to be in direct contact. Thus, fairly acceptable are such Hamito-Semitic reconstructions as, e.g., *bür- (Sem *birr- 'grill, lettuce (of doors, windows)', Berb *bur- 'door', LEC *bor- 'back (of a house)'), *tin- (Sem *tin- 'clay, earth, dirt', Eg ttn, twtn 'earth', CCh *tVn- id.), *ga²- (Sem *gV²Vy- 'rise, be high', ECh *ga²ay- 'increase', Agaw *gwi²- 'be high'), or even *kün- (Eg tny 'raise high', WCh *kunwa-), *eb- (Eg bw 'kind of bird', WCh *Hyabi- 'hen, chicken'), *šab- (ECh *šVb- 'rib', Rift *šab- 'diaphragm, rib'), *mabar- (WCh *mabar- 'mouth', Bed ambar id.), *pasuq- (Sem *pašh- 'spear', WCh *pasuq- 'arrow'). Exclusive isoglosses linking peripheral branches are of particular value since they are believed to reflect lexical archaisms, cf., e.g., isoglosses between Semitic and Rift that may be compared to Indo-Celtic isoglosses of Indo-European.

In some cases, morphological and/or phonological peculiarities lead us to a reconstruction of a Hamito-Semitic root based on the data of one branch. Such a reconstruction may be justified as an archaic relic of a root, better preserved in derivatives as in the case of *ab- 'stone' registered in several Cushitic languages (Agaw *ab- 'mountain', Bed awe 'stone', LEC *eb- id.). This root is reconstructed as Hamito-Semitic because its derivative *abun- 'stone, millstone' is a well-attested Hamito-Semitic lexical element. Another example of a similar approach is our reconstruction of HS *bay- 'build' based exclusively on CCh *bV- id. and ECh *bay- id. Such a reconstruction, as we believe, is justified by the archaic status of this verb whose derivative *bayit- 'house' is attested in Semitic as well as in Chadic.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the Hamito-Semitic languages is extremely limited and most of the languages belonging to the Hamito-Semitic phylum have a very short written tradition or have no such tradition at all. Naturally, many of our reconstructions are based on scarce lexical material which is often excerpted from recently published sources. This may diminish or deteriorate the credibility of certain reconstructions for lack of additional data. However, we prefer to adduce this kind of material as well, hoping that in future it will be partly supported by new discoveries and partly discarded. At the present stage, it is obviously preferable to create an extensive data base open to a profound critical study. Thus, we tend to adduce even comparisons based on a very limited number of facts as, e.g., in *kaber- (CCh *kabyar- 'bull': Bud kāber ~ HEC *ko-bir- 'buffalo': Had kobira), *nawač- (Sem *na[w]aš- 'kind of beer': Akk nāsu ~ Eg wnš.t 'wine'), *ro²- (Eg r² 'snake' ~ WCh *rwa²- 'cobra': DB rwa). As in other cases, we treat peripheral isoglosses as more reliable. A study of the Hamito-Semitic isoglosses may be an objective *per se* that in future will constitute a special sub-discipline similar to the linguistic geography of Indo-European (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1989; 1992a; 1992c).

Historical and comparative phonology of Hamito-Semitic is *terra incognita* no more. As a whole, it was adequately summarized in a number of recent publications, see, e.g., an outline of the reconstruction suggested in DJAKONOV ET AL. 1987; cf. also DJAKONOV 1988. As far as the phonological inventory of Hamito-Semitic is concerned, only a few corrections must be made in Djakonov's phonological inventory. Thus, we do not accept his reconstruction of

labialized consonants (**k^w*, **k^h*, **g^w* etc.) because, in individual families and branches of the phylum, they may be explained as secondary reflexes of velars and laryngeals before rounded vowels (see below). We also abstain from accepting highly hypothetical reconstruction of sonants and laryngeals in *syllabic* function. As far as stops are concerned, the reader will notice that **p*, even though it is present in our reconstructions of West Chadic, is missing in Hamito-Semitic. Despite a number of tentative etymologies suggested by GREENBERG 1958 and DJAKONOV 1965, we do not have sufficient evidence to corroborate the existence of this Hamito-Semitic phoneme and prefer to interpret a few cases where it was reconstructed as a result of various individual irregularities in the development of **b* and **p*.

The inventory of Hamito-Semitic consonants is shown in table 1.

Table 1. Hamito-Semitic consonants.

	Stops		Fricatives		Affricates					
Labial	<i>p</i>		<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>						
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>t̥</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>č</i>			
Lateral				<i>ʃ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č̣</i>				
Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>ḳ</i>	<i>g</i>							
Postvelar	<i>q</i>	<i>q̣</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>g̣</i>					Sonants
Pharyngeal				<i>h</i>						
Laryngeal			<i>ʕ</i>	<i>h</i>			<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i> <i>y</i>

Some of the roots included in the present Dictionary reflect various alternations of consonants on the level of reconstructed Proto-Hamito-Semitic. The most important cases show us alternations of **w*, **y* and **ʔ*. We tend to register them in the notes, hoping that the phenomenon will be further studied and analyzed on the basis of our material.

On the level of individual branches and families, some elementary notes are necessary as far as their consonantal systems (and their transliterations) are concerned. The presentation of Semitic material is fairly traditional (see, for example, DJAKONOV 1967); note only **ś* vs. **š* as Semitic correspondences of Hamito-Semitic **ś* vs. **š*. Thus, we reconstruct Semitic **śib*- ‘wind’ (Akk *šub-tu*, Soq *šiboh*) and also **śVb*- ‘burn, be hot, set fire’ (Akk *šabābu*, Arab *šbb*, Soq *šbb*) but **śaʕr*- ‘hair, wool’ (Akk *šārtu*, Ug *šʕrt*, Hbr *šēʕār*,

šaʕarā, Aram (Syr) *šāʕrō*, Arab *šaʕr*-, Gz *šeʕert*, Soq *šaʕihor*). It is also worth notice that we follow certain conventions as far as the consonantal skeleton of the root is concerned. Namely, Semitic verbal roots *C¹VC²VC²*- as well as most of the roots with *C²* or *C³* = **w*, **y*, **ʔ* are usually reconstructed as **C¹VC²*- if the third consonant or the ‘weak’ consonant is not supported etymologically in other branches of Hamito-Semitic.⁵ Thus, we reconstruct Semitic **hVš*- ‘cut’ (Arab *ḥšš*), **hVr*- ‘be dry, be dried up’ (Akk *erēru*, Gz *hrr*), **kVd*- ‘cut, tear’ (Hbr *qdd*, Aram *qdd*, Arab *qdd*, Gz *qdd*, Tgr *qdd*, Amh *qdd*, Arg *qdd*, Hrr *qdd*, Gur *qdd*), **rVm*- ‘be high’ (Hbr *rum*). In Semitic nouns where an alternation of *C¹aC²C²*- and *C¹aC²*- is possible, we always reconstruct *C¹aC²C²*- as, for example, in **dabb*- ‘bear’.

The reconstruction of the Proto-Berber consonantism is comparatively much less definite. The system accepted in our Dictionary has one important peculiarity to be noted here: reflexes of Hamito-Semitic unvoiced consonants are believed to remain *unvoiced* in Proto-Berber. Thus, the overall change of unvoiced phonemes to voiced ones is projected on a later chronological level while Proto-Berber lexical units appear as, for example, **cVlay*- ‘goat’ (Siwa *zalaq*, Ayr *ə-zolaq*, Ahg *a-hulaq*, Twl *e-zolaq*, Sha *zalaq*) or **çVp*- ‘marry’ (Ayr *əttəf*). The problem of the initial Hamito-Semitic **b*- in Berber still remains to be solved. In the Dictionary, we prefer to abstain from reconstructing two different reflexes, **b*- and **β*-, and use the symbol **b*- in all cases including the words where the merger **b*- > *h*- is observed. Thus, we reconstruct **bVy*- ‘drive, bring, come’ (Ghd *əbbi*, Siwa *əbba*, Ayr *hiii-ət*, Twl *hiii-ət*, Ahg *əhi*, Tsl *ihai*), **bag*-/**bagag*- ‘calf, lamb, kid, ram’ (Nfs *byu*, Ayr *a-bagag*, Ahg *a-bayuy*, Twl *a-bagag*), **baç*- ‘hair disease’ (Ahg *ta-haya*), **bVk*- ‘soak, contain (liquid)’ (Kby *əbbəy*, Ahg *a-həy*), **b(V)war*- ‘lion’ (Nfs *wär*, Ght *ä-hər*, Ayr *a-har*, Twl *a-har*, Zng *war*), **ubay*- ‘camel’s hump’ (Ghat *t-uhi*, Ayr *t-uhəy*, Ahg *t-uhə*, Twl *t-uhəy*, Sml *ta-yyu*).

Egyptian data appear in a usual transliteration, but, in contrast to ERMAN, GRAPOW 1957, *s* stands for the unvoiced sibilant and *z*—for the voiced one. Coptic material is adduced in Common Coptic (supradialectic) reconstruction together with dialectal forms (for a detailed description see OREL, STOLBOVA 1990).

⁵ Sometimes in our notes we use the obsolete terms *bi*- and *triliteral*. The reader is expected to understand them as a poetic licence used instead of *bi*- and *triconsonantal*.

Reconstructions of Chadic consonantism, both at the Common Chadic level and at the level of West, Central and East branches, are presented in STOLBOVA 1987 (West Chadic) and STOLBOVA 1995. In our Dictionary, however, we chose not to operate on the Common Chadic level. As far as our orthographic conventions for Chadic are concerned, the situation is rather complicated. In most cases, when our data come from old sources, we have to follow the outdated transcriptions of the original texts. At the same time, we try to unify our transliteration wherever it seems possible (thus, various signs for *t* and *t'* are reflected as *t* in the Dictionary while numerous ways of expressing pre- or postnasalization are uniformly replaced with superscript *n*). The same is true of Cushitic orthographies where similar problems arise and similar "half-measures" are taken. As to the phonological reconstructions of Cushitic branches, they are tentative and highly hypothetical. Although the general picture seems to be more or less understandable, a number of minor phonological questions remain unsolved. To some extent, our reconstructions are based on the unpublished materials on several branches prepared by OREL (a few publications are forthcoming), partly, on HEINE 1978 (Lowland East Cushitic), SASSE 1979, 1982 and HUDSON 1989 (Highland East Cushitic), EHRET 1980 (Rift). However, the basic work of reference on Cushitic comparative phonology and etymology remains DOLGOPOLSKIJ 1973.

Basic correspondences of consonants are demonstrated in tables 2–4 (double reflexes of a phoneme either are in a complementary distribution to each other or remain unclear).

Table 2. Hamito-Semitic occlusives.

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*p	*p	*f	p	*p, *p ¹	*p	*p	*p, *f	f
*f	*p	*f	f	*f	*f	*p	*f	f
*b	*b	*b	b	*b	*b	*b	*b	b
*t	*t	*t	t	*t	*t	*t	*t	t
*t	*t	*t	t, d ²	*t	*t	*t	*t	d
*d	*d	*d	d	*d	*d	*d	*d	d
*k	*k	*k	k ³	*k	*k	*k	*k	k
*k	*k	*k	k ³	*k	*k	*k, *g ⁴	*k	k, k
*g	*g	*g	g ³	*g	*g	*g	*g	g

Notes. 1. *p is a WCh innovation. 2. The distribution is unknown. 3. In certain conditions, after and before palatal and rounded vowels, > *t*, *d*. 4. *g-, mainly in the intervocalic position.

Table 2. Continued.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*p	*f, *p	*f, *p	*p	*f, *p ¹	p		*p, *f	*p
*f	*f	*f	*f	*f	f		*f, *p	*f
*b	*b	*b	*p	*b	b, β/b		*b	*b
*t	*t	*t	*t	*t	t, t'	t	*t	*t
*t	*d	*d		*t	t		*t	
*d	*d	*d		*d	d	d	*d	*d
*k	*k	*k	*k, *χ	*k	k	k(h)	*k	*k
*k	*k	*k	*k, *k	*k	k'		*k	*k
*g	*g	*g	*k	*g	g	k	*g	*g

Note. 1. *p in the intervocalic position.

Table 3. Hamito-Semitic affricates and sibilants

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*s	*š	*s	s	*s	*s	*s	*s, *š	s, š
*c	*s	*c	s	*c	*c	*s	*c	*s
*ç	*š	*ç	d	*ç	*c	*s	*ç ¹	
*ž	*z	*ž	z	*ž	*ž	*ž	*ž	s
*č	*t	*s, *č	s, šs	*č	*č	*č		
*č	*č	s, d	*č	*č	*č ²	*č		
*ž	d	*ž	d	*ž	*ž	*ž	*ž	d, š
*š	*š	*s	š	*š	*š	*š ³		
*č	*š	*c	š	*č	*š	*č ⁴	*š, *s	s
*č	*š	*ç	d	*č	*š/*ž	*č ⁵	*š	

Notes. 1. Orthographically, also č. 2. Reconstructed on the basis of the inlaut continuants -č- ~ -d-. 3. Yielding in most languages to *l* but appearing as *s* in Lele. 4. Generally, reflected as *s* but preserved as č in Bid. 5. Note Bid čy ~ ž as a regular reflex. Our reconstruction of ECh *č ~ *č is purely conventional as far as their real phonological value is concerned. However, the opposition between these two elements, separating them from *c ~ *ç and *č ~ *č, is beyond any doubt.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*s	*s	*s, *š	*š	*s, *š	s		*s, *š	*s
*c	*s	*s, *č	*s	*č, *s	t, t		*č ¹	*c
*ç	*s	*ç	*č	*ç ¹	ts, t		*č ¹	*c
*ž	*ž, *s	*ž		*č, *ç	t, ts		*ž	*ž, *s
*č	*š	*s, *š		*č ¹	t, ts		*č ¹	*č
*ž	*ž, *ž	*ž, *ž	*t	*ž	dz, d		*ž	*ž, *d
*š	*š	*s		*š	hl, t' ²		*š	*š
*č	*s	*s	*s	*s, *š	hl, t' ²		*š	*č
*č		*ç		*ç	l, t' ²		*ç	*č

Note. 1. Orthographically, also č. 2. -t'- between vowels.

Table 4. Hamito-Semitic laryngeals

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	ɔ, i ¹	*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	0
*c	*c	*ɔ, *h	c	*c	*ɔ	*ɔ 2	*c, *ɔ	ɔ
*h	*h	*h	h	*h	*h	*h	*ɔ	h
*h	*h	*h	h	*h	*χ	*ɔ, *h		h, 0
*b	*b	*b	b, h ³	*b	*γ	*γ	*χ	h
*g	*g	*γ	c	*g	*γ	*g	*χ	
*q	*b	*k, *g	b, h	*q	*q	*k	*χ	
*q	*b	*γ	b, h	*q	*q	*k, *g	*k	k

Notes. 1. The distribution is regulated by a set of not fully known rules. 2. Occasional -h- in Kera and Birgit seems to reflect ECh *-c- different from *-ɔ- < HS *-ɔ-. 3. Rules of distribution unknown.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*ɔ	*ɔ, *c	*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	0	0	*ɔ	*ɔ
*c	*c, *ɔ	*c, *ɔ	*c	*c, *h	ɔ	0	*ɔ	*c, *ɔ
*h	*h	*h		*h	h		*h	*h
*h	*h	*h		*h	h, h		*h	*h, *h
*b	*h, *h	*h, *h		*h	h, h			*h, *h
*g	*c	*c, *g		*g	k'		*k	
*q					k			*h
*q		*k	*χ		k'		*k	*b

Table 5. Hamito-Semitic sonants

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*m	*m	*m	m	*m	*m	*m	*m	m
*n	*n	*n	n	*n	*n	*n	*n	
*r	*r	*r	l, n, r ¹	*r	*r	*r	*r	r
*l	*l	*l	l, n, r ¹	*l	*l	*l	*l	l, n
*w	*w	*w	w	*w	*w	*w	*w	
*y	*y	*y	l, y	*y	*y	*y	*y	y

Note. 1. Distribution of variants remains unknown.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	m	m	*m	*m
*n	*n	*n	*n	*n	n		*n	*n
*r	*r	*r	*r	*r	r		*r	*r
*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	λ, l		*l	*l
*w	*w	*w	*w	*w			*w	*c
*y	*y	*y	*y		*y		*y	*y

The Hamito-Semitic system of vowels as an important part of the phonological structure has been traditionally neglected. Deep changes of vocalism and vocalic alternations in individual branches of Hamito-Semitic, primarily in Semitic, prevented scholars from reconstructing a consistent system of vowels. In DJAKONOV ET AL. 1987 a binomial pattern was suggested in the form of an opposition *a vs. *ə (the latter suggested as a further source of much later *i and *u). A new attempt of reconstruction has been recently undertaken in OREL, STOLBOVA 1989–1990 and 1992. Our tentative results are used in the present Dictionary and, therefore, Hamito-Semitic roots are correspondingly vocalized, thus allowing other scholars to proceed in the studies of the vowel structure of Hamito-Semitic. Our potential opponents are welcome to replace vowel signs with generalized V or A symbols, thus arriving at a more usual variant of the Hamito-Semitic reconstruction.

The system of Hamito-Semitic vowels is represented in Table 5. Its reconstruction is based on Semitic, Chadic, Egyptian (Ancient and Coptic) and Cushitic data.

Table 6. Hamito-Semitic vowels.

i	ü	u
e		o
a		

It may be shown that in Hamito-Semitic there existed certain distributional rules which were applied to the vocalism and which were similar to the rules that may be established for reconstructed Proto-Chadic, namely, two middle vowels (*e and *o) could not appear within one $C^1VC^2VC^3$ -root. Some of the vocalic alternations observed in Hamito-Semitic seem to have no immediate phonetic explanation, a factor caused by certain morphological factors (e.g., grammatical number) and thus similar to the ablaut (*alias* apophony) of Indo-European and Kartvelian languages (see BRUGMANN 1904; KURYLOWICZ 1956; GAMKRELIDZE, MACHAVARIANI 1965). Such alternations may be described as Hamito-Semitic ablaut (cf. OREL 1994; an early and extremely contradictory sketch of the ablaut in Semitic is represented in KURYLOWICZ 1961). Within the Dictionary we prefer not to use this term, leaving morphonological alternations of vowels to be studied later, on the basis of the present collection of material.

On the level of separate branches, some clarifications are necessary. In Semitic, a "usual" inventory of vowels is traditionally limited to the reconstruction of nouns. It is generally believed that, in the verbal system, all traces of the ancient vocalism were completely destroyed due to a process of total rebuilding of verbal morphology. As we tried to demonstrate in OREL, STOLBOVA 1990, certain forms of the Semitic (actually, of Arabic) verb display reasonable correspondences with Chadic verbs. Such forms, including the vowel of the second syllable in the imperfect, are regularly shown in the Dictionary and used as a basis for the corresponding Proto-Semitic reconstruction. Thus, along with vocalized nominal forms such as **ʔšš*- "fire", **dam*- "blood", **dim*- "cheetah, cat", **gabr*- "man", **hūs*- "leaf", **šahr*- "new moon", **lāhin*- "molar", the Dictionary presents vocalized reconstructions of Semitic biconsonantal and triconsonantal verbs, e.g. **gad*- "be considerable, be respectable (of men)" (Arab *gdd* [-a-]), **gVla*- "throw, overturn" (Arab *glʔ* [-a-]), **huš*- "cut" (Arab *hšš* [-u-]), **hVyal*- "imagine" (Arab *hyl* [-a-]), **nVpaḥ*- "strike (with a sabre)" (Arab *nfh* [-a-]), **nVšak*- "smell" (Arab *nšq* [-a-]), **pid*- "shout, call" (Arab *fdd* [-i-]). It is also possible that some Arabic *masdars* preserve the original vocalism of the verbal root. At the same time, both on Semitic and Hamito-Semitic levels there exists a certain correlation between the grammatical meaning of a verbal root and its vocalism. While it is relatively well described on the Semitic level, this phenomenon still remains practically unknown as far as its Hamito-Semitic manifestations are concerned. We hope that the present Dictionary will be useful to those who will study the vocalism of the Hamito-Semitic verb in the future.

It is worth noticing that Hamito-Semitic vowels in verbs are also sporadically reflected by the "weak" consonants of Semitic roots. Thus, in a number of cases, Hamito-Semitic verbs with **o*, **u* may have Semitic continuants of *CūC*- structure while some of the Hamito-Semitic verbs with front vowels correspond to Proto-Semitic *CīC*-.

A similar phenomenon may be hypothetically presumed for Berber. In verbal roots, structures *CVwVC*- and *CVyVC*- seem to form correspondences to Hamito-Semitic roots with front and rounded vowels, correspondingly. In nouns, the reflexes of the ancient vocalism also seem to be close to Semitic.

In Egyptian, ancient vowels are graphically reflected as *matres lectionis*, namely as *ʔ*, *w*, *y*, that are optionally used when positioned

between two consonants or in the beginning, or in the end of a word, to denote root vowels, cf., e.g.: *kʔb.t* "knee" (BD) < HS **kab*-, *hʔy* "capture" (MK) < HS **hay*-, *hʔb* "hyppopotamus" (OK) < HS **hab*-, *shʔ.t* "herd of donkeys" (OK) < HS **caḥ*-, *ʔsb* "burn" (BD) < HS **sab*-, *syʔ.w* "kite" (gr) < HS **ci*-, *imny* "Sun-god" (reg) < HS **[i]men*-, *rwhʔ* "evening" (n) < **ruh*-, *swḥ* "wind" (XXII) < HS **suh*-. Sometimes, the original vocalism may be also reconstructed on the basis of Egyptian palatalizations of velars (yielding to *ḏ* and *ṭ* in contact with front and rounded vowels) in such cases as *ḏs* "person" (pyr), *ḏr* "calf" (MK), *ḏwy* "call, say" (pyr), *ḏbʔ* "palace" (OK), *ṭb.t*, *ṭbw* "sandal" (pyr), *ṭy* "man" (pyr), *ṭy* "take, catch, seize" (pyr). Coptic material is also of certain value since Coptic vowels seem to result from the ancient Egyptian vocalism, in its turn going back to the original Hamito-Semitic system (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1990), cf. such correspondences as Copt **kas* "bone" (Boh *kas*, Shd *kas*) < HS **kas*-, Copt **halme* "source" (Lyc *halme*) < HS **haram*-, Copt **[l]ōw* "mountain" (Boh *tōou*, Shd *toou*) < HS **go*(ʔ)-, Copt **sēh* "young of an ass" (Boh *sēh*, Shd *sēh*) < HS **sek*-, Copt **rē* "sun, Sun-god" (Akh *ri*, Boh *rē*, Shd *rē*) < HS **ri*ʕ-.

Chadic vocalism is one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of Hamito-Semitic vowels. On the level of Chadic subfamilies, historical vocalism was reconstructed, including hypothetically accepted vowels of the second syllable (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1990; STOLBOVA 1995). We prefer to reconstruct middle vowels in Chadic as **ya* < **e* and **wa* < **o* since individual Chadic languages tend to use both *ya* and *e*, *wa* and *o* indiscriminately. At the same time, in contact with velars, they are normally reflected as diphthongs or even as combinations of labiovelars with a vowel. Hence a natural assumption that, on the Proto-Chadic level Hamito-Semitic middle vowels were represented by **ya* and **wa*. As far as Cushitic vocalism is concerned, preliminary notes on the reconstruction and basic correspondences may be found in OREL, STOLBOVA 1992. Cushitic vowels still represent an interesting field of future research.

Basic correspondences of Hamito-Semitic vowels are demonstrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Hamito-Semitic vowels

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*a	*a		ɜ	*a	*a	*a	*a	a, e
*e	*i, *y	*i, *y	ɜ, y	*ya	*ya	*ya, *i	*a, *i	e, a
*i	*i, *y	*i, *y	y, l	*i	*i	*i, *ya	*i	i
*o	*u, *w ¹	*u, *w	ɜ, w	*wa	*wa	*wa, *u	*wa, *a	o, u
*u	*u, *w ¹	*u, *w	w	*u	*u	*u, *wa	*u	u
*ü	*i	*i, *y	y, w	*u, *wi	*u	*u	*(w)i	i, wi

Note. 1. Also *a in contact with labials.

Within the framework of the phonological reconstruction certain conventions are observed. The alphabetical order of the transliteration and transcription signs is as follows:

¹ a b c ç ç̣ ç̣̣ d e f g ġ ġ̣ h ħ ħ̣ H i k ḳ
 l m n o p q q̣ q̣̣ r s š ṣ̌ ṣ̣̌ t ṭ u ü V w y z ž

We also use certain additional symbols: *V* and *C* stand for any or unknown vowel and consonant, *R* stands for any sonant. A symbol in () means that it is optional: *duh(h)- may be read as *duḥh- or *duḥ-. A symbol in [] means that its reconstruction is probable but not certain: *da[p]- implies that the reconstruction *dap- is more probable than any other (eventually, than *daf-). / stands for "and" whenever variants of the same root or phoneme are reconstructed: *da²-/ *daw- indicates that both *da²- and *daw- existed in Hamito-Semitic. Alternations are denoted by ~. Different meanings of a word within one linguistic branch are tagged with superscript numbers.

In a number of our comparisons we have to accept metathesis in order to reconstruct Hamito-Semitic prototypes. Quite often, the phonological phenomenon described as a metathesis may be more exactly defined as a shift of a laryngeal, i.e., of a phoneme especially unstable and liable to morphonologically irrelevant movements within the root. Thus, we have to deal with metathesis in such cases as Sem *²adam- "earth" ~ ECh *dVHVm- "field"; Sem *²VIVt- "drive, press close" ~ WCh *la²ač- "press"; Sem *bV²uš- "be strong" ~ ECh *basu²- id.; CCh *baraw- "arrow, bow" ~ ECh *²a-bawar- id.; Sem *dūr- "turn" ~ ECh *wVdVr- id.; Sem *^cVbal-/ *^cVbul- "be thick" ~ WCh *baHal- "big, be abundant" ~ ECh *bVHVl- "big"; Eg ḥsr "arm" ~ WCh *saHar- "hand, arm"; Eg ḥzd "rot" (n.) ~ ECh *³aHwad- "rotten". Another typical case in

which we are ready to accept a comparison implying a metathesis is that of a "long" word, i.e., of a composite or of an otherwise abnormally long structure exceeding the bounds of a standard triliteral pattern. Such structures are expected to be unstable, in particular, as far as order of phonemes is concerned, cf., for example: Sem *²argāb- "intestines" ~ CCh *bVrwag- "intestines" ~ ECh *burwag- "stomach"; Sem *binVtur- "vulva" ~ CCh *pičurin- "testicles"; Sem *ḥanzab- "kind of pot" ~ Eg ḥnbʾs "vessel". In some cases, we also deal with metathesis in usual triliteral roots: Sem *bVḷun- "be pregnant, have a big belly" ~ Eg bnd "difficult delivery"; Sem *sVIVk- "gather" ~ CCh *caḳal- "gather, collect"; Sem *diman- "insect" ~ Eg dnm "worms" ~ WCh *dyaman- "spider". It is worth noticing, that under the same name *metathesis* we also deal with some regular correspondences that have not been sufficiently studied, e.g. such cases as Sem *šakīn- "knife" ~ WCh *čank- id. and Sem *dagan- "corn" ~ WCh *dang- id.

Within the Dictionary, words with derivational peculiarities that may be projected on the Hamito-Semitic level are, normally, placed under separate entries. Thus, words going back to *²i-nas- "man" and *nūs- id. form separate articles although there is no doubt that they belong to one and the same Hamito-Semitic root. In other words, the Dictionary is organized according to the *lexical* and not the *radical* principle. Correspondingly, we prefer to separate nouns from verbs and, whenever it is possible, to put them under different headings. If, for some reason, a noun and a verb are brought together, under the same reconstruction, their corresponding meanings in the heading are separated with a semi-colon. Some of the words in Hamito-Semitic, as in any other linguistic family, have a dubious status of onomatopoeia. As we cannot guarantee their antiquity or disprove it, we mark such words as *descriptive stems*. As to loanwords and elements of old cultural vocabulary, they are also marked correspondingly in the notes.

While phonologically, all lexical comparisons adduced in the present Dictionary were checked and corrected in accordance with established phonetic correspondences, the problem of semantic verification turned out to be much more complicated. In order to minimize the arbitrariness in our lexical comparisons, we followed certain heuristic rules. Within the framework of the present Dictionary, preference is always given to comparisons based on complete semantic identity, cf., for example:

- **iben*- ‘‘sleep’’: Eg *ib̥n* id. (pyr) ~ CCh **HVbyan*- id.
 **calaḳ*- ‘‘gather’’: Sem **sVIVḳ*- id. ~ Eg *sṣḳ* id. (pyr) ~ CCh **caḳal*- id.
 **dibūr*-/ **dubūr*- ‘‘back’’: Sem **dubr*- ‘‘back’’ ~ CCh **di(m)bur*- ‘‘back’’.
 **gač*- ‘‘spear’’: WCh **gač*- id. ~ CCh **gač*- id. ~ SA **gaš*- id.
 **ḥak*- ‘‘stone’’: Eg *ḥḷ* id. (n) ~ WCh **ḥVḳ*- id. ~ CCh **ḥakwa*- id.
 **mag*- ‘‘be bad’’: WCh **mug*- id. ~ Bed *maag* id. ~ LEC **mag*- id.
 **ta*²- ‘‘eat’’: Sem **tV*²-/ **tVw*- id. ~ WCh **ta*²-/ **ti*²- id. ~ CCh **ti*- id. ~ ECh **ta(y)*-/ **ti(y)*- id.
 **war*- ‘‘throw’’: Sem **wur*- id. ~ ECh **war*- id. ~ Agaw **wawVr*- id.
 **ṣaḥaf*- ‘‘drag (oneself)’’: Sem **ṣVḥVp*- id. ~ LEC **ṣaHaf*- id.

If the meanings of compared words are not identical, the comparison is still treated as valid if the ‘‘semantic distance’’ between two meanings may be covered in *one derivational step* (whatever the concrete meaning of this vague term may be). Thus, we accept the following comparisons:

- **igan*- ‘‘vessel’’: Sem **igān*- ‘‘cup, bowl’’ ~ LEC **agan*-/ **gaHan*- ‘‘jar’’.
 **oraḥ*- ‘‘way, road’’: Sem **ur(a)ḥ*- ‘‘way’’ ~ WCh **wara*- ‘‘road’’ ~ ECh **war*- ‘‘road’’ ~ HEC **or*- ‘‘road’’ ~ Rift **uruw*- ‘‘path, way’’.
 **ba*²- ‘‘bush, tree’’: Eg *b̥ṣ.t* ‘‘bush’’ (a) ~ WCh **ba*²- ‘‘tree’’ ~ CCh **bwaH*- ‘‘bush’’ ~ SA **bah*- ‘‘wood’’.
 **ba*^c- ‘‘dirt, mud’’: CCh **ba*- ‘‘dirt’’ ~ Rift **ba*^c- ‘‘mud’’.
 **baḥ*-/ **biḥ*- ‘‘burn, be hot’’: Eg *bḥḥ* ‘‘burn’’ (reg) ~ WCh **baH*- ‘‘hot’’ ~ CCh **bVH-bVH*- ‘‘hot’’ ~ ECh **biHwa*- ‘‘roast’’.
 **gab*- ‘‘weapon’’: Sem **gabāb*- ‘‘sling’’ ~ HEC **gab*- ‘‘bow and arrow’’.
 **yara*²-/ **yaraw*- ‘‘reed’’: Sem **yara*²- ‘‘reed not used for writing’’ ~ Eg *ṣrw* ‘‘reed, rush’’ (pyr) ~ WCh **yVraw*- ‘‘reed’’.

If the semantic distance between the words seems to be critically big, then we consider it a compulsory measure to confirm the possibility of such a comparison with typological parallels. Thus, we accept the reconstruction of **adid*- ‘‘female relative’’ based on ECh **adid*-

‘‘daughter-in-law’’ ~ LEC **adad*-/ **aded*- ‘‘aunt’’ ~ HEC **adad*- ‘‘maternal aunt’’ ~ Wrz **atit*- ‘‘elder sister’’ because similar types of semantic development are attested outside Hamito-Semitic, cf. Alb *motēr* ‘‘sister’’ ~ Eng *mother*, Lith *moša* ‘‘sister-in-law’’ ~ OPrus *moazo* ‘‘aunt’’. We also feel free to reconstruct **tibin*- ‘‘brain, marrow’’ on the basis of Eg *tbn* ‘‘marrow’’ (med) and CCh **tibin*- ‘‘brain’’ since in a number of languages the same word is used for ‘‘brain’’ and ‘‘marrow’’, cf. Russ *mozg* and NPers *mayz*. We also accept the reconstruction of **da*²-/ **daw*- ‘‘man, chief’’ including such forms as CCh **da*²i- ‘‘man, people’’ and Rift **daH*- ‘‘stranger’’ because of the corresponding typological data (see BENVENISTE 1970, 92 f.).

The present Dictionary covers all categories of lexical units with the exception of numerals, pronouns, prepositions and particles. These grammatical and semi-grammatical elements will be analyzed and etymologized elsewhere. Basically, the words within the Dictionary are either nouns or predicates. The latter group includes verbs, adjectives (usually translated as verbs, i.e., not *red* but *be red* etc.) and some adverbs.

* * *

The present project was started in 1986 in Moscow and, after August 1990, continued simultaneously in Israel and Russia. Three main types of work were carried out:

- processing of the previously published comparative material;
- search for phonologically predictable counterparts of already known forms;
- semantic screening.

While (a) and (b) are traditionally used methods of data processing in comparative linguistics, (c) was an innovation. To carry it out, semantic card indices (databases) of individual linguistic branches were created. In such a database, words were grouped under generalized semantic headings, e.g., in the West Chadic card index, a card with a heading *WALK* contained various words for ‘‘go’’, ‘‘come’’, ‘‘enter’’, ‘‘run’’ and so on, in various West Chadic languages. A card with a heading *HOUSE* contained words for ‘‘house’’, ‘‘town’’, ‘‘compound’’, ‘‘hut’’, ‘‘fence’’, ‘‘roof’’ and the like. In some cases, when a certain language was of particular importance for the study of vocabulary, we created card indices of

individual languages (e.g. of Akkadian). At the next stage, databases were used for semantic screening, i.e. for a cross-comparison of semantic units within the limits of semantically and phonologically acceptable parallels (see above).

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Olga Stolbova

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

a(ncient)	Bwo(ro)
adj. - adjective	Cam(ay)
Afd - Afade	CCh - Central Chadic
Ahg - Ahaggar	Ch(adic)
Akh(mimian)	Chb - Chibak
Akk(adian)	Copt(ic)
Aks(imen)	Cush(itic)
Ala(ba)	
Alb(anian)	DB - Dafo-Butura
Alg - Alagwa	Dar(asa)
Amh(aric)	Dem(otic)
Amor(aic)	Dgh(wede)
Anf(illa)	Dhl - Dahalo
Ang(as)	Dmb - Dembea
Ank(we)	Dmt - Damot
Arab(ic)	Dng - Dangla
Aram(aic)	Dok(shi)
Arb(ore)	Dor(ma)
Arg(oba)	Dul(lay)
Aun(gi)	
Av(estan)	ECh - East Chadic
Awj(ila)	Eg(yptian)
	Eng(lish)
Ban(na)	
Bay(so)	FBw - Fali Bwagira
Bch - Bachama	Fgg - Figig
BD - Book of the Dead	FGL - Fali Gili
Berb(er)	FJl - Fali Jilvu
Bgh - Boghom	FKi - Fali Kiria
Bid(iya)	FMb - Fali Mubi
Bil(in)	FMch - Fali Mucella
Bks - Bokkos	Fym - Fayumian
Bld - Balda	
Bmb - Bambala	Gaa(nda)
Bmr - Baamrani	Gaf(at)
Bnn - Banana	Gaw(wata)
Boh(airian)	Gbn - Gabin
Bol(ewa)	Gbr - Gabri
Bret(on)	Gdf - Guduf
Brg - Birgit	Gdl - Gidole
Brm - Burma	Gel(eba)
Brw - Barawa	Ghd - Ghadames
Bry - Barayn	Gid(ar)
Bsd - Basada	Gis(iga)
Bud(uma)	Gk - Greek
Bur(unge)	Gll - Gollango
Bus(so)	

Gob(eze)	Kwr-Kwara
Gog(ot)	Kwz-Kwadza
Gor(owa)	
Goth(ic)	l(ate)
gr-Greek papyri	Lat(in)
Grm-Geruma	LEC-Lowland East Cushitic
Grn-Geruntum	Lib(yan)
Gul(fey)	Lith(uanian)
Gur(age)	Lmn-Lamang
Gvo(ko)	Log(one)
Gwn-Gwandara	LPe-Lame Pewe
Gz-Geez	Lyc(opolitan)
Had(iya)	math(ematical papyri)
Hbr-Hebrew	Mba(ra)
HEC-Highland East Cushitic	Mbu(rku)
HF-Higi Futu	Mch-Mocha
HGh-Higi Ghye	med(ical papyri)
Hil(di)	Mgg-Mogogodo
Hmr-Hamar	MHG-Middle High German
HNk-Higi Nkafa	Mhr-Mehri
Hrr-Harari	Mig(ama)
Hrs-Harso	MK-Middle Kingdom
Hs-Hausa	Mkk-Mokilko
HS-Hamito-Semitic	Mnd-Mandara
Hss-Harsusi	Mng-Mangas
Hwn-Hwona	Mnj-Munjuk
	Mns-Menaser
IE-Indo-European	Mnt-Montol
Irq-Iraqw	Moab(ite)
Izd(eg)	Mpn-Mupun
Izn(asen)	Mrg-Margi
Izy-Izayan	Msg-Musgum
	Msm-Mesme
Jib(bali)	Mtk-Matakam
Jmb-Jimbin	Muk(tele)
Jnk-Jonkor	Mus(goy)
	Mwu(lyen)
Kab(enna)	n(ew)
Kaf(fa)	n.-noun
Kap(iski)	Nak(aci)
Kbl-Kabalay	Nch-Nanchere
Kby-Kabyle	Nfs-Nefusa
Kem(ant)	Ngm-Ngamo
Klb-Kilba	Ngw(ahi)
Klr-Kulere	Ngz-Ngizim
Kmb-Kambatta	Nlr-New Irish
Kon(so)	NK-New Kingdom
Kr-Karekare	NPers-New Persian
Krf-Kirfi	Ntf-Ntifa
Kry-Kariya	Nz(angi)
Kus(eri)	
Kwn-Kwang	

OCopt-Old Coptic	Smr-Sumray
OEng-Old English	Snh-Senhaja
OIr-Old Irish	Sok(oro)
OK-Old Kingdom	Som(ali)
Ome(to)	Soq(otri)
Omot(ic)	Sp(anish)
ON-Old Norse	Suk(ur)
OPers-Old Persian	Syr(ian)
OPrus-Old Prussian	
Or-Oromo	Tgr-Tigre
Ox(yrinhian)	Tgy-Tigray
	Tmb-Tambaro
Pad(uko)	Tng-Tangale
Phn-Phoenician	Tob(anga)
PIE-Proto-Indo-European	Tsl-Taneslemmet
pl.-plural	Tum(ak)
Pol(chi)	Twl-Tawlemmet
Pun(ic)	
pyr(amids)	Ug(aritic)
reg-royal tombs	v.-verb
Rnd-Rendille	
Russ(ian)	W(elsh)
	War(azi)
SA-Saho-Afar	WCh-West Chadic
SAr-South Arabian	Westc(art)
sarc(ophagi)	Wmd-Wamdiu
Say(anchi)	Wrg-Wargla
Sbn-Sibine	Wrj-Warji
Sbn-Sibine	Wrz-Werizoid
Sem(itic)	
sg.-singular	Xmr-Xamir
Sgr-Segrushen	Xmt-Xamta
Shd-Sahidic	
Shh-Sheri	Yam(ma)
Shk-Sheko	
Shn-Shenua	Zak(shi)
Sid(amo)	ZBt-Zime Batua
Skt-Sanskrit	Zgh-Zeghwana
Slav(ic)	Zng-Zenaga
Slt-Selti	
Sml-Semlal	

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*)

1 *²a- "walk, go"Eg ³ "walk" (Westc.).WCh *²a- "come": Diri ²a-.ECh *²a- "go": Tum a-, Mkk ²aa²-.

Partial reduplication in Mkk?

Cf. a possible derivative in *²ay- "come, run".2 *²ab- "father"

Sem *²ab- "father": Akk *abu*, Ug ²ab, Phn ²b, Pun ²b, Hbr ²āb, Aram ²ab, Syr ²abbā, Arab ²ab-, SAR ²b, Gz ²ab, Tgy ²abbo, Amh *abbat*, Har *āw*, Soq ²eb, Mhr *hayb*, Hss *hayb*, Shh ²iy.

Berb *²ab(b)- "father": Twl *abba*, Izy *ibba*, Izn *ebb^wa*.

Eg ³b.t "family" (OK), "parents" (n).

Since the semantic relationship between "family" and "father" is quite obvious, Eg ³b.t may well be a derivative of an initial word for "father".

CCh *²ab- "father": Bud *aba*.

Hardly an Arabic loanword.

Agaw *²ab- "father": Bil *abba*, Kem *abaa*.

SA *²ab- "father": Saho *abba*.

LEC *²ab- "father": Som *aba*, *aaba*, Or *abbaa*.

HEC *²ab- "father, uncle": Sid *aabbo*, Dar *aabbo*, Bmb *aabbo*.

Rift *²ab- "father": Asa *aba*.

Doubtlessly, an onomatopoeia similar to numerous forms outside Hamito-Semitic. Cf. a similar stem in WCh *²ub- "father": Hs *ubā*. Cush forms may be borrowed from Sem.

3 *²ab- "stone"

Agaw *²ab- "mountain": Xmr *abaa*, Xmt *aaba*, Kwr *abaa*.

Bed *awe* "stone".

Note *-b- > -w- in the intervocalic position.

LEC *ʔeb- “stone”: Bay *eʔebo*.

Secondary *eʔ

Present only in Cush. Probably, an archaism from which a widely attested derivative *ʔabun- “stone, millstone” was formed.

4 *ʔab-/ʔub- “fall, descend”

ECh *ʔab- “fall”: Tum *ab*, Mubi *ebī*.

SA *ʔob- “descend”: Saho *ob-*, Afar *oob-*.

*o < *a before a labial.

HEC *ʔub- “fall”: Sid *ub-*, Had *ub-*.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

5 *ʔabac- “house, manger”

Sem *ʔabūs- “warehouse”¹, “manger”²: Akk *abūsu*¹, Hbr *ʔēbūs*².

Secondary labialization of HS *a > Sem *u after a labial.

Related to Arab *ʔbš* “collect, gather”?

WCh *ʔac- < *HVbac- “compound, farm”: DB *ḥas*, Bks *ḥas*.

An earlier laryngeal indicated by the emphatic occlusive.

6 *ʔabaw- “plant”

Sem *ʔab-/ʔabaw- “water-lily”: Akk *abu*, Hbr *ʔēbe*, Arab *ʔabā-*.

Eg *ʔbw* “plant used in medicine” (med).

7 *ʔa-biḳ- “run (back)”

Sem *ʔVbiḳ- “run away (of slaves)”: Arab *ʔbq* [-i-].

WCh *HVbaḳ- “return”: Ank *bak*.

The prefix is manifested by initial voiced *b-*. Note the irregular root vowel.

Omot *biḳ- “run away”: Ome *biḳ-ič-*.

Derived from HS *baḳ-/buḳ- “run”.

8 *ʔabol- “genitals”

Sem *ʔabal- “genitals”¹, “body”²: Gz *ʔabāl*¹, Tgr *ḥabəl*¹, Tgy *abal*², Amh *abal*^{1 2}, Gur *abal*^{1 2}.

WCh *ḥwal- < *HVbwal- “penis”: Bks *ḥwel*.

CCh *bwal- “penis”: Bata *bolle*.

9 *ʔabun- “stone, millstone”

Sem *ʔabn- “stone”: Akk *abn-*, Ug *ʔabn*, Hbr *ʔeben*, Pun *ʔbn*, Aram (Emp) *ʔbn*, (Syr) *ʔabnā*, (Mand) *abna*, Src *ʔabnaʔ*, SAr *ʔbn*, Soq *ʔoben*, Sha *ḥōbin*, Mhr *ḥaubīn*, Gz *ʔəbn*, Tgr *ʔəbn*, Tgy *ʔəmni*, Har *un*.

Eg *bnw.t* “stone, millstone” (MK).

No traces of the initial ʔ-.

WCh *ʔabun(i)- “millstone”: Bol *buni*, Krk *buni*, Dera *buni*, Ngm *buni*, Krf *bini*, Ger *bini*, Glm *biin*, Grm *bigni*, Wrj *vən-ay*, Paa *van-ka*, Mbu *avəna*.

Forms with -i- seem to have appeared under the influence of -i- in the last syllable. Otherwise WCh *ʔabun- / *ʔabin- should be reconstructed.

CCh *bun- < *ʔVbun- “millstone”: Dgh *vra*, Mnd *uvra*, Log *funi*, Gid *buna*, ZBt *vəna*.

Rhotacism *n- > -r- in Dgh and Mnd. Initial *v-* in individual languages reflects *ʔ-.

Status of *ʔa- is not quite clear. Presumably, it is a prefix not preserved in Eg. On the other hand, cf. HS *ʔab- suggesting a segmentation *ʔab-un-.

10 *ʔabVnan- “bird”

Sem *ʔabun(n)- “kind of bird”: Akk *abbunnu*.

Eg *ʔbnn* “kind of bird” (NK).

ECh *bVnan- “duck”: Ndm *bənan*.

Looks like a derivative of unattested *ʔabVn-. Sem *-u- may go back to HS *-a- after a labial.

11 *ʔa-cin-H- “leg, foot”

WCh *ʔacin-H- “leg”: Gej *ašən*, Brw *asən*, Say *yasən*, Grn *ʔasaṇ*, Dwot *ʔazuṇ*, Buli *asin*, Wnd *ʔasən*, Tala *asən*.

The final cluster *-nH- or *-nVH- is normally reflected as -ṇ-.

CCh *Hasin- “knee”: Hnk *šini*, FKİ *šini*, Kap *yašine*.

Morpheme *-H- shifted to the beginning of the word and appearing as a prefix.

ECh *ʔ[a]sin-H- ‘leg’: Mig ʔasin, Jeg ʔisin-to, Bid ʔeseeno, Mubi sin, Brg ʔisij, Mkk zina.

Bid may go back to *ʔasiHVn- with -ee- < *-iHV-.

Agaw *sin-H- ‘calf’: Bil sij.

HS *ʔa- seems to be a prefix not preserved in Agaw. Note a potential Sem reflex in Arab ʔsn ‘kick with a foot’. Cf. *cin-/ *cun- ‘leg’

12 *ʔacir- ‘bind, tie’

Sem *ʔVsr- ‘bind, join’¹, ‘hobble’²: Akk *esēru*¹, Ug ʔsr¹, Hbr ʔsr¹, Arab ʔsr [-i-]¹, Jib ʔesər², Hss *wesōr*, Mhr *wesōr*, Shh ʔesor. CCh *ca-car- ‘plait, weave’¹, ‘tie’²: Mofu - *sasər*-¹, Mafa *cacar*².

Partial reduplication.

ECh *saʔir- ‘tie’: Tum *hīr*, Kbl *sa:rr*, Lele *saar*.

Metathesis.

HEC *ʔusur- ‘tie’: Sid *usur*-, Kmb *usur*-.

Unexpected *-s- and irregular vocalism.

13 *ʔač-/ʔič- ‘meat’

CCh *ʔič- ‘flesh’: Gis ʔiše.

An isolated form. A Cush loanword?

Agaw *ʔVč- ‘meat’: Aun *əšši*.

Omot *ʔač- ‘meat, body’: Ome *ačo*, Mch ʔačo, Yam *ašaa*, Gim *ač*,

Nao *aš-ku*, Shk *aš-ko*, Maji *ač-ku*.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

14 *ʔaĈVw-/ʔaĈVy- ‘illness’

Sem *ʔašVy- ‘kind of illness’: Akk *ašū*.

Eg ʔšy.t ‘kind of illness’ (med).

ECh *ʔVsVw- ‘fever’: Sok *osso*.

Assimilation of vowels.

The vowel of the second syllable may be *a. The root displays an alternation of sonants *w ~ *y.

15 *ʔad- ‘skin, hide’

Bed *ada* ‘skin, hide’.

SA *ʔad(d)- ‘hide’: Afar *adday*.

Mgg *ata* ‘bull hide’.

The word is preserved only in Cush branches. However, cf. a possible derivative in HS *ʔadam- attesting the HS status of the present root.

16 *ʔadam- ‘earth, field’

Sem *ʔadam- ‘earth’: Pun ʔdmt ‘country’, Hbr ʔadāmā, Aram ʔadamtā.

WCh *dam- ‘place’: Tng *təm*.

No traces of the initial laryngeal.

CCh *dam- ‘field’¹, ‘place’²: Tera *dam*¹, Ngw *dama*².

May reflect an earlier *ʔadam-. However, considering ECh data, we could reconstruct *daʔam > *dam-.

ECh *dVHVm- ‘field’: Mkk *doome*.

Mkk -oo- does not necessarily imply ECh *-wa-. It may also go back to *-aHa- or *-awa-. Metathesis of the original *ʔadam-.

HEC *ʔud(V)m- ‘desert’: Kmb *udmaʔa*.

A derivational and semantic variant of the original HS stem?

The alternative HS reconstruction is *daʔam-.

17 *ʔadam- ‘skin’

Sem *ʔadam-/ʔadīm- ‘skin’: Arab ʔadam-, ʔadīm-.

Probably related to Arab ʔdm ‘be brown’.

WCh *ʔadam- ‘skin’: Tng *hadam*.

If not borrowed from Arab.

Derived from HS *ʔad- ‘skin, hide’. Cf. also LEC *ʔidim- ‘tanned hide’: Som *idin* (pl. *idmo*). It may continue *ʔadīm- with a regular change of Som -m > -n in the auslaut.

18 *ʔadar- ‘vessel’

Sem *ʔadar- ‘metal vessel’: Akk *adaru*.

WCh *dyar- < *dVHVr- ‘‘pot’’: Brm *der*.

LEC *adar- ‘‘pot’’: Som *adar*.

Cf. Eg *idj* ‘‘expression related to the polishing of vessels’’ (OK) < *idVr-.

19 *ader- ‘‘master, lord’’

Sem *adīr- ‘‘majestic, powerful’’: Ug *dr*, Phn *dr*, Pun *dr*, Hbr *addīr*.

Agaw *adīr- ‘‘master, lord’’¹, ‘‘God’’²: Bil *adāraa*¹, Xmr *iederaa*, *adāraa*², Xmt *adaraa*², Kwr *adarte*¹, Kem *adaraa*^{1 2}.

LEC *ader- ‘‘uncle’’: Som *adeer*, Or *adeeraa*.

Rift *daʿar- ‘‘chief’’: Gor *daari*.

Metathesis.

Semantically, the HS word may go back to an adjective with a meaning similar to Sem.

20 *adid- ‘‘female relative’’

ECh *adid- ‘‘daughter-in-law’’: Kera *adīdā*.

LEC *adad-/ *aded- ‘‘aunt’’: Som *eddo*, Or *adada*.

Presumably, Som *eddo* < *ededo* < *adedo*.

HEC *adad- ‘‘maternal aunt’’: Sid *adaada*, Dar *adaada*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Wrz *atit- ‘‘elder sister’’: Gaw *ta-atite*.

Cf. Sem *ad- ‘‘lady’’: Ug *dt*, Phn *dt*, Aram (Palm) *dt*. A descriptive stem.

21 *adil- ‘‘dress’’

Sem *adīl- ‘‘attire, garment’’: Akk *adīlu*, Gz *adl*.

*a- may be a prefix.

Eg *djy* ‘‘coat’’ (pyr).

Reflects an earlier *dil- (with *l > j).

An alternative reconstruction may be *dil-. A cultural (loan)word?

22 *adus- ‘‘wall’’

Sem *aduš- ‘‘wall’’: Akk *aduššu*.

CCh *adus- ‘‘fence’’¹, ‘‘town’’²: Gude *ēdsa*¹, LPe *duso*², Lame *mba-dušo*².

The anlaut in Gude reflects an intermediary stage of *yadus- < *adus-.

Cf. a corresponding verb in LEC *HVdis- ‘‘build’’ (Boni *dis*)?

23 *ah- ‘‘brother’’

Sem *ah- ‘‘brother’’: Akk *ahu*, Ug *ah*, Phn *h*, Pun *h*, Hbr *āh*, Aram (Epigr) *h*, (Syr) *ahā*, (Mand) *aha*, Arab *ah-*, SAr *h*, Soq *ahā*, Mhr *ga*, Shr (*e*)*ga*, Gz *ahəw*, Tgr *hu*, Har *əh*.

WCh *ah(ya)- ‘‘uncle’’¹, ‘‘brother’’²: Klr *ahy-*¹, Wrj *yahə-*².

Initial *ya-* in Wrj reflects the influence of the second syllable.

CCh *ay- ‘‘son’’: Msg *ahī*.

Msg auslaut -ī may go back to *-ya.

24 *ah- ‘‘fire’’

Eg *jh.t* ‘‘fire’’ (BD).

CCH *ay(u)- ‘‘fire’’: Bura *uʷu*, Klb *huʷu*, FKl *uyu*, Kus *ahu*, Gul *u*, Bud *au*, Mba *hū*.

Assimilation of vowels in several languages. In Gul, *u* goes back to *uyu- with the consequent loss of the second syllable. Reduplication in Bura and Klb.

25 *ahuš- ‘‘take’’

Sem *Vhud- ‘‘take’’: Akk *ahāzu*, Ug *hd*, Hbr *hz*, Moab *hz*, Aram (Epigr) *hd*, (Palest) *ahad*, (Syr) *ehad*, (Mand) *ahad*, Arab *hd* [-u-], SAr *hd*, Gz *hz*, Amh *yazā*.

Agaw *aʒ- ‘‘take’’: Bil *ad-*, Kwr *az-*, Aun *as-*.

Reflexes of intervocalic *-ʒ- in Agaw are extremely unstable.

The intervocalic laryngeal is completely lost.

HEC *aq- < *aHVʒ- ‘‘take’’: Sid *aq-*.

Emphatic -q- seems to reflect the lost laryngeal.

26 *ʔakür- “till”

Sem *ʔVkir- “till”: Aram (Syr) ʔakar, (Mand) ʔkr, Arab ʔkr [-i-].

Sem *-i- indicates HS *e, *i or *ü.

CCh *kur- “hoe, prepare field for sewing”: Mofu kərɯ, Lame kura.

Cf. Hwn kūra “hoe” (n.), Bnn kawira id., Zime kura.

ECh *kur- “hoe”: Jegu kur-gees.

The laryngeal left no traces.

Connected with HS *ʔekar- “farmer”.

27 *ʔal- “fat”

Sem *aly- “fat tail (of sheep)”¹, “fat (of leg)”²: Hbr ʔalyā¹, Aram (Palest) ʔaly^{atā}¹, Arab ʔaly-at-².

Cf. Akk ellu “sesame oil”.

LEC *ʔal-ʔal- “fat” (n.): Or alala.

Reduplication.

Dhl ʔahli “fat, oil”.

Note lateral -hl- reflecting HS *-l-!

Note the Rift form reflecting *-ʃ- (Kwz aʃ-ito) as Dhl.

28 *ʔal-/ʔil- “be”

BerB *ʔil- “be, become”: Izn ili, Snh ili, Tua ili.

LEC *ʔal-/ʔil- “be”: Som -aal, -iil.

CCh *ʔal- “be”: Mofu ala, Log āli, li.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

29 *ʔal-/ʔul- “stick”

Sem *ʔal- “stick, club”: Hbr ʔalā.

WCh *ʔal- “stick”: Tng ala, wala, Bks yal.

Tng w- and Bks y- are occasional reflections of *ʔ- in the initial position.

LEC *ʔul- “stick”: Som ul, Or ulle.

Wrz *ʔul- “stick”: Gaw ul-itte.

Cf. SA *ʔil- “stick” (Saho ʔiloo, Afar ʔiloo) with initial *ʕ-.

30 *ʔalač- “press”

Sem *ʔVlVč- “drive”¹, “press close”²: Hbr ʔlʃ¹, Aram (Syr) ʔelaʃ².

WCh *laʔač- “press”: Hs lāça, Tng lač-.

Metathesis.

Another possible reconstruction is *laʔač-.

31 *ʔalan-/ʔalun- “tree”

Sem *ʔalān- “oak”: Akk allānu, Hbr ʔallōn.

WCh *lan- “bush”: DB lan.

The first syllable completely lost.

CCh *luʔan- “tree”: Mba luʔ, Msg lūʔ, pl. lūaʔai.

Metathesis. Cf. also a partial reduplication in *lalan-H- “kind of tree”: Mofu lalaʔ.

Related to *ʔal-/ʔul- “stick”?

32 *ʔalVk- “bite, chew”

Sem *ʔVlVk- “bite, champ (the bit)”¹: Arab ʔlk.

Bed ʔayək^w- “chew”.

Note intervocalic *-l- > -y-. The labiovelar may reflect a back vowel in the second syllable.

Related to *ʔilik- “tooth”.

33 *ʔam- “arm”

Sem *ʔam(m)- “elbow”: Akk ammatu, Ug ʔamt, Hbr ʔammā, Aram (Epigr) ʔmh, (Syr) ʔama, ʔamta, (Mand) ama, SAr ʔmt, Gz ʔammat, Tgr ʔammat.

WCh *ʔam- “arm”: Bgh am-ʃi, Kir wam, Pol am, Geji wom-ʒi, Ngz amai.

Kir wa- indicated a rounded vowel of the second syllable.

Related to *ʔam- “catch, seize” (for the semantic development cf., for example, Lith ranka “hand” ~ rinkti “grasp, seize”).

34 *ʔam- “woman”

Sem *ʔam- “maid, girl”: Akk *amtu*, Ug *ʔamt*, Phn *ʔmt*, Pun *ʔmt*, Hbr *ʔāmā*, Aram (Emp) *ʔmh*, (Syr, Palest) *ʔamtā*, (Mand) *amta*, *amuta*, Arab *ʔam-at-*, Gz *ʔamal*, Tgr *ʔamāl*.

WCh *ʔam- “woman”: Wrj *amai*, Kry *am*, Diri *am*, Cagu *omey*, Jmb *ama*, Sha *ʔamuy*, Ngz *ama*.

Cagu *o-* < **a-* before a labial.

HEC *ʔam- “mother, wife, woman”: Sid *ama*, Had *ama*, Dar *ama*, Bmb *aama*, Kmb *ama-ta*.

Rift *ʔam- “grandmother”¹, “sister”², “mother”³, “girl”⁴: Irq *ama*¹, Bur *ama*², Kwz *ama*³, Asa *ʔama-ʔeto*⁴, ʔamama¹.

Onomatopoeia.

35 *ʔam- “catch, seize”

Eg *ʔmm* “catch, seize” (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

CCh *ʔam-/ʔim- “catch, seize”: Tera *ōom*, Msg *ima*, *ime*.

Tera indicates **Hwa-ʔam-*. The original form must have been *ʔam-.

ECh *ʔam- “catch”: Lele *ōm*, Kbl *am*.

Lele *ō-* either reflects **a-* before a labial or goes back to **Hwa-ʔa-* as in Tera, see CCh.

Related to *ʔam- “hand, arm”.

36 *ʔamam- “honey”

Sem *ʔamūm- “kind of spice”: Akk *amūmu*.

Secondary **-ū-* influenced by surrounding labials.

Berb *ʔamVm- “honey”: Izn *tammemr*.

CCh *ʔamam- “honey”: Bld *ʔamam*, Mofu *amam*, Glv *māma*, Gvo *mama*, Mnd *nama*, Mrg *mumu*.

Root vowel in Mrg assimilated to the auslaut.

Probably, a reduplication of a root preserved in ECh *ʔim-/ʔum- “bee, honey”: Mubi *ūm*, Jegu *ʔimo*, Brg *imiyyu*.

37 *ʔaman- “believe, know”

Sem *ʔVman- “be certain, believe”: Hbr *ʔmn*, Aram (Palest) *hēmīn*,

Arab *ʔmn* [-*a-*], Shr *ōmen*, Mhr *hāmōn*, Hss *ʔāmōn*.

Related are SAr *hʔmn* “confide”, Sab *ʔmn* “belief”, Jib *ʔun*.
WCh *ʔaman- “know”: Sura *man*, Ang *man*, Ank *man*, Tal *āman*,
Mnt *man*, Maha *monayo*, Bol *mon-*.

The first syllable is preserved only in Tal.

Agaw *ʔamVn- “believe”: Aun *amn-əḡ*.

Borrowed from Sem?

Wrz *ʔemen- “see”: Cam *emena*.

Secondary vocalism.

38 *ʔamas- “darkness, evening”

Sem *ʔamš- “night”¹, “evening”²: Akk *mūšu*¹, Hbr *ʔemeš*², Arab *ʔams-*².

Cf. also Akk *amšali* “yesterday”, Hss *yemši* id., Mhr *yemši* id.

CCh *mVs- “shadow”: Gudu *məšū*.

From *ʔVmVs-.

Bed *amas* “late evening”.

Borrowing from Sem?

Rift *ʔamas- “middle of the night”¹, “tomorrow”²: Irq *əmsi*¹,
Gor *amsi*¹, Alg *amasi*¹, Bur *amasi*¹, Kwz *amasiya*².

Borrowing from Sem?

39 *ʔambür- “termite”

CCh *mVbur- “termite”: Gude *mubəra*, Bch *mburey*, Mwu *muburu*,
FG *mbur-tə*, FJb *mubəle*.

-*u-* in Gude and Mwu may be influenced by the initial *m-*.

Bed *embira* “termite”.

In the anlaut, *e-* is due to the influence of the following vowel.

LEC *ʔabor- “termites”: Som *aboor*.

HS **-mb-* > LEC **-b-*, cf. LEC in HS *ʔanbab-/ʔanbib- “plant, flower”. LEC **-o-* is a regular reflex of HS **-ü-*.

As in a few other cases initial *ʔam- in Cush corresponds to Chadic *mV-, *ma-. There are serious reasons to believe that both Cush *ʔam- and Chadic *ma- are prefixes going back to the same HS source. The alternative HS reconstruction is *mabür-.

40 *ʔan- “speak”

Berb *ʔVn- “say, tell”: Izn *ini*, Snh *ini*.

WCh *ʔan- “speak”: Ngm *aḡ*.

In fact, the WCh prototype must be reconstructed as *ʔan-H- with a non-etymological laryngeal suffix.

ECh *ʔan- “speak”: Ndm *ane*, Kwn *ane*, Dng *ane*.

Related to Kwn *ə:ne* “argue”?

Bed *an*- “say”.

Related to Sem *ʔVn- “moan” (Arab *ʔnn* and the like)?

41 *ʔan- “go, walk”

WCh *ʔanwa- “go”: Bol *ʔon*-, DB *wan*-.

CCh *ʔan- “return”: Heba *anu*.

ECh *ʔVnwa- “come, enter”: Mkk *ʔinn*-, Jeg *ʔony*-, *ʔeny*-, Mig *ʔunyo*-.

Mig and Jegu reflect initial *ʔwa-.

LEC *ʔan- “walk”: Kns *anna*.

Omot *ʔan-H- “go”: Ome *aḡ*-.

No external justification for the laryngeal in the auslaut.

42 *ʔan-/ʔayin- “sheep”

Berb *ʔan- “sheep”: Gua *ana*, *haña*.

WCh *ʔān- < *ʔayVn- “she-goat”: Siri *yāni*.

Contraction.

ECh *ʔayin- “goat”: Mig *ʔīnu*, Brg *ʔayney*, Jegu *ʔēn* (pl.).

Bed *ano* “sheep”.

Berb and Bed seem to reflect HS *ʔan-. Note the root-variant with an inlaut sonant.

43 *ʔanbab- “plant, flower”

Sem *ʔanbūb- “reed”: Akk *embūbu*, NHbr *ʔabbūb*, *ʔibbūb*, Aram (Syr) *ʔabbūbā*, Arab *ʔanbūb*-.

Tgr *ʔembobā* and the like are borrowed from Cush. In the second syllable, *-ū- is explained by the influence of surrounding labials.

WCh *ʔanbVb- “flower”: Pero *anbibi*.

Secondary vocalism of the second syllable influenced by final -i.

Agaw *ʔambab- “flower”: Bil *amboobaa*, Kem *ambaab*.

Bil -oo- < *-a- in the contact with labials.

LEC *ʔabab- “kind of flower”: Som *ababo*.

Lack of nasalization may be a result of later change *-nb- > *-b- or, on the contrary, an archaic feature.

Unusual root structure with a prenasalized -C²-.

44 *ʔankol- “liver, kidneys”

ECh *ʔakwal- “liver”: Brg *ʔokolo*.

Note *-nk- > ECh *-k-. Assimilation of vowels.

Bed *ʔank^welʔa* “kidneys”.

Prefix *ʔa-/ʔan-. Related to *kul- “kidney”.

45 *ʔantuʔ-/ʔantaw- “mouse, rat”

CCh *ʔanduwa- < *ma-ʔanduwa- “rat”: Gis *monduwa-ŋ*, Mtk *mudu-wa*, Mkt *madawa*.

Prefix *ma-.

SA *ʔandaw- “mouse, rat”: Saho *andowa*, Afar *andawaa*.

LEC *ʔantu- “mouse”: Or *antu-ta*.

Voiced *d* of CCh and SA are not regular correspondences of LEC *t*. However, *-nt- seems to be a more probable reconstruction. The variants of the auslaut are reminiscent of usual alternations of ʔ ~ w ~ y. A cultural term with an irregular phonology.

46 *ʔap- “mouth”

Sem *ʔanp- “nose”: Hbr *ʔāp*, Aram (Syr) *ʔa(n)pā*, Arab *ʔanf*-.

Consonantal assimilation in Hbr. Secondary assimilation and change of meaning on the Semitic level.

Bed *yaaf* “mouth”.

Prothetic y-. Cf. HS *ʔap-/ʔwap- “yawn, open mouth”?

Agaw *ʔaff- “mouth”: Bil *ʔāb*, Kwr *af*.

Bil -b- is believed to reflect an unvoiced geminate.

SA *ʔaf- “mouth”: Saho *af*, Afar *af*.

- LEC *ʔaf- “mouth”: Som *af*, Or *af-an*, Rnd *af*, Arb *oho*, Gel *aaf*, Kns *afo*.
 HEC *ʔaf- “mouth”: Sid *afo*, Dar *afaʔo*, Had *afoʔo*, Ala *afo*, Bmb *afay*, Kmb *afo*.
 Dhl *afo* “mouth”.
 Omot *ʔaf-/*ʔap- “mouth”: Dime ʔ*appo*, Gll *afa*, Ari *aaffa*, Ban *aapo*, Hmr *a(a)fo*.
 Rift *ʔaf- “mouth”: Irq *afa*, Alg *aafa*, Bur *aafa*, Asa ʔ*af-ok*, Kwz ʔ*afu-ko*.

Related to *ʔap-/*wap- “yawn, open mouth”.

47 *ʔap-/*wap- “yawn, open mouth”

- Eg *wp*, *wpy* “open (mouth)”.
 WCh *ʔap- “throw into the mouth”¹, “yawn”²: Hs *afa*¹, Sura *ap*², Ang *ep*².

Note a consonantal alternation in the anlaut. If the present stem is *not* related to the HS word for “mouth”, it may be compared with HEC *ʔaf-/*ʔif- “spread (in the sun)”: Bmb *af-*, Kmb *if-is-*.

48 *ʔaq- “field”

- Sem *ʔah- “meadow”: Ug ʔ*ah*.
 Eg ʔ*h.t* “fertile land” (NK).
 ECh *ʔak- “field”: Kera *aka*.
 ECh *-k- is a regular reflex of HS *-q-.

49 *ʔar- “husband”

- Sem *ʔaray- “family member, relative”: Ug ʔ*ary*, Arab ʔ*arā*.
 Agaw *ʔar- “husband”: Aun ʔ*ära*.
 Prefix ʔ-.
 HEC *ʔar- “husband”: Sid *aroo*, Had *aroʔo*, Dar *aroʔo*.
 Omot *ʔar- “husband”: Anf *aroo*.
 Borrowing from Sid?

50 *ʔar- “ram, goat”

- Berb *ʔar- “she-goat”: Gua *ara*.
 LEC *ʔar- “sheep”: Boni *eriya*, Rnd *ari*.
 Cf. Arb ʔ*aar* “bull”.
 HEC *ʔaray- “sheep” (pl.): Bmb *araay*.
 Rift *ʔar- “goat”: Irq *ari*, Alg *ara* (pl.), Bur *ara* (pl.), Kwz *ali-to*.
 Note Kwz -l- < *-r-.
 Cf. also WCh *ʔar- “meat”: Dera *ara*.

51 *ʔar- “vegetable”

- Sem *ʔār- “greens, vegetables”: Ug ʔ*ar-t*, Hbr ʔ*ōrā*.
 WCh *ʔar- “vegetable”: Pero *ara*.

52 *ʔar-/*war- “eagle”

- Sem *ʔarVw- “eagle”: Akk *arū*.
 WCh *war- “sea-eagle”: Hs *wāra*.
 CCh *war- “kite”: HNk *wəri*, HGh *wəri*, HF *wari*, Kap *wəri*.

A consonantal alternation *ʔ- ~ *w- in the anlaut.

53 *ʔaram- “enclosed dwelling”

- Sem *ʔaramm- “dam”¹, “road”²: Akk ʔ*arammu*¹, Hss *wōrem*².
 Cf. a derivative in Hbr ʔ*armōn* “fortress, palace”.
 Berb *ʔrVm- “town, village”: Ahg *a-rrem*.
 Complete loss of the first syllable.
 WCh *ʔram- “land, place”¹, “town, village”²: Bks *ram*¹, Sha *ram*², Klr *ram*².
 No traces of the initial laryngeal.
 CCh *ʔrVm- “house”: Ngw ʔ*ərema*.

54 *ʔariç- “earth”

- Sem *ʔarç- “earth”: Akk *eršetü*, Ug ʔ*arç*, Phn ʔ*rç*, Pun ʔ*rç*, Moab ʔ*rç*, Hbr ʔ*eres*, Aram (Emp) ʔ*rq*, (Nab, Palm) ʔ*rç*, (Bibl) ʔ*araç*, (Palest, Syr) ʔ*arçō*, (Mand) *arqa*, *arda*, Arab ʔ*arç*, SAR ʔ*rd*, Jib ʔ*erd*.
 WCh *HVriç- “earth”: Paa *riša*, Cagu *hiše*, Siri *rəšu*, Mbu *riši*.
 ECh *ʔiraç- “valley”: Bid ʔ*iraadya*.

Metathesis of vowels.

May be connected with HEC *ᵃirVᶒ- ‘‘farm’’ (Sid *irša*) and Agaw *ᵃaris- ‘‘till, plough’’ (Aun *ares-əḡ*).

55 *ᵃariw- ‘‘metal’’

Sem *ᵃVrVw- ‘‘copper’’: Akk *werû, erû*.

CCh *ᵃariy- ‘‘iron’’: Bld ᵃariya, Mnd ᵃire.

CCh *-iwa- > -iya-.

ECh *ᵃaraw- ‘‘iron’’: Jegu ᵃarro.

Assimilation of vowels.

56 *ᵃa-ruw-/ᵃa-ruy- ‘‘lion’’

Sem *ᵃarway-/ᵃarwiy- ‘‘lion’’¹, ‘‘ferocious animal, beast’’²: Hbr ᵃarī, ᵃaryē¹, Aram (Palm) ᵃry¹, (Bibl, Syr) ᵃaryō¹, (Mand) *arya*¹, Gz ᵃarwē².

Derived from *ᵃarw-. Cf. Arab ᵃarwīy-at- ‘‘wild sheep’’?

Eg *rw* ‘‘lion’’ (pyr).

Probably, a form without prefix reflecting *ruw-.

CCh *ᵃVruw- ‘‘hyaena’’¹, ‘‘lion’’²: FKī ṛu¹, Mwu ṛu¹, Mnd ᵃuruw-vəri², FJl luwi¹.

In Mnd -u- of the 1st syllable was influenced by the next vowel.

FKī and Mwu may go back directly to *ruw- < HS *ruw- and correspond exactly to Eg *rw*.

ECh *ᵃaruw- ‘‘leopard’’¹, ‘‘lion’’²: Tum *ərəw*¹, Mubi *orūwa*².

Mubi *o-* is influenced by the following vowel.

LEC *ᵃar- ‘‘lion’’: Som *ar*.

Cf. also Som *awr* ‘‘he-camel’’, Rnd *or* id. < *ᵃawr-?

*ᵃa- seems to be a prefix that is not reflected (or not preserved?) in Eg and, partially, in CCh.

57 *ᵃarVᶒ- ‘‘cattle’’

Sem *ᵃarᶒ- ‘‘kind of cattle’’: Akk *arᶒu*, Ug ᵃarᶒ, Tgr ᵃarᶒi, Tgy ᵃarᶒi.

HEC *ᵃar(H)- ‘‘calf’’: Bmb *aᶒre*.

The function of inlaut -ᶒ- is not clear.

Related to HS *raᶒil- ‘‘sheep, ram’’? Cf. Eg *ᶒᶒ.t* ‘‘divine cow, priestess’’ (gr).

58 *ᵃas- ‘‘seize, grasp’’

Sem *ᵃVᶒ- ‘‘grasp’’: Akk *aᶒᶒu*.

WCh *ᵃas- ‘‘take away’’: Kr ᵃas.

CCh *ᶒVᶒ- ‘‘seize’’: Klb *asiya*.

Derivative of *si-?

59 *ᵃas- ‘‘come’’

Berb *ᵃVᶒ- ‘‘arrive’’: Tua *as*, Kby *as*.

WCh *ᵃas-/ᵃis- ‘‘come’’: Gwn *iso*, Bks *yes*, DB *yes*.

Bks and DB *y-* may go back to *ᶒ-.

ECh *ᵃas- ‘‘come’’: Dng *ase*, Jnk ᵃasso, Jegu ᵃas, Brg ᵃasi, Bid ᵃaseḡ.

Wrz *ᵃas- ‘‘go’’: Gaw *aᶒᶒ-*.

60 *ᵃaseᶒ- ‘‘iron’’

Sem *ᵃaᶒiᶒ- ‘‘iron’’: Akk *aᶒiu*.

CCh *ᶒiᶒ- ‘‘iron’’: Glf *siu*, Bud *hyu*.

The initial laryngeal lost.

ECh *ᶒyay- < *ᶒyaᶒ- ‘‘iron’’: Lele *sayu*, Mubi *ma-siyo*.

Prefix *ma- in Mubi.

61 *ᵃaᶒ- ‘‘send’’

Sem *ᵃVᶒVᶒ- ‘‘send’’: SAr ᶒᶒy.

HEC *ᵃas(s)- ‘‘send’’: Had *ass-eᶒ-*.

Derivative in -ᶒe-.

62 *ᵃaᶒaf- ‘‘burning’’

Eg *iᶒf* ‘‘burn’’ (XX), ‘‘be painful’’ (n).

Unexpected *i-* before a non-palatal vowel as in some other cases.

WCh *ᶒaᶒaf- ‘‘heat, pain’’: Hs *zāfi*.

Metathesis.

Reconstruction *ᶒaᶒaf- is also possible.

63 *ʔat- “walk, come”

Sem *ʔVt- “come”¹, “pass”², “come back”³: Ug ʔatw¹, Hbr ʔty¹, Aram (Emp) ʔty¹, (Nab) ʔt¹, (Palm) ʔt¹, (Palest) ʔatā¹, (Syr) ʔeta¹, (Mand) ata¹, Arab ʔty¹, SAr ʔtw, ʔty¹, Soq ʔete², Gz ʔatawa³, Tgy ʔatawa³, Tgr ʔata³.

Various derivations of the original *ʔVt- using *w*, *y* and *ʔ* as C³.

WCh *ʔat- “ride”: Bks ʔat.

Bed ʔat- “tread”.

SA *ʔat- “tread”: Afar ʔat-.

Irregular ʔ-.

Omot *ʔat- “come”: Gim at-.

64 *ʔawan-/ʔawin- “time”

Sem *ʔawān- “time, moment, season”: Arab ʔawān-.

Cf. also secondary morphonological variants ʔān- id., ʔiwān- id.

WCh *win- “evening time”¹, “day”²: Tng wini¹, Ngz wəna².

The initial laryngeal lost.

CCh *wan- “year”: Nza wane, Mwl wan-ti, Bch wan-to.

No traces of the initial laryngeal.

HEC *ʔawin- “month, moon”: Bmb awin-co.

Wrz *ʔawVn- “evening”: Gaw awne.

Since CCh might have lost *ʔa- for phonetic reasons, it is not clear if it is a prefix or a part of the root. Is there any connection with Agaw *ʔiman- “time” (Bil *emaanaa*), SA *ʔaman- id. (Saho *amaana*) and LEC *ʔamin- id. (Som *amin*)?

65 *ʔay- “come, run”

Sem *ʔiʔ- “go and stay”: Arab ʔyʔ.

Based on *ʔVy-.

Berb *ʔVy- “come”: Tua *ayu*.

ECh *ʔaw-/ʔay- “go”¹, “gallop”²: Ndm ao¹, Sbn ʔaya².

An ancient morphonological variant *ʔaw- preserved only in ECh?

Bed ee- “come”.

From *ʔay-.

HEC *ʔe- “enter”: Sid ʔe-.

From *ʔay-.

Omot *ʔay- “come”: Omet *ai*.

In Bed and HEC development *ʔay- > *-e- seems to be possible. Is there any connection between *ʔay- and *ʔa- “walk, go”?

66 *ʔayal- “deer”

Sem *ʔayal- “deer, ibex”: Ug ʔayl, Pun ʔyl, Hbr ʔayyāl, Aram (Emp) ʔyP, (Palest) ʔayyālā, (Syr) ʔaylā, (Mand) *ayala*, *ayla*, SAr ʔyl, Arab ʔayyil-, ʔyyal-, Gz *hayyal*.

Eg *lyr* “deer” (l), Dem ʔywr id., Copt *ʔeyul: Boh *eoul*, Shd (*e*)*eioul*.

Borrowed from Sem?

LEC *ʔēl- < *ʔayVl- “gazelle”: Som *eelo*.

Dhl ʔeele “hartebeest”.

From *ʔayal-.

Cf. HEC *ʔayan- “gazelle” (Bmb *ayaane*) and SA *ʔal- “goats (coll.), she-goat” (Saho *ala*, Afar *alaa*).

67 *ʔa-yil- “ram, sheep”

Sem *ʔayil- “mythological bull”¹, “ram”²: Akk ʔālu¹, Ug ʔil², Phn (pl.) ʔlm², Hbr ʔayil².

Berb *ʔyil-/ʔil- “sheep”: Nfs *t-ili*, Sml *t-ili*.

SA *ʔyil-/ʔil- “sheep”: Saho *ille*, *illi*, Afar *ille*, *illi*.

Though a phonetic process leading to the loss of *ʔa- is not excluded, *ʔa- is, more probably, a prefix. The connection with *ʔayal- “deer” is problematic.

68 *ʔayVm- “snake”

Sem *ʔaym- “snake”: Arab ʔaym-.

WCh *ʔam- “python”: Klr ʔamo.

WCh *ʔam- < *ʔaym- as *ʔac- “dog” < *ʔawc- (see WCh *ʔaw[a]c- “dog, wolf”). This type of development may reflect a specific variety of roots with no vowel between C² and C³.

69 *ʔekam- “mountain”

Sem *ʔakam- “hill”: Arab ʔakam-at-.

Assimilation of vowels *ʔakam- < *ʔikam-.

WCh *kyaʔam- "mountain": Bgh *kyaam*.

Metathesis.

The alternative HS reconstruction is *keʔam-.

70 *ʔekar- "farmer"

Sem *ʔikkar- "farmer, plougher": Akk ʔikkar-, Hbr ʔikkār, Aram (Syr) ʔakārā, Arab ʔakkar-.

Assimilation of vowels in Aram and Arab. An alleged Sum loanword in Sem.

Eg ʔkr "Earth-god" (a).

Initial ʔ- makes the reconstruction of *e more probable. Semantically, "Earth-god" ← "plougher". Semitic loanword?

The root is etymologically connected with HS *ʔakūr- "till".

71 *ʔel- "leather sack"

Sem *ʔil- "leather sack": Akk ʔilu.

WCh *ʔal-ay- < *ʔyal-ay- "skin bottle used as an oil container": Hs ʔālāya.

72 *ʔem- "be hot, burn"

Eg ʔm, ʔm "burn" (pyr).

No palatalization of ʔ-.

WCh *ʔyam- "hot": Ngm *yam*.

73 *ʔen- "child"

WCh *ʔyan- "boy": Grk *a-yan*.

Prefix *a-* in Grk.

LEC *ʔin- "child": Kon *ina*.

74 *ʔer- "tongue"

LEC *ʔer- "tongue": Gel *ere*.

Mgg *erei* "tongue".

Omo *ʔer- "tongue": Anf *erü-co*.

Although this stem is present only in Cush, its derivatives are found elsewhere and, therefore, it is treated as a HS archaism.

75 *ʔer- "see, know"

ECh *ʔyar- "see": Smr *yēro*, Sbn *yara*.

Bed *iray-*, *iree* "see".

Agaw *ʔar(V)- "know": Bil *ar*-.

The source of -ʔ- is not clear. Note *-a- in the root.

Wrz *ʔar- "know": War *aʔari*, Gaw *ara*, Gob *ʔaar*, Cam *ara*, Hss *ar-*,

Dob *ar-*, Gll *ar-*.

Secondary *-a-.

Omot *ʔer- "know": Ome ʔer-, *ere*, Mch *ari(hä)*, Anf *erri*, Gim *err-*, *era*.

Rift *ʔar- "see": Irq *ara*, Alg *ar-*, Bur *ar-im-*.

Secondary *-a-.

Related to HS *ʔir- "eye"? Some of the above forms may reflect HS *ʔar-.

76 *ʔer- "woman"

Eg *irw.t* "women" (pyr).

ECh *ʔyar- "woman": Mkk ʔere, ʔerowo.

Probably related to LEC *ʔor- "wife": Som *oori*. If Mkk ʔerowo goes back to ECh *ʔyaraw-, one could think of HS *ʔeraw- as a prototype of both Eg and ECh.

77 *ʔer- "tremble"

Sem *ʔVr- "tremble": Akk *arāru*, *harāru*.

ECh *ʔyar- "tremble": Tob *yore*.

78 *ʔerar- "container"

Eg *irr* "vessel" (n).

i- reflects a front vowel.

LEC *ʔarar- "basket": Arb ʔarar.

Assimilation of vowels.

79 *ʔeray- “word, speech”

WCh *ʔaray- “language”: Hs *yārē*.

LEC *ʔeray- “word, speech”: Som ʔeray, ʔeray.

Derived from *ʔer- “tongue”.

80 *ʔerib- “sew, tie”

Sem *ʔrib- “tie (a knot)”: Arab ʔrb [-i-].

WCh *ʔrVhib- > *ʔrib- “sew”: Wnd *rip*, Zaar *ri:p*, Pol *reḫ-in*, Dwot *rip*.ECh *ʔrVb- “sew”¹, “untie”²: Brg ʔorbi¹, Tum ʔarab².

Brg -o- is secondary.

SA *ʔrib- “sew”: Saho *rib*, Afar *rib*.LEC *ʔerVb- “sew”: Or *erba*.

81 *ʔerin- “tongue”

CCh *ʔirVn- “tongue”: Gis ʔirne, Mtk ʔerne, Mofu ʔerne.

Probably, from an earlier *ʔarin-?

Omot *ʔeren- “tongue”: Ome *eren-šaa*.

Assimilation of vowels, from *ʔerin-.

Derived from HS *ʔer- “tongue”.

82 *ʔes- “fire”

Sem *ʔiš- “fire”: Akk ʔišat-, Ug ʔišī, Hbr ʔēš, Phn ʔš, Aram (Emp) ʔšh, (Bibl) ʔēššā, (Palest) ʔiššātā, (Mand) ʔšt, Gz ʔəsāt, Tgr ʔəsāt, Amh ʔəsāt.

Berb *HVš- “big fire”: Ahg *a-həs*.WCh *ʔyas- “fire”: Ang *wus*, Chip *wus*, Ank *wuss*, Grk *wus*, Bol *osi*, Krk *yasi*, Ngm *yasi*, Maha *woši*, Bele *ihi*, Krf *wūšī*, Gera *wusi*, Glm *wuši*, Grm *uši*, Gej *iši*, Klr *waše*.

Forms in *w- are not clear. Contamination with *wuš- “roast”?

ECh *ʔis- “fire”: Brg ʔissi.

Probably, from an earlier *ʔyasi-.

Cf. Rift *ʔaš- “fire” (Irq *aša*, Gor *aša*, Alg *aša*, Bur *aša*) with a lateral *š-. An alternative reconstruction of the HS word for

“fire” may be based on the fact of *wi-* pattern forbidden in Sem. If initial HS *wi- (or *we-) yielded to Sem *ʔi-, it could also explain dubious WCh forms in *w-.

83 *ʔet- “eat”

WCh *ʔyat- “eat”: Fyer ʔet.

HEC *ʔit- “eat”: Sid *it-*, Bmb *it-*.

84 *ʔew- “be old”

Eg *iḫwy* “be old” (OK).

-j- and -y- are a joint reflection of *e.

ECh *ʔyaw- “be old”: Sbn *yə*, Kera *hiwi*, Mobu *yewe*.

Another possibility should be considered if Eg -j- goes back to HS *r. In this case, comparison with CCh *ʔir- “old” (Mw *iḫri*, Bch *iyrey* and the like) leads to the reconstruction of HS *ʔir- “be old”.

85 *ʔi- “time, period of time”

Eg *ḫ.t* “time” (MK).Cf. *lḫ.t* “moment of time” reflecting a front vowel.WCh *ʔyi- < *ʔi- “year”¹, “time”²: Ang *yi-*¹, Mnt *yi*², Grk *yi*¹.

Any relation to HS *ʔi(w)- “be, become”?

86 *ʔib- “thirst”

Eg *ib.t* “thirst” (pyr), Copt *ʔibi id.: Fym *ibi*, Ahm *eibe*, Bhm *ibi*, Shd *eibe*.WCh *ʔyb- < *ʔib- “thirst”: Bgh *yip*, Kir *yip*.

Secondary y- reflecting *ʔ- before a front vowel.

Cf. Arab ʔbb [-u-] “desire”?

87 *ʔibad- “lose, be lost”

Sem *ʔVbVd- “lose, be lost”: Ug ʔbd, Phn *yʔbd*, Hbr ʔbd, Aram (Epigr) ʔbd, (Palest) ʔabad, (Mand) *abad*.CCh *ʔbidVH- “lose”: Zime *viḫi*.

SA **bad-* ‘perish, be extinguished’: Saho *bad-*, Afar *baad-*.

No traces of the initial syllable.

LEC **bad-* ‘be lost’: Or *bad-*, Gel *bad-*.

No traces of the initial syllable.

Wrz **pat-* ‘get lost, disappear’: Gaw *pat-*, Hss *pat-*, Gol *pat-*.

No traces of the initial syllable.

88 **ibaq-* ‘insect’

Sem **ibh-* ‘kind of bug’: Akk *ibhu*.

Berb **bay-* ‘insect’: Izy *abahhu*.

Irregular reflex of *-q-.

ECh **bag-* ‘locust’¹, ‘cricket’², ‘spider’³: Jegu *bago*¹, Bid *bago*², Kbl *bagəbagə*³.

89 **iben-* ‘sleep’

Eg *ibən* ‘sleep’ (pyr).

Eg *i-* indicates HS **ɛ-* or **i-*. Note intervocalic -j- reflecting a middle vowel.

CCh **HVbyan-* ‘sleep’: Boka *hweni*, Hwn *hena*.

In Boka -*we-* < -*ya-* after a labial.

Since HS **eben-* is hardly possible from the point of view of the vowel pattern, **iben-* remains the only tenable reconstruction.

90 **i-bil-* ‘camel, donkey’

Sem **ib(i)l-* ‘camel’: Arab *ibil-*, *ibl-*, SAR *bl*, Hss *he-ybīt*, Mhr *he-ybīt*, Shh *yit*.

ECh **bil-* ‘donkey’: Lele *bila-he*.

The first syllable left no traces.

The initial **i-* is either a prefix (preserved only in Sem), or a part of the root (lost in ECh for phonetic reasons). In the anlaut HS **ɛ-* is also possible.

91 **ic-* ‘tooth’

WCh **ha-ic-* ‘tooth’: Ang *ās*, Chip *ayas*, Mnt *γəs*, Ank *hag-has*, Grk *γas*, Bol *udo*, Krk *wudo*, Tng *wudo*, Dera *wuro*, Ngm *udo*,

Maha *udo*, Krf *iččo*, Gera *waša*, Glm *yiizu*, Grm *očog*, Mpn *ōs*.

Prefix **ha-*. Note some difficult forms with initial *w-*, cf. our notes to **es-* ‘fire’.

HEC **is-* ‘tooth’: Dar *isso*.

Omot **ic-* ‘tooth’: Dime *icu*.

92 **icay-* ‘be sad, be angry’

Sem **Vsay-* ‘be sad’: Arab *sy* [-a-].

For Sem *-s- cf. a derivative in Hbr *ās-ōn* ‘misfortune’.

ECh **isVy-* ‘bad’: Lele *isiya*.

-*iya* may be a Lele suffix.

93 **id-* ‘eye’

WCh **id-* ‘eye’: Hs *ido*, Surayit, Ang *yit*, *yid*, Mnt *yit*, Ank *has-yid*, Grk *yit*, Bol *ido*, Krk *ido*, Dera *yero*, Tng *idu*, Ngm *ido*, Maha *ida*, Bele *ido*, Krf *iro*, Gera *iidi*, Glm *iirya*, Grm *ida*, Diri *adō*, Jmb *ida*, Ngz *da*.

Some forms with -*r-* may go back to HS **ir-* ‘eye’ as well.

CCh **id-* ‘eye’: Tera *idi*, Nza *di*.

ECh **id-/ud-* ‘eye’: Dng *udā*, Mig *iide*, Jeg *ude*, Sok *id-*.

ECh **ud-* < **idu-* or a trace of an apophony?

Although this root is preserved only in Chadic, its derivatives also occur in Cush, see HS **ind-* ‘eye’ and we may, therefore, consider it as a HS archaism.

94 **igan-* ‘vessel’

Sem **igān-* ‘cup, bowl’: Akk *agannu*, Hbr *aggān*, Arab *iggān-at-*.

Assimilation of vowels in Akk and Hbr?

LEC **agan-/gaHan-* ‘jar’: Som *agaan*, Or *gaanii*.

Assimilation of vowels.

95 **i‘al-* ‘snake’

Eg *i‘r.t* ‘snake’ (pyr).

ECh **i‘al-* ‘snake’: Dng *aalo*, Bid *aalo*, Jegu *illo*, Brg *eli*.

Assimilation of vowels in Dng and Bid.

An unusual combination of -ʔ- and -^c- in one root.

96 *ʔikoy- ‘‘hold, seize’’

Eg *ily* ‘‘take, catch, seize’’ (pyr), Copt **ṭi*: Boh *ṭi*, Sd *ṭi*.

Initial *i*- indicates **ʔi*- or **ʔe*-. *-ṭi*- is palatalized before **-o*-.

WCh **kway*- < **HVkway*- ‘‘hold’’¹, ‘‘seize, grasp’’²: Dera *kway*¹, Miya *kwi*¹, Bgh *kye*¹, Bks *kʔay*², DB *kay*².

The first syllable lost without traces.

Since **e* and **o* seem to be incompatible within one root, the reconstruction **ʔekoy*- is less probable.

97 *ʔiküč- ‘‘relative’’

Sem **ikīš*- ‘‘family member’’: Akk *ikīšu*.

WCh **kiʔuč*- ‘‘child’’: Ang *keus*, Ngz *kušai* (pl.).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **kiʔüč*-.

98 *ʔil- ‘‘swear; oath’’

Sem **ʔl*- ‘‘swear’’: Hbr *ʔly*, Arab *ʔly* [-*i*-], SAR *ʔlh*.

Dhl *ʔilo* ‘‘oath’’.

Cf. Rift **loʔ*- ‘‘oath’’ (Irq *loʔi*)?

99 *ʔil- ‘‘bring’’

Eg *iny* ‘‘bring’’ (pyr), Copt **ini*: Fym *ini*, Ahm *eine*, Boh *ini*, Sd *eine*.

HS **-l*- > Eg *-n*-. *-y* in the auslaut as well as initial *i*- suggest a front vowel in the root.

WCh **al*-/**il*- ‘‘bring’’: Bol *ʔal*-, Krk *ʔil*-.

Traces of old alternation **a* ~ **i*?

100 *ʔilab- ‘‘wall’’

Eg *inb* ‘‘wall’’ (OK).

ECh **labiʔ*- ‘‘fence’’: Kera *laḫi*.

Metathesis.

Another possible reconstruction is HS **labiʔ*-.

101 *ʔilam- ‘‘skin’’

Eg *inm* ‘‘skin’’ (pyr), Copt **anom* id.: Boh *anom*.

Seems to have no connection with HS **adam*-/**adim*- ‘‘skin’’.

WCh **ʔlam*- ‘‘hide’’: Bade *alm-an*.

Cf. a denominative verb: Bks *lamoʔ*, DB *lamoʔ*, Sha *lamoʔ* ‘‘skin’’ (v.).

102 *ʔilaw-/*ʔilay ‘‘saliva’’

Sem **ilaw*-/**ilay*- ‘‘saliva’’: Akk *illātu*.

ECh **ʔlaw*-/**ʔlay*- ‘‘saliva’’: Mkk *lee*, Mubi *lawe*, Mig *ʔolo*.

Consonantal alternation **-w*- ~ **-y*-.

103 *ʔilik- ‘‘tooth’’

Agaw **ilVk*- ‘‘tooth’’: Bil *ʔalkwi*, *eruk*, Xmr *erək^w*, Xmt *erək^w*, Kwr *yerk^w*, Kem *yərko*, Aw *ərkwⁱ*.

LEC **ilik*- ‘‘tooth’’: Som *ilig*, pl. *ilko*, Bay *ilko*, Rnd *ilko*, Or *ilka*,

Kon *ilga*, Bus *iliča*, Gid *ilit*, Arb *ilk^wa*, Arb *ʔilig*.

Wrz **ilVg*- ‘‘tooth’’: Gaw *əlge*, Gob *əlago*, War *ilge*.

HEC **ilVk*- ‘‘tooth’’: Had *inke*, Bmb *ilkaa*, *irka*, Kmb *inḫu-ta*.

Other HEC forms reflect **in(V)k*-.

Related to **alVk*- ‘‘bite, chew’’. Even though exact correspondences between **l* and other laterals in Cush remain uncertain, cf. Rift **išik*- ‘‘tooth’’ (Kwz *išikuko*). The word for tooth looks like a Cush deverbative innovation and is preserved here because of the HS status of the corresponding verb.

104 *ʔi-maʔ- ‘‘(be) good’’

Eg *imʔ* ‘‘good’’ (pyr).

ECh **maʔi*- ‘‘good’’: Sok *maia*.

**ʔi*- may be a prefix or a part of the root (phonetically lost in ECh).

105 *ᵐimen- “sun, day”

Eg *imny* “Sun-god” (reg).

Initial *t-* stands for HS *ᵐi-.

WCh **myan-* “day”: Mnt *mene*.

CCh **myan-* “day”: Dng *mena*, Mig *me:ne*.

HS *ᵐi- may be a prefix.

106 *ᵐin- “cord, tie”

Eg *iny* “cord” (MK).

Ancient deverbative?

WCh *ᵐin- “tie”: Diri *in*.

CCh *ᵐin- “tie”: Gude ᵐ*in-*, FB ᵐ*iyi-*, FM ᵐ*in-*, FJ ᵐ*in-*.

Secondary -ᵐi- < *-i- in Gude and FB. Note -ᵐ- < *-n- reflect-ing a former shift of the laryngeal.

ECh *ᵐVn-/ᵐVwVn- “tie”: Kera *ən-ti*ⁿ, Kwn *en-tē*, Mig ᵐ*onno*, Sok *una*, Mubi *ewen*, Brg ᵐ*unaayi*.

The vowel in Kwn could point out to ECh *-ya-. Other forms are explained by contraction.

107 *ᵐin- “flow, be wet”

Sem *ᵐin- “spread (of water)”: Arab ᵐ*nn* [-i-].

Imperfect may reflect an original *ᵐin-.

WCh *ᵐVn- “be wet”: Jim *nu*, Tala ᵐ*unu*.

108 *ᵐi-nas- “man”

Sem *ᵐin(a)š- “man”: Hbr ᵐ*nōš*, Aram (Syr) (ᵐ)*naš*, Arab ᵐ*ins-*, SAr ᵐ*ns*, Jib ᵐ*ensi*.

Berb *ᵐinVš- “young man”: Ahg *a-ynəs*.

Agaw *ᵐanVš- “in-law”: Kem *anš-ən*.

By assimilation, from *ᵐinas-.

Derived from HS **nūs*-“man”.

109 *ᵐinawal-/ᵐinayal- “plant”

Eg *inwn* “kind of plant” (med).

ECh *ᵐinayal- “grass”: Mig *nyālu*, Mubi *inālo*.

Both Mig -yā- and Mubi -ā- reflect a contraction of *-aya-.

An ancient composite or a structure with a prefix *ᵐi-?

110 *ᵐind- “eye”

CCh *ᵐVnd- “eye”: Dgh *nde*.

No traces of the original first syllable.

SA *ᵐint- “eyes” (pl.): Saho *intit*, Afar *intit*.

Unvoiced *-t- < HS *-d- is not clear.

LEC *ᵐind- “eye”: Som *inḏo-* (pl.), Rnd *indo*, Arb *iynda*, Gdl *iinda*.

Secondary -ḏ- in Som and Arb?

Derived from *ᵐid- “eye” with a nasal infix.

111 *ᵐi(n)t- “louse”

ECh *ᵐint- “louse”: Dng *itta-*, Jegu ᵐ*int-aato*, Mig *itata*.

Assimilation *-nt- > -tt- in Dng and > -t- in Mig.

Agaw *ᵐant-/ᵐint- “louse”: Aun *inti*, *antii*.

The vowel is fluctuating.

Dhl ᵐ*ittoni*, *ita* “louse”.

Rift *ᵐit- “louse”: Irq *itna* (pl.), Bur *ita*, Alg *ita*, Asa *ita*.

Dhl and Rift either display a specific morphonological variant of the root without infix (*ᵐit-) or are explained from assimilations of *-nt-.

112 *ᵐir- “eye”

Eg *ir.t* “eye” (pyr), Dem *yr.t* id., Copt **yiri* id.: Lyc *ieire*.

WCh *ᵐir-/ᵐyir- “eye”: Pol *yir*, Say *yir*, Grn *yerr*, Kir *yir*, Tala *ge-ir*,

Fyr *yeer*.

*ᵐyir- is a result of further development of *ᵐir-. Note a prefix in Tala.

CCh *ᵐir- “eye”: Lame *iri*, Msm *ir*, Bnn *ira*.

Related to *ᵐir- is a CCh derivative *ᵐaray- “eye” (< *ᵐiray-?):

Bld ᵐ*aray*, Mnj *aray*, Masa *arai*.

ECh *ᵐir- “eye”: Mubi *ir-in*.

113 *ʔiruʔ- “caviar, fish roe”

Sem *ʔiruʔ- “caviar”: Akk *erūtu*.

Eg *lʔr.t* “part of fish” (med).

Metathesis.

Derived from *ʔur- “fish”.

114 *ʔirVy- “stick”

Sem *ʔiry- “twig, stick”¹, “stake”²: Akk *urū*¹, Arab *ʔiry*-².

Cf. also Akk *aru*, *ḥaru* id.

Eg *ʔry.t* “kind of stick” (MK).

Cf. ECh *ʔwar- “stick”: Jegu *ʔorra*. Related to *ʔariw- “tree”?

115 *ʔisVʔ-/ʔisVw- “piece of wood”

Sem *ʔisVʔ- “fir-tree splinter”: Akk *eššeʔu*.

Eg *isw.t* “thick wooden bar” (n).

A cultural *Wanderwort*? Note the consonantal alternation
*w ~ *ʔ.

116 *ʔitah- “pull”

Eg *ith* “pull” (pyr).

Eg *l-* stands for *ʔi-.

CCh *ʔaH- “pull”: LPe *taʔ*, Msm *ta*.

The initial syllable completely lost.

HS *ʔi- may be a prefix.

117 *ʔi(w)- “be, become”

Eg *lw* “be” (pyr).

WCh *ʔi- “become”¹, “be”²: Ang *gʔyi*¹, Bol *i-*^{1 2}.

CCh *ʔya- “become”: Gis *ye-*.

Related to *ʔiw-/ʔiy- “come”, cf. Eng *become* ~ *come*? Note that the original root seems to have a structure CV-, i.e. *ʔi-.

118 *ʔiw-/ʔiy- “come”

Eg *iy*, *lw* “come”, Copt *ʔey id.: Bhr *i*, Shd *ey*.

CCh *ʔiy- “go, come”: Masa *iy*.

Bed *ʔi-* “come”.

LEC *ʔi- “go”: Arb *ʔiʔi-*.

Consonantal alternation of *w ~ *y. Cush data may indicate an earlier form of the root, namely, *ʔi-.

119 *ʔiw-/ʔiy- “jackal, dog”

Sem *ʔiy- “jackal”: Hbr *ʔ*.

Eg *lw* “dog” (MK).

WCh *ʔiy- “dog”: Wrj *iyē-na*.

Suffix in Wrj.

LEC *ʔiy- “wild cat”: Or *iyṽaa*.

Consonantal alternation of *w ~ *y.

120 *ʔor- “vomit”

Sem *ʔrVw- “vomit”: Akk *arū*.

Based on an earlier biconsonantal *ʔVr-.

ECh *ʔwar- “vomit”: Mig *werro*, Mobu *wəre*.

Cf. also Smr *hūrə* reflecting the same root with a prefix.

121 *ʔor- “curse, insult” (v.)

Sem *ʔur- “curse”: Akk *arāru*, Hbr *ʔrr*, Soq *ʔerer*.

Eg *wʔr* “curse” (XXII).

Vocalic w-.

WCh *ʔar- < *ʔwar- “insult, scold”: Wrj *ār-*, Kry *ār-*, Ngz *aru*.

CCh *ʔir- “insult”: Zime *ir*.

Unexpected vocalism.

ECh *ʔwar- “insult”: Dng *ware*.

HEC *ʔar- “be angry, be annoyed”: Sid *aar-*, Dar *aar-*, Bmb *aar-*.

Vocalism of a stative.

122 *ʔorah- “road, way”

Sem *ʔur(a)h- “way”: Akk *ʔurḫu*, *ʔarḫu*, Hbr *ʔōrah*, Aram (Emp,

Palm) ʔrh, (Syr) ʔūrḥā, (Mand) ʕwhrʔ, (Naram) ʔurḥ.
 WCh *ʔwara- < *ʔwaraH- “road”: Sura ar, Ang ar, Ank war, Klr ʔaraw.

*-H- is, probably, preserved as -w- in Klr but lost elsewhere.
 ECh *ʔwar- “road”: Bid ʔoora.

An alternative reconstruction could be *ʔwaHar- with a metathesis and a regular contraction of *-waHa- > Bid -oo-.

HEC *ʔor- “road”: Dar ora.

No traces of the laryngeal.

Rift *ʔuruw- “path, way”: Gor uruwa.

Secondary formation in -uwa. The loss of the laryngeal in Rift is irregular.

123 *ʔow-/ʔoy- “river, tide”

Eg wʔw “tide” (a).

Initial w- is a vowel sign.

ECh *ʔway- “water, river”: Mkk ʔooye.

Certainly connected with WCh *(ʔ)waw- “pour” (Glm waaw-).
 Note the consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

124 *ʔubun- “vessel”

Sem *ʔubun- “vessel”: Akk ubbunu.

CCh *bun-H- “water pot”: Wmd buq.

Metathesis of the laryngeal forming a cluster with *-n-:
 *-nʔ- > -ŋ.

Note LEC *ʔub- “vessel”: Som ubbo.

125 *ʔucok- “temple” (anat.)

Sem *ʔusuk- “temple”: Akk usukku.

Eg sskʔ “temple” (BD).

Initial ss- may reflect *c. -ʔ probably indicates *o, or may be a result of the metathesis.

126 *ʔudun-/ʔušun- “ear”

Sem *ʔudn- “ear”: Akk ʔuzn-, Ug ʔudn, Hbr ʔozen, Aram ʔudnā, (Syr)

ʔednō, (Emp) ʔdn, Arab ʔudn-, SAr ʔdn, Soq ʔidihen, Shr iden, Mhr heydēn, Gz ʔəzn, Tgr ʔəzn, Tgy ʔəzni, Har uzun.

Eg idn “ear” (a).

i- palatalized from *j- under the influence of *-u-.

ECh *ʔudun-H- “ear”: Jegu ʔuduge, Brg uduji.

-ŋ- may be explained by the shift of the laryngeal.

An unexpected *d ~ *ʒ variation in the root.

127 *ʔudur- “heart”

Eg idr “heart” (l).

i- palatalized from *j- under the influence of *-u-.

WCh *ʔudur- “chest”¹, “heart”²: Sura tugur¹, Ang dur^{1 2}.

Sura inlaut -g- is regular. The first syllable is reconstructed on the basis of the anlaut in Sura and Ang.

ECh *dur- “middle”: Lele duro ni.

Dhl duura “gut”.

128 *ʔuf- “body, meat”

Eg iuf, if “flesh” (pyr), “body (med).

Eg -w- indicates HS *u palatalizing the preceding aleph *j- > i-.

CCh *ʔ[u]fwa- “body”: Bud fu, Gis vaa, Mofu vaw, Tera və-də, Gbn fə-tə, Gudu fwa-si.

The initial syllable is lost. Cf. also Kap guva id., Glv vuya id., Zgh vuya id., Mnd vuwa id. If these forms belong to the CCh root, they may continue *γV-ʔufwa- with a prefix *γV-.

129 *ʔug- “burn”

Sem *ʔug- “burn”: Arab ʔgg [-u-].

ECh *ʔig-/ʔug- “burn”¹, “fry”²: Ndm yuga¹, Mig ʔiggo.

Ndm yu- < *ʔu-.

Related to LEC *ʔeg- “fire”: Arb ʔeeg.

130 *ʔukok- “jump, run”

Eg itt “fly” (pyr).

Palatalization of **k* > *ɬ* after labials.

WCh **kwak*- ‘jump, gallop’: Ang *kwok*.

The first syllable completely lost.

ECh **ʔukVk*- ‘run’: Mig *ʔukk*-, Mkk *ʔukke*.

*-*o*- reconstructed on the basis of reflexes in WCh. Cf. Dhl *ʔuk*’- ‘rise’ with emphatic *-k*’-.

131 *ʔum- ‘people’

Sem **ʔumm*- ‘people, clan’: Ug *ʔum-t*, Hbr *ʔummā*, Arab *ʔumm-at*-.
Rift **ʔim*- ‘people’¹, ‘crowd’²: Irq *imi*¹, Alg *imi*², Bur *im-et*¹.

Assimilation of vowels.

132 *ʔun- ‘today’

Eg *in* ‘today’ (BD).

CCh **ʔunya*- ‘today’: Klb *ʔunya*.

133 *ʔunay- ‘meat’

Sem **ʔunVɣ*- ‘kind of meat’: Akk *unū*.

CCh **ʔnay*- ‘meat’: Bld *ne*.

No trace of the first syllable.

134 *ʔup- ‘goat, sheep’

Eg *wɔp* ‘sheep’ (pyr).

w- reflects a labialized vowel after ʔ. However, cf. **ʔup*- ‘strike’.

WCh **ʔup*- ‘she-goat’: Cagu *ufe*.

135 *ʔup- ‘strike’

Eg *ip* ‘blow’ (n.) (MK).

i- < **ɣ*- before *-*u*-.

WCh **ʔup*- ‘strike’: Mnt *wup*.

Secondary initial *w*- in Mnt.

ECh **ʔup*- ‘strike’: Mig *ʔuppo*.

136 *ʔur- ‘day’

Sem **ʔurr*- ‘day’¹, ‘light’²: Akk *urru*¹, *ūru*², Ug *ʔar*-², Hbr *ʔōr*².

CCh **ʔur*- ‘morning’: Gudu *wüř*.

HEC **ʔor*- ‘midday’: Bmb *orra*.

Related to **ʔur*- ‘burn, be hot’.

137 *ʔur- ‘burn, be hot’

Sem **ʔur*- ‘set fire’: Arab *ʔrr* [-*u*-], *ʔry* [-*i*-].

Cf. also Arab *ʔirr-at*- ‘fire’.

ECh **ʔur*- ‘be hot’¹, ‘burn’²: Smr *ʔura*, Bid *ʔoor*, Dng *ʔere*.

Assimilation of vowels in Dng.

SA **ʔur*- ‘burn’: Afar *ur*-.

138 *ʔur- ‘fish’

WCh **ʔur*- ‘kind of fish’: Hs *ūrī*.

ECh **ʔyar*- ‘fish’: Ndam *ere*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Omot **ʔor*- ‘fish’: Shk *or-us*, Gim *oru*, Dime *or-ɣo*.

139 *ʔuril-/ʔurul- ‘reed’

Sem **ʔurul*- ‘reed’: Akk *urullu*.

LEC **ʔulul*- ‘flute’: Or *ulullee*.

Assimilation of liquids.

Omot **ʔuril*- ‘flute’: Mch *urillo*.

An alternative reconstruction is **ʔulul*- (reduplication?). Assimilation of vowels in Sem and LEC?

140 *ʔurüd- ‘vessel’

Sem **ʔurüd*- ‘vessel’: Akk *urīdu*.

WCh **ruʔud*- ‘beer-gourd’: Hs *rūdū*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **ruʔüd*-.

141 *ʔus- “woman”

CCh *ʔus- “woman”: Glv ʔusa.

Agaw *ʔus- “female” (adj.): Bil *us-äri*, Xmr *oos-räy*.

Cf. also Kem *iyusee* “woman” < *ʔi-ʔus-.

Omot *ʔus- “woman having a child”: Ome *uso*.

142 *ʔutal-/ʔutil- “jump”

Sem *ʔVtil- “take short steps”: Arab ʔtl [-i-].

LEC *ʔutal- “jump”: Or *utaala*.

143 *ʔün- “cut”

Eg *inln* “cut” (pyr).

Reduplication of the original *in.

ECh *ʔVn- “cut”: Mubi *iwin*.

An alternative (and less probable) reconstruction is *ʔi-ʔin-.

Since there is a possibility that *-w- in ECh is a secondary development of *ʔ-, the original HS root may be *ʔin-.

144 *ʔür- “belly, stomach”

Sem *ʔir- “breast”: Akk *irtu*, Ug ʔirt.

CCh *ʔur- “stomach”: Msg *ur-ni*.

Cf. also *war- < *ura- “belly”: Mba *war*, Msg *wara*. Reduplication in Log *werwer* “lungs”.

ECh *ʔur- “navel”: Jegu ʔurre.

LEC *ʔur- “belly”: Som *uur-*.

145 *ʔüs- “man”

Sem *ʔiš- “man”: Phn ʔš, Hbr ʔš, Aram ʔš, SAR ʔys.

If not from *ʔin(a)š-.

WCh *wus- < *ʔus- “brother”: Siri *wuši*, Jmb *wuša*.

CCh *ʔus- “man”: Mba *wus*, Msg *us*, *wus*.

HEC *ʔos- “child, boy”: Sid *osoo*, Dar *ose* (pl.), Had *oos-ičo*, Kmb *osoo*.

Cf. Agaw *ʔas- “man” (Xmr *aasaw*) and Omot *ʔas- “man” (Ome *asa*, Mch ʔašo) with a different root vowel. It is possible

that these forms belong to a different root including also WCh *ʔas- “grandfather”: Fyer ʔās.

146 *ʔVcup- “gather, harvest”

Sem *ʔVsVp- “gather, collect”¹, “harvest” (v.)²: Akk *esēpu*^{1 2},

Ug ʔasp¹, Hbr ʔsp^{1 2}, Aram (Palest) ʔasap².

ECh *ʔVsup- “harvest” (v.): Tum *sub*.

Tum vocied -b is regular.

147 *ʔVgor- “chew”

Sem *ʔVgVr- “chew”: Arab ʔgr.

ECh *gwar- “chew”: Sbn *gwəṛə*, Tob *gure*.

No traces of the first syllable.

Initial *ʔV- may be a prefix.

148 *ʔVkul- “eat”

Sem *ʔVkul- “eat”: Akk *akālu*, Ug ʔakl, Phn ʔkl, Hbr ʔkl, Aram (Emp) ʔkl, (Syr) ʔekal, (Mand) *akal*, Arab ʔkl [-u-].

Derived from this root are Gz ʔəkl “food”, Tgr ʔəkal “grain”, Amh ʔəhəl id.

WCh *kal- < *kaʔVL- “food”: Hs *kālāčī*.

Secondary derivative in -čī in Hs. Metathesis.

149 *ʔVl- “be exhausted”

Sem *ʔVlVw- “be unable, be incapable”: Arab ʔlw [-u-].

Based on *ʔVL-.

LEC *ʔel- “exhaustion”: Or *eelaa*.

Nominal derivative.

150 *ʔVles- “deceive”

Sem *ʔVliš- “deceive”: Arab ʔls [-i-].

CCh *lyas- “deceive, lie”: Msg *leš*.

ECh *las- < *lyasa- “deceive, lie”: Mobu *lase*, Ngam *lase*.

HS *ʔV- may be a prefix or a part of the root lost in CCh and ECh for phonological reasons.

151 *ᵛNIḥ- “breath; breathe”

Sem *ᵛNIḥ- “sigh”¹, “moan”²: Akk *anāḥu*^{1 2}, Ug *ʾanḥ*¹, Hbr *ʾnḥ*², Aram (Syr) *ʾenah*², Arab *ʾnḥ* [-i-]¹.

Eg *nḥw.t* “soul” (n).

A deverbative formation reflecting **nuḥ*-. Related to Eg *inḥ* “live”?

Initial *ᵛV- may be a prefix.

152 *ᵛVrVg- “plait, weave; mat”

Sem *ᵛVrVg- “plait, weave”: Hbr *ʾrg*.

Cf. Pun *ʾrg* “weaver”.

WCh **rag*- “net”¹, “thread”²: Hs *rāgā*¹, Krf *rogħo*².

Secondary -o- in the first syllable in Krf. No traces of the initial laryngeal.

153 *ᵛSuk- “dwell”

Eg *isk* “linger” (XVIII), Copt *ᵛ*ōsk* id.: Ahm *ōsk*, Boh *ōsk*, Sd *ōsk*.

WCh **suki*- “sit”¹, “rest”²: Bol *siki*¹, Paa *siki*¹, Pol *šak*¹, Gej *šuki*², Brw *suk*¹, Dwot *suk*¹.

Initial *ᵛV- may be a prefix.

*b

154 *ba²- “father”

Berb **ba*²- “father, owner, master”: Kby *βa*.

CCh **ba*²- “father”: Log *bā*.

An onomatopoeia.

155 *ba²- “bush, tree”

Eg *bʾ.t* “bush” (a), Copt **bu* id.: Akh *bou*, Boh *bō*.

WCh **ba*²- “tree”: Ang *bau*, Krk *ḥa*, Tng *ḥau*.

ḥ- in Krk and Tng reflects a lost laryngeal.

CCh **bwaH*- < **baH*- “bush”: Gis *ḥoh*.

*-*wa*- < *-*a*- after a labial. Note an unexpected laryngeal. Initial emphatic is caused by a laryngeal.

SA **bah*- “wood”: Afar *bahoo*.

Note an irregular laryngeal.

CCh and SA may belong to a specific variant or a different word **bah*- id.

156 *ba²-/*baw- “(gourd) vessel”

CCh **ba*²- “pot”¹, “calabash”²: Tera *ḥo*¹, Gudu *ḥa*².

ḥ- in Tera and Gudu reflects a lost laryngeal.

Agaw **baw*- “gourd bottle”: Xmr *baw*, *bawa*.

Note a consonantal alternation *-ᵛ ~ *-w-.

157 *ba²-/*baw-/*bay “walk, go”

Sem **bū*²- “go, come”¹, “enter”², “return”³: Akk *bāḫu*¹, Ug *ba*^{2 3}, Phn *b*², Hbr *b(w)*^{2 3}, Arab *bu*² [-u-]³, SAr *bu*^{2 3}, Gz *bo*^{2 a}, Tgr *bā*^{2 a}, Tgy *bo*^{2 e}, Hrr *bō*^{2 a}.

Based on biliteral **bVw*- or **bV*²-.

Berb **bVy*- “drive, bring”¹, “come”²: Ghd *əbbi*¹, Siwa *əbba*¹, Ayr *huii-ət*¹, Twl *huii-ət*¹, Ahg *əhi*¹, Tsl *ihai*².

Berb **b*- > **β*- yielding to *h*- under not quite certain conditions.

Eg *by*² “go away” (pyr).

Vocalic -ᵛ.

WCh **ba*²-/**baw*- “return”¹, “go”², “come”³: Sura *bā*¹, Mnt *ba*¹, Ang *be*¹, Dera *bə*², Wrj *buw*³, Kry *ba*⁻², Diri *mbu*³, Miya *ba*⁻², Cagu *ba*⁻², Mbu *ba*⁻², Jmb *bo*⁻³, Klr *bo*³.

Wrj, Diri and Jmb seem to reflect **baw*-. Note prefix **mV*- in Diri.

CCh **ba*²-/**baw*-/**bay* “go”¹, “come”², “go away”³, “follow”⁴: Tera *ḥa*², Gaa *aḥi*², Gbn *bei*¹, Hwn *bai*¹, Mrg *ḥu*¹, Wmd *ba*², Gis *be*³, Daba *va*¹, Bch *bəy*⁴, Masa *ba*², Bana *bəwə*², Boka *ḥe-di*³.

Cf. also Chb *bi-ti* “return” that may go back to **bay*-.

ECh **ba*²-/**baw*-/**bay* “accompany”¹, “come”², “enter”³, “go”⁴: Tob *be*¹, Kera *bi*², Mobu *baye*³, Mubi *ḥa*, *ḥow*⁴, Sok *bā*, *bē*⁴.

Bed *bay*- ‘go’.

SA *ba²- ‘go away’: Afar *ba²*-.
 LEC *ba²- ‘go out’: Or *ba²*-.
 Related to Som *baḥ*- id. with a different laryngeal?

HEC *ba²- ‘go away, go out’: Sid *ba*-, Had *ba²e*, Bmb *ba²*-.
 Dhl *be*- ‘go’.

From *bay-?

Omot *ba²- ‘go’: Om *baa*-.
 Rift *baw- ‘follow’: Asa *bow-at*-.
 Secondary -o- in Asa.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-. Forms in *-y and
 *-w may reflect earlier *ba²i- and *ba²u-.

158 *ba²-/*bi²- ‘hole, pit’

Sem *bi²- ‘hole’: Akk *bi²u*.
 Berb *bV- ‘irrigation ditch’: Siwa *ta-ba*.
 Eg *bṣḃṣ* ‘hole’ (pyr), *bṣṣ* ‘snake’s hole’ (pyr), *bṣy.w* ‘hole’ (n).
 Reduplication. The form *bṣy.w* seems to display a front vowel
 in the root.

WCh *ba²- ‘hole’: Krf *boyo*, Tng *ba*.
 LEC *bo²- ‘furrow’: Or *bo²oo*.
 Secondary rounded vowel after a labial.

Dhl *ḥooiwi* ‘nostril, small hole’.
 From *ba²aw-?

Rift *ba²- ‘pit’: Irq *ba²i*, Bur *ba²a*.
 Alternation *a ~ *i.

159 *ba²-/*bu²- ‘dig, hoe’

Eg *bṣ* ‘hoe’ (v.) (OK).
 WCh *bu²- ‘dig, bury’: Klr *buy*, Sha *bu*.
 Final -y in Klr is not very clear. Probably, Klr *buy* < *bui <
 *bu²i.

GCh *ba²- ‘dig’: Log *ba*.
 Alternation *a ~ *u. Related to *ba²-/*bi²- ‘hole, pit’.

160 *ba²as- ‘be rotten, be bad’

Sem *bV²aš- ‘be rotten’¹, ‘be poor’²: Hbr *bš²*¹, Arab *bš²*
 [-a-]².
 WCh *ba²as- ‘stink’ (n.)¹, ‘bad’²: Hs *bāšī*¹, Dirī *ḥāsā*², Paa
*basā-n*², Cagu *baši-n*².
 The intervocalic laryngeal is reflected in the Hs lengthening
 and, in particular, in the Dirī initial emphatic.

Agaw *bas- ‘be bad’: Aun *bas-ən*.
 LEC *ba²as- ‘spoiled, rotten’: Som *baas*.
 HEC *buš- ‘bad’: Sid *buša*.
 Secondary vocalism?

161 *ba²uc- ‘fill’

WCh *ba²Vc- ‘fill to the brim’: Hs *bāḡe*.
 *-c- > Hs -ḡ- is regular.

LEC *bV²us- ‘fill up’: Or *buusa*.
 162 *ba²uc- ‘vessel’

162 *ba²uc- ‘vessel’

Eg *bṣs* ‘wine vessel’ (sarc).
 ECh *ba²us- ‘pot’: Sbn *ḥasa*, Smr *busa*, Ndm *ḥas*, Gbr *basā*, Kbl
besā.
 Smr and Ndm ḥ- reflect the inlaut laryngeal.

Derived from *ba²uc- ‘fill’.

163 *ba²us- ‘be strong’

Sem *bV²uš- ‘be strong’: Arab *bš²* [-u-].
 ECh *basu²- ‘be strong’: Gbr *basua*.
 Metathesis. Or from *ba-sua*?

164 *ba²Vr-/bu²Vr- ‘well, pit’

Sem *bu²r- ‘pit, well, hole’: Akk *būr*-, Phn *bṛ*, Moab *br*, Hbr *bōr*,
 Arab *bu²r-at*-, SAR *bṛ*, Gur *bṵṛ*.
 *-u- < HS *-u- before -²-.

LEC *boHVr- ‘pit’: Som *boor*.

Secondary vowel after a labial?

Related to *bu³ar- ‘dig’. Cf. *bar- ‘ditch’.

165 *bab- ‘father’

Sem *bāb- ‘father’¹, ‘grandfather’²: Aram (Syr) bābā¹, Arg bā-ba², Hrr bāb, bābā², Soq bāba¹.

Berb *bab- ‘father’¹, ‘owner, master’²: Nfs bābā¹, Ghat bab¹, Zng baba¹, Sml baba¹, Rif βaβa¹, Izn bab², Snh bāba¹, Kby βaβa^{1 2}.

At least partly borrowed from Sem.

WCh *bab- ‘father’: Hs bāba, Ang baba, Krk babo, Ngz baba.

CCh *bab- ‘father’: Tera baba, Gbn babu, Gis baba, Bud bābei.

ECh *bab- ‘father’: Mubi bāba.

Bed baaba ‘father’.

LEC *a-bab- ‘father’: Or ababo.

May be also treated as a reduplication of HS *ab-: *ab-³ab-.

Omot *bab- ‘father’: Gim babe.

Rift *bab- ‘father’: Irq baba.

An onomatopoeia. Probably, a reduplication of *ba³- ‘father’.
Some of the above forms may be borrowed from one branch into another.

166 *bab- ‘child’

Sem *bāb- ‘infant’: Akk bāb-.

ECh *bab- ‘son’: Mubi bobu.

LEC *bab- ‘child’: Or baabuu.

An onomatopoeia. Sem and LEC may indicate an inlaut laryngeal. Cf. *bab- ‘father’.

167 *bab-/bib- ‘shoulder’

Eg bb.wy ‘collar-bones’ (dual.) (med).

WCh *bi-bi- ‘back’: Krf bībi.

CCh *bi-bi- ‘shoulder’: Bud bībi.

Bed baba ‘shoulder, armpit’.

LEC *bob- < *b[a]-ba- ‘armpit’: Or boba.

HEC *bob- < *b[a]-ba- ‘armpit’: Dar boba, Bmb boba, bobaa.

Omot *bV-b[i]- ‘armpit’: Mch babbiiho.

Descriptive stem with a reduplication and irregular vocalism.
Cf. *bay- ‘back, hump’.

168 *baç- ‘coal’

Sem *bašš- ‘coal’: Arab bašš-at-.

WCh *hic- < *baçi- ‘coal’: Ank his.

WCh may also reflect an original *hic-.

169 *baçaḳ-/baçuḳ- ‘expectorate’

Sem *bVṣuḳ- ‘expectorate’: Arab bṣq [-u-].

Agaw *baçaḳ- ‘expectorate’: Bil baçaḳ-.

170 *baĉa^c- ‘tear off, break off’

Sem *bVṣV^c- ‘tear off’¹, ‘pierce’²: Tgr bṣ^c¹, Tgy bṣ^c², Amh bāssa².

WCh *baHaĉ- ‘break off’: Hs ḥāsā.

Metathesis.

Note Rift *baṣ- ‘field cleared and dug up for cultivation’: Irq baṣa.

171 *bad- ‘separate’

Sem *bud- ‘take away’¹, ‘separate’², ‘disperse’³: Ug bd¹, Hbr bdd², Aram (Emp) bdd³, Arab bdd [-u-]², Hss abdōd, Mhr abdēd, Shh ebded.

Secondary *-u-.

HEC *bad- ‘separate’: Sid bad-.

Omot *bad- ‘split, cut (wood)’: Kaf bad, Mch badda-.

172 *bada³- ‘begin’

Sem *bVda³- ‘begin, create’: Arab bd³ [-a-], Jib bede³, Soq bede³, Shr bde³, Hss bedō.

Berb *bVd- ‘begin’: Kby əβdu.

WCh *badV³- ‘begin’: Ngz badii-tu.

ECh *bada²- ‘begin’: Mubi *badā*.
May be borrowed from Sem.

173 *bag- ‘goat, sheep’

Berb *bag-/*bagag ‘calf’¹, ‘lamb’², ‘ram’³: Nfs *byu*¹, Ayr *a-bagag*³, Ahg *a-bayuy*², Twl *a-bagag*³.

Partial reduplication in most languages.

CCh *bag- ‘sheep’: Gude *baga*, FJ *bəga*, FBw *bəgə-n*, Bch *m-baga-te*, FM *bəgə*.

ECh *bag- ‘goats’ (pl.): Sbn *bage*.

Agaw *bag-/*big- ‘sheep’: Bil *bägga*, Xmr *bega*, Xmt *biga*, Kwr *baga*, Kem *bäga*.

The variant in *-i- may be of no morphonological significance.
Omot *bag- ‘sheep’: Kaf *bagee*, Bwo *baggoo*.

174 *bag- ‘tiredness’

Eg *bjgy* ‘be tired’ (pyr), *bg^c* ‘weariness’ (l).

-^c in the late form is of no importance for the historical phonology of the word. -y in the anlaut may reflect a suffix (*-ay-).

WCh *bag- ‘fatigue, sickness’: Tng *bog-*.

Tng -o- is a regular continuant of *-a-.

Connected with *bag- ‘be angry’.

175 *bag- ‘be angry’

Eg *nbđ* ‘angry’ (OK).

Palatalization of *g > d may be explained by preceding HS *e or *o. Note prefix *nV-.

ECh *bag-ay- ‘be angry’: Mobu *bagay*, Ngm *bagaye*.

176 *bag- ‘pierce’

Sem *bag- ‘pierce’: Arab *bgg* [-a-, -u-].

Berb *bVg- ‘pierce’: Twl *a-beg*, Sml *i-bgu*.

177 *bag-/*bagVy- ‘(gourd) vessel’

Berb *bagVy- ‘plate’: Snh *ta-bagi-t*.

Eg *bđ*, *bđj* ‘pot’ (OK).

Vocalic -j. Note the palatalization of *-g-.

CCh *bayVg- ‘gourd’: Log *m-boigo*, Afd *beiga*.

Metathesis from *bagVy-.

An alternative reconstruction is *bayVg-.

178 *bağ- ‘fear’ (n.)

ECh *hag- ‘fear’: Mubi *haga*.

From *bağ-. Emphatic h- in Mubi is due to the influence of HS *-ğ-.

Agaw *bak- ‘horror, fright’: Bil *bağaağaa*.

LEC *bağ- ‘fear’: Som *bağa*.

A normal reflex of HS *-ğ- is LEC *-c-. In the present case, -ğ- may indicate a loanword.

179 *ba^c- ‘dirt, mud’

CCh *ba- ‘dirt’: Tera *ba*, Daba *buba*, Mus *bəba*.

Reduplication in Daba and Mus.

Rift *ba^c- ‘mud’: Irq *ba^ca*.

An ancient deverbative form? Cf. Dhl *baa^c-* ‘defecate’.

180 *ba^c- ‘pour’

Sem *bV^c- ‘rain’ (v.): Arab *b^{cc}*.

Eg *b^chy* ‘pour’ (pyr).

Cf. *b^{cc}* ‘drink (blood)’ (gr). The stem seems to be based on Proto-Eg *b^c.

WCh *ba^c- ‘pour’: Cagu *va-*, *vo-*, Mbu *vay*, *vaw*.

ECh *bwa(y)- ‘pour’: Smr *bo*, Kbl *bəyi*, Mkk *buuye* (perf.), Lele *boy*.
*bwa(y)- < *bwaH(i)-. Secondary labialization of HS *a > *wa after *b.

Cf. Dhl *bu²-* id. and Rift *bu²- id. (Alg *bu²-*) with a different laryngeal.

181 *ba^ʕar “catch”

Sem *bV^ʕVr- “catch (fish, birds)”, ¹, “fish” (v.) ²: Akk ba^ʕaru ¹,
Soq b^ʕr ².

WCh *baHar- “catch, take”: Sura *ḥeer*.

182 *ba^ʕil- “man”

Sem *ba^ʕl- “husband, master”: Akk bēlu, Ug b^ʕl, Phn b^ʕl, Pun b^ʕl,
Hbr ba^ʕal, Aram (Epigr) b^ʕl, Arab ba^ʕl-, SAr b^ʕl, Shr ba^ʕl, Soq ba^ʕl,
Mhr bāl, Gz ba^ʕal, Tgr ba^ʕl, Amh bal.

CCh *bVl- “man”: Log bəlo, Gul bel-ewe.

Derivative in *-aw- in Gul.

SA *bal- “father-in-law”: Saho ballaa, Afar ballaa.

LEC *Hobol- “relative”: Or obbolaa.

Metathesis and secondary labialization of vowels under the in-
fluence of *-b-.

HEC *beHil- “master” ¹, “friend” ²: Sid biilo ¹, Bmb beeli ².

Vocalism may be archaic and reflecting *baHil-.

183 *ba^ʕür- “bull”

Sem *ba^ʕir- “bull” ¹, “young bull” ², “camel” ³, “ox” ⁴: Akk
bīru ^{1 2}, Hbr b^ʕir ¹, Aram b^ʕirā ¹, Arab ba^ʕir- ³, SAr b^ʕr ³, Gz
b^ʕr-awi ⁴, Tgr b^ʕar-ay ⁴, Tgy b^ʕaray ⁴, Amh bäre ⁴, Arg bara ⁴,
Hrr ba^ʕara ⁴, Gur bawra ⁴, Soq be^ʕer ³, Mhr beyr ³.

WCh *bar- “ram” ¹, “bull” ²: Cagu barē-n ¹, Gera bara ².

CCh *bar- “bull”: Bud baru.

ECh *bur- < *bVHur- “bull”: Mkk buru.

Bed be^ʕraay “bull”.

Derivative in *-ay-.

Agaw *bir- < *bVHir- “bull”: Bil biiraa, Xmr biiraa, Xmt biraa,
Kwr biira, Aun birii, Dam berii.

SA *ba^ʕer- “bull”: Saho be^ʕer, Afar ba^ʕeraa.

HEC *ba^ʕor- “oryx, bull”: Had baara, Kmb bora.

Omot *bV^ʕor- “bull”: Ome booraa.

Omot *o < HS *ü.

Dhl ḥi^ʕira “water-buck”.

Maybe related to Berb *barar- “she-camel” (Zng ta-barār-t).

184 *ba^ʕVL- “be able”

Sem *bV^ʕVL- “rule, sway”: Hbr b^ʕl.

ECh *baHVL- “can”: Lele ḥal, Kbl ḥal.

Cf. Rift *bel- “be, become” (Kwz bel-)? Related to *ba^ʕil-
“man”. Sem may be a denominative.

185 *bah[ü]l- “pit, well”

Berb *baw[i]l- “pit (made in search of a well)”: Twl bawel.

From *baH(w)il-??

ECh *bal- “well”: Smr bəla, Tum bal, Ndam bal, Sok bal.

LEC *bahol- “hole, pit, well”: Som bahol, bahul, Or booll.

HEC *baHVL- “hole” ¹, “ravine” ², “precipice” ³: Sid baallee ¹,

Had balle, ballee ², Kmb balliyaa ³.

Wrz *pVHol- “well”: Dob ḥoolle.

186 *baḥal- “wild animal”

Sem *bVḥVL- “fierce animal”: Aram (Pehl) bḥl.

LEC *baḥal- “wild animal” ¹, “lion” ²: Som bahal ¹, Rnd baḥaši ².

Rnd goes back to baḥal-ti with -š- < *-lt-.

Cf. in CCh: Mnd ḡuḥula, Glv ḡuḥula “leopard” from ḡu-bVHVL-.

187 *baḥar- “choose”

Sem *bVḥVr- “choose”: Akk bēru, beḥēru, Hbr bḥr, Aram (Palest)
b^ʕhar, SAr bḥr.

ECh *baHar- “choose”: Sbn ḥər, Lele bāar, Kera vere, Kwn pari.

188 *baḥar-/baḥir- “cut, tear”

Sem *bVḥar- “cultivate, cut (camel’s ear)”: Arab bḥr [-a-].

Berb *bVHVr- “pinch and turn”: Kby βe^ʕē^ʕ.

From Arab?

WCh *baHar- “cut”: Tng bər, Glm ḥar-.

Dhl ḥiir- “cut grass, mow”.

Assimilation of vowels from *baḥir-.

189 *baḥ-/*biḥ- “burn, be hot”

Eg *bḥḥ* “burn” (reg).

Partial reduplication.

WCh **baH-* “hot”: Paa *bubau*, Grn *baʔa*.

Partial reduplication in Paa. The root vowel may be secondary.

CCh **bVH-bVH-* “hot”: Gbn *ḥeḥe*, Boka *ḥweḥwe*, Hwn *ḥiḥa-t*.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

ECh **biHwa-* “roast”: Mig *biyyu*, Sbn *ḥwə*.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

190 *baḥül- “leg”

Berb **baḥil-* “camel’s leg”: Izy *aḥil*.

CCh **baHul-* “thigh”: Tera *boli*, Bnn *ḥala*, Masa *ḥala-mo*, Msg *bul*.

191 *baḥuy- “be good”

Sem **bVḥuy-* “be beautiful”: Arab *bḥy* [-*u*].

CCh **bayVH-* “good”: Zime *ḥayʔ*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **bayuḥ-*. Note Rift **boʕ-* “better, superior” (Alg *boʕ*) with a different laryngeal.

192 *baHal- “horn”

WCh **baHal-um-* “horn”: Mnt *bulu*, Grk *ḥəl*, Bol *ḥoolu-m*, Krk *ḥeelə-m*, Dera *ḥili*, Tng *ḥəl*, Ngm *ḥalu-m*, Maha *bele-m*, Glm *balu*.

ḥ- in several languages reflects a lost intervocalic laryngeal.

Note a suffix of body parts *-*um-*.

Omot **baHal-* “horn”: Dime *bal-tu*, Gll *baali*.

193 *baHur- “thread, band”

CCh **mV-bar-* “thread”: Masa *mbaro*.

Prefix **mV-*. Note that in forms with prefixes, traces of laryngeals and contraction of -*VHV-* patterns are usually lost.

ECh **baHur-* “thread”: Kwn *ba:ru*, Jegu *burre*.

SA **bōr-* < **bVHor-* “loin-cloth”¹, “band”²: Saho *bor*¹, Afar *booruu*¹, *boor*².

Omot **būr-* < **bVHur-* “belt”: Kaf *buuroo*, Mch *buro*.

194 *bak- “squeeze, strike”

Sem **buk-* “squeeze”¹, “tear”²: Hbr *b(w)k*¹, Arab *bkk* [-*u*]^{1 2}.

Secondary *-*u-*.

Berb **bVḥ-* “strike, pound”: Tua *bakkat*.

Eg *bk* “kill (with a sword)” (gr).

CCh **bak-* “strike, beat”: Mnd *bak*.

SA **bak-* “destroy”: Afar *bak*.

ECh **ḥak-* < **HV-bak-* “push” (Bid *ḥak*) may be related to this root. Note also Dhl *ḥakk-eeḥ-* “kindle (fire)” ← * “strike”.

195 *bakaʔ- “be pregnant”

Sem **bVkaʔ-* “have little milk”: Arab *bkaʔ* [-*a*].

Note an interesting semantic shift * “be pregnant” → “be unable to suckle a child”.

Eg *bkaʔ* “become pregnant” (MK).

SA **bak-* “be born”: Saho *bak*, Afar *bak*.

A resultative derived from the main root.

LEC **baʔak-* “not giving much milk”: Or *baakkuu*.

196 *bakVr- “young animal”

Sem **bakr-* “young camel”: Akk *bakru*, Hbr *beker*, Arab *bakr-*, SAR *bkr*, Mhr *bōker*, Shr *okrit*, Hss *bōker*.

Berb **bVḥVr-* “lamb”¹, “kid”²: Ayr *e-bakar*¹, Ahg *e-bəkar*¹, Twl *e-bakar*¹, Sml *a-bukir*².

197 *baḥ- “insect”

Sem **bakk-* “midget”¹, “bug”²: Akk *baqqu*¹, Aram (Palest) *baqqā*², Arab *baqq-*², Hss *beḳket*².

WCh **baḥwa-/baḥya* “cockroach”¹, “scorpion”²: Bks *buko*¹, Fyer *ḥakya-n*².

Note the shift of emphatization in Fyer: **baḥya-* > *ḥakya-*.

198 *bak- “baldness”

Berb *bak- “hair disease”: Ahg *ta-haya*.

Agaw *bak(u)- “baldness”¹, “bald”²: Bil *bak^w*¹, Aun *boxu*².

SA *bak- “bald spot”: Saho *boka*, Afar *boka*.

-ɔ- < *-a- after a labial.

This root is probably reflected in Sem *bahaḳ- “herpes; white patches on the skin” (Aram *buhq*-, Arab *bahaq*-, Gz *bōq*, Jib *bhəḳ*) with a secondary inlaut laryngeal.

199 *bak- “pour, flow”

Sem *buk- “pour out”¹, “rain” (v.)²: Hbr *bqq*¹, Arab *bqq* [-u-]².

Secondary *-u-.

Berb *bVḳ- “soak”¹, “contain (liquid)”²: Kby *əbbəy*¹, Ahg *a-həy*².

ECh *ḥwak- < *bak- “rain (v.)”¹, “ooze”²: Mubi *ḥok*¹, Bid *ḥok*².

Note the shift of emphatization.

Agaw *bakw- “flow”: Kwr *boy^w*-, *bov*-.

Cf. derivatives in Kem *buk^w-ana* “rain” (v.), Bil *bəḳ^w-ana* “cloud”.

LEC *bak- “flow”: Or *baq*-.

200 *bak- “cut, split”

Sem *bVḳ- “split”: Arab *bqq*, Gz *bqq*.

WCh *ḥak- < *ba(Ha)ḳ- “cut”¹, “split”², “divide”³: Sura *ḥak*³, Ang *bak*¹, Fyr *bak*², Bks *ḥak*².

Shift of emphatization.

CCh *ḥak- < *ba(Ha)ḳ- “cut”: Dgh *ḥaka*.

Shift of emphatization.

LEC *baḳaḳ- “tear”: Or *baqaqa*.

Partial reduplication.

Wrz *paḳ- “chop”: Gaw *paqq-as*-.

201 *bak- “look, see”

Sem *bVḳ- “examine”¹, “look”²: Aram *bəqā*¹, Arab *bqw* [-u-].

Various trilateral structures built on the basis of *bVḳ-.

Eg *bɔḳ* “see, notice” (l).

Here, -ɔ- is a sign for a vowel.

WCh *bak- “look for”: Bgh *bak*.

LEC *bek- “observe”¹, “know”²: Som *beeq*¹, Or *beeka*².

HEC *beḳḳ- “know”: Bmb *beeh*-, *beek*-.

Omot *bak-/bek- “see”¹, “know”²: Ome *biḳ*¹, Kaf *beḳḳ*²,

Mch *baḳḳi*¹, Anf *beḳ*¹, Bwo *beḳ*¹, Gim *beḳ*-, *bek*¹.

Vocalism *-e- is a Cush innovation.

202 *bak-/buk- “run”

CCh *bak- “drive”: Dgh *baka*, Mnd *ʾabaka*.

Berb *bVḳVy- “hurry, hasten”: Kby *bbuqqi*.

Based on *bVḳ-.

Eg *bḳ* “run” (pyr).

Agaw *buk- “run away”: Aun *buk*-, *buk*-.

SA *buk- “running away”: Saho *buka*, *bukaa*.

LEC *bak- “run away”: Som *baqa-d*-, Or *baqa*, Arb *baqa-d*-.

HEC *bak- “flee”: Dar *bak-at*-, Bmb *baka-d*-.

Alternation *a ~ *u. Probably, connected with Sem *bVḳaḳ- “go away” (Arab *bqḳ* [-a-]).

203 *bak-/buk- “gourd bottle”

Sem *bak-būḳ- “bottle”: Hbr *baqbūq*, Aram (Syr) *bagbūgā*.

Reduplication.

WCh *ku-bak- “clay gourd”: Gera *kubaako*.

Prefix *ku-.

Agaw *bakw- “gourd bottle”: Xmr *baw*, *bawa*, Kem *bəywa*.

LEC *buk- “gourd”: Or *buqe*.

HEC *buk- “gourd”: Dar *bukke*.

Irregular *-kk-.

Omot *bukḳ- “gourd”: Kaf *bukḳoo*, Mch *bukḳo*.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

204 *bal- “eye, eyelid; blind”

Berb *bVl- “eyelash”¹, “eyelid”²: Sgr *a-blu*¹, Mzab *a-bil*¹,

Snus *a-bəl*², Snh *abel*².

Eg *br* “both eyes” (gr), Copt *belle “blind”: Bhr *belle*, Shd *bolle*.

LEC *ball- “one-eyed”: Or *ballaa*.

HEC *ball- “blind”: Sid *ball-icca*, Dar *balla'a*, Bmb *balla'a*.

205 *bal- “wing, feather”

Sem *nu-ball- “eagle's feather”: Akk *nuballu*.

Prefix *nu- (probably, from *mu-, see below).

SA *bal- “feather”: Afar *bal*.

LEC *bal- “wing”: Som *baal*, Or *baala*, Bay *baale*, Kon *balla*.

HEC *ball- “feather”: Sid *balle*, Had *balla'e*, Bmb *baalle*.

Omot *bal- “feather”: Kaf *baaloo*.

Probably, related to CCh *mV-bal- “arm, shoulder” (Log *m-phala*, Gul *m-bala*) and WCh *bV-bal- id. (Sura *bāl*, Ang *bāl*, Krk *bebalia*, Bks *bāl*). If this connection is valid, a form with a prefix *mV- (dissimilated in Sem and assimilated in WCh) should be reconstructed.

206 *bal- “cloud, sky”

CCh *bal- “sky”¹, “cloud”²: Glv *balabala*¹, Log *bəlukwi*².

Suffix -*kwi* in Log. Reduplication in Glv.

Bed *bal* “cloud”.

For the semantic development cf. Skt *nabhas*- “cloud” ~ Av *nabah*- “sky”.

207 *balag-/ *balug- “shine”

Sem *bVlug- “shine”¹, “dawn” (v.)²: Hbr *blg*¹, Arab *blg* [-u]².

LEC *balag- “shine, sparkle”: Or *balag*.

Cf. a deverbative in Som *bilig* “sparkling”.

208 *bala^c- “eat, swallow”

Sem *bVla^c- “swallow”¹, “eat”²: Hbr *bl^c*¹, Aram (Mand) *bla*¹, Arab *bl^c* [-a-]¹, Gz *bal^ca*², Tgr *bāl^ca*², Tgy *bāl^ce*², Amh *bälla*², Hss *bōla*, Mhr *bōla*, Shh *bela^c*.

Agaw *balV^c- “eat”: Bil *bəl^c*.

Agaw may be borrowed from Sem. Bil -ə- may reflect *-a-.

209 *balaḲ- “stone”

Sem *balaḲ- “marble”¹, “limestone”²: Arab *balag*¹, SAr *blq*², Gz *balag*¹.

WCh *bVlak- “stone”: Hs *ta-blaka*.

Unexpected non-emphatic *k. Prefix *ta-.

CCh *palaḲ- “stone”: Lmn *palak*.

Irregular development of HS *b- > CCh *p-.

210 *ban- “field”

Eg *bn.t* “field” (n).

WCh *ḡun- < *Hu-ban- “field”: Hs *ḡunā*, Sura *bon*.

Prefix *Hu-. Cf. a partial reduplication in Bks *bibin* “garden”.

LEC *ban- “open space, plain”: Som *ban*.

211 *ban- “hand, arm”

Sem *bann- “finger”: Arab *bann*-, *bunn*-.

WCh *ban-H- “arm”: Brm *baṅ-li*, Fyr *beṅ*.

A laryngeal suffix.

CCh *bin- “arm”: Tera *bən*, Jara *binna*.

Vocalism is not clear.

212 *ban- “open”

WCh *ban- “open, uncover”: Hs *banye*.

CCh *ban-H-/*byan-H- “open”: Mofu *baṅ*, *beṅ*.

ECh *bVn-H- “open”: Kera *biṅi*.

LEC *ban- “open”: Or *bana*.

Alternation *a ~ *i. A laryngeal suffix in CCh and ECh.

213 *bar- “child”

Sem *bar- “son”: Aram *bar*, SAr *brw*, Shh *ber*, Mhr *ber*, Soq *bar*, Hss *ber*.

Berb *barar- “son”: Ayr *a-barar*, Ahg *a-burir*, Twl *barar*.

Partial reduplication. Irregular vocalism in Ahg.

WCh *bar-/*byar- “young girl”¹, “child”²: Hs *bēra*¹, Ang *par*²,

Glm *baryawa*¹.

Hs indicates *e in the 1st syllable.

214 *bar- “man”

WCh *(mV-)bar- “person”: Glm *mbər* (pl.), Gera *bar-mi*, Zul *mbar-me*, Geji *mbali-ŋ*, Paa *m-barə-ŋ*, Mbu *bar-gi*.

Cf. Hs *bārē* “stranger”, Paa *mbarə-ŋ* id.

CCh *-bwar- “man, person”: Gis *mburo*, Bch *ɸwara*.

Secondary labialization of the root vowel. Individual forms contain prefixes *mV- and *HV-.

ECh *bar- “man, person”: Gbr *barua*, Dor *bara*, Ndam *bər*.

SA *bar- “man”: Afar *barra*.

Related to *bar- “child” (cf. “human being” = “human child” in early Near and Middle Eastern traditions)?

215 *bar- “take”

Berb *bVr- “take (in handfuls)”: Tua *a-bər*.

CCh *mV-bwar- “seize, grasp”: Suk *mbwəř*.

*-wa- may be explained by the influence of the preceding labial consonant.

Bed *bari* “get, collect, have”.

SA *bar- “grasp, hold”: Saho *bar-*.

216 *bar- “clean, wash”

Sem *bVr- “(be) clean”: Ug *brr*, Hbr *brr*, Aram (Palest) *bʿrar*, Gz *brr*.

CCh *bar- “wash”: Glv *bar-*, Mnd *bara-*.

Cf. also *mV-bar-, *a-bar- “cleanliness”: Tera *m-bari*, Mnd *ʾabbara*.

217 *bar- “antelope”

Berb *bVrVy- “young antelope”: Ahg *e-bərəy*.

Formation in *-ay-.

WCh *bar- “gazelle”: Hs *barēwā*.

Cf. partial reduplication *ba-bar- “gazelle”: Paa *babar*, Siri *babari*.

Probably related to LEC *baʾir- “antelope” (Som *bair*) and Rift *baʾur- id. (Bur *baʾuru*).

218 *bar- “ditch”

Berb *bar- “ditch”: Ghd *a-βar*.

Cf. reduplicated Mzab *burbur* “underground irrigation channel”.

HEC *bar- “ditch”: Had *bare*.

219 *bar- “fly” (v.)

Eg *bḥḏ* “fly” (MK).

Goes back to *bahar-, a trilateral stem built upon original *bar-.

CCh *bar- “fly, jump”: Msg *bara*.

ECh *bVr- “fly”: Kwn *bre*.

Agaw *birir- “fly”: Aun *berer-əŋ*.

Partial reduplication. Note the modified vocalism.

LEC *bar- “fly”: Or *barr-isa*, *barara*.

Partial reduplication in *barara*.

220 *bar- “wind”

Sem *bāriḥ- “hot wind”: Arab *bāriḥ-*.

Based on *bar-?

CCh *baraw- “wind”: Mba *baraw-ay*.

Cf. partial reduplication in Msg *bebēr*.

ECh *ka-bar- “wind”: Kera *ka-bar*.

Prefix *ka-.

221 *bar- “beast of prey”

Sem *bar-bar- “wolf”: Akk *barbaru*.

Reduplication.

Eg *bḏ* “panther” (MK).

WCh *bar- “hyaena”: Hs *bārū*.

222 *bar- “see”

Sem *bVr- “see, examine”: Akk *barû*, Arab *bry* [-i-]. Jib *ebrrer*.

Various trilateral derivatives of the original root.

Eg *br* “see” (gr).

CCh *bur- “remember”: Bch *bur-ina*.

The root vowel is irregular.

SA **bar*- ‘learn’: Afar *bar*.
 LEC **bar*- ‘learn’: Som *baro*.
 Dhl *ḥar*- ‘know’.

223 **bar*-/**bur*- ‘morning’

ECh **bur*- ‘morning’: Ndm *huri*, Mubi *burburu*.
 SA **ber*- ‘morning’: Saho *beeraa*, Afar *beeraa*.
 The root vowel is irregular. Cf. also SA **bar*- ‘night’: Saho *baar*, Afar *baar*.
 LEC **bar*- ‘dawn, morning’: Som *bārii*, Or *barii*, Arb *barri*.
 HEC **bar*- ‘day’: Bmb *barra*, Kmb *barra*.
 Dhl *ḥurra* ‘morning’.
 Alternation **a* ~ **u*.

224 **bar*-/**bur*- ‘grain, cereal’

Sem **barr*-/**burr*- ‘cereal’¹, ‘wheat’²: Akk *burru*¹, Hbr *bar*, *bār*¹, Arab *burr*-², SAr *br*², Soq *bor*², Mhr *barr*², Shr *barr*².
 Berb **bVr*- ‘flour’¹, ‘sorghum’², ‘bread’³: Ghd *a-βar-ən*¹, Awj *əβr-ūn*², Ayr *a-bora*², Ahg *a-bōra*², Twl *a-bōra*², Zng *būru*³.
 WCh **bar*-/**bur*- ‘kind of flour’¹, ‘gruel’²: Hs *buri*, *biri*¹, Ngz *barbari*².
 Hs *biri* < *buri* with assimilation of vowels. Reduplication in Ngz.
 ECh **bar*-/**bur*- ‘flour’¹, ‘kind of millet’²: Smr *bura*¹, Tum *bař*¹, Kbl *ku-bəra*¹, Lele *ku-bra*².
 A derivative in **ku*- in Kbl and Lele.
 Agaw **bur*- ‘groats’: Xmr *bura*.
 LEC **bur*- ‘wheat’: Som *bur*.
 Dhl *ḥuru* ‘maize’.
 Rift **bar*- ‘grain’: Bur *baru*.
 Alternation **a* ~ **u*.

225 **bara*²- ‘recover’

Sem **bVra*²- ‘recover’: Hbr *br*², Arab *br*² [-*a*].
 Cf. also SAr *bry* ‘health’.
 WCh **ṽbar*- ‘recover’: Sura *bar*, Ang *bār*, Chip *bar*.

Metathesis. The voiced anlaut corroborates the loss of the prefix.

An alternative reconstruction is HS **abar*-.

226 **baraḵ*- ‘lightning’

Sem **barḵ*- ‘lightning’: Akk *berq*-, *birq*-, Ug *brq*, Hbr *bārāq*, Aram (Syr) *barqō*, Arab *barq*-, SAr *brq*, Shr *berq*, Mhr *bōreq*, Tgr *bārq*, Tgy *bārqi*.
 CCh **baraḵ*- ‘lightning’: Log *barak*.
 HEC **baraḵ*- ‘lightning’: Sid *banḵo*, *birāḵo*, Dar *balaḵa*, Kmb *banḵu-ta*.
 Irregular changes of *-*r*- in the cluster *-*rḵ*-.
 Related to **bariḵ*- ‘shine’. A parallel formation **birik*- ‘lightning’ seems to be preserved in Dhl *birik’ina* id., Agaw **birVḵ*- id. (Xmr *birqa*).

227 **baraḵ*- ‘ram, goat, calf’

Sem **baraḵ*- ‘ram’: Arab *baraq*-.
 Berb **barak*- ‘calf’¹, ‘cattle’²: Ahg *a-bərk-aw*¹, Gua *a-barak-i*².
 Irregular *-*k*-.
 WCh **barVḵ*- ‘goat’: Bol *barke*.
 ECh **birVḵ*- ‘bull’: Bid *birki*.
 Unexpected front vowel.

228 **baraw*-/**baray*- ‘stick, arrow’

Berb **buray*- ‘stick’: Ayr *ə-boray*, Ghd *ta-buri-t*, Ghat *ta-buray-t*, Ahg *ta-buri-t*.
 Secondary *-*u*- after a labial.
 Eg *bry* ‘sticks, canes’ (n).
 WCh **mV-bar*- ‘arrow’: Zaar *mbara*, Zak *mbara*.
 Prefix **mV*-.
 CCh **baraw*- ‘arrow, bow’: Msg *barau*, Masa *ḥaraw-ta*.
 ECh **a-bawar*- ‘arrow’: Kera *aḥōro*.
 Metathesis. Note prefix **a*-.
 Note the consonantal alteration *-*w*- ~ *-*y*-.

229 *baraw-/baray- "equid"

ECh *baraw-/baray- "horse": Dng *boora*, Mig *borow*, Brg *booray*.

Metathesis in Dng.

Omot *baray- "mare": Kaf *baraayee*, Mch *baaraye*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-. Cf. CCh *bwar- "donkey" (Log *mbūri*, Kus *bori*, Afd *boro*) and ECh *bur- id. (Mkk *buuru*).

230 *barih- "run, go"

Sem *bVrih- "leave"¹, "run away"², "run in awe"³: Phn *brh*^{1 2}, Pun *brh*^{1 2}, Hbr *brh*², Aram (Palest) *b^erah*², Arab *brh*¹ [-a-], Amh *bārāyyā*³.

Sem *i of the second syllable is typical of *verba movendi*.

WCh *HVbar- "escape"¹, "go out"², "return"³: Ang *bar*¹, Tng *bar*², Gera *bōrə*³, Glm *bar*³, Wrj *var*².

Metathesis.

ECh *bir- < *barya- "go": Dng *birē*, *bire*.

Dhl *bariy*- "go out, depart".

From *bariH-?

231 *barik- "shine, be bright"

Sem *bVrik- "shine (of lightning)": Akk *barāqu*, Aram *b^erēq*, *b^eraq*, Arab *brq* [-i-], Gz *brq*, Amh *bārrāqā*.

Eg *bṛk* "be light, be bright" (pyr).

Omot */bJarik- "shine": Mch *pariqq(i)*-.

Secondary *p*- < *b- influenced by *k?

The present root may be further related to *bar-/bur- "morning".

232 *barod- "beast of prey"

Sem *barad-/barud- "leopard": Hbr *bārōd*, *bārūd*, Arab *ʾabrad*-.

*b- corresponds to WCh *b-. Note a secondary formation in Arab.

WCh *bwadar- "zorylla": Hs *bōdārī*, *būdārī*.

Metathesis.

LEC *marod- "elephant"¹, "lion"²: Som *maroodi*¹, Or *marode*².

Irregular *m-.

Derived from *bar- "beast of prey".

233 *barV̥- "give"

Sem *bVrV̥- "give, yield": Arab *br̥*.

WCh *bar- "give": Hs *bā*, Ank *pe*, Bol *bar*, Krk *bar*, Ngm *bar*, Krf *bar*, Gera *bar*, Glm *bar*, Pol *bu-*, *bi-*, Geji *bəl*, Brw *bar*, *bə*, Say *ḥar*, Grn *bər*, *bur*, Ngz *baru*.

CCh *bar-/bir- "give": Tera *vəri*, Dgh *bire*, Gdf *bar*.

ECh *baHir- "give": Dng *bere*, Mig *biraw*, Jegu *bir*, Bid *bere-n*, Mubi *bāra*, Brg *biri*.

Metathesis of the laryngeal.

234 *barV̥t- "boy"

Berb *baraṭ- "boy": Ghat *a-baraq*.

Dhl *ḥooreṭe* "boy".

Derived from *bar- "child".

235 *bas- "cut"

Berb *bVwVs- "be cut, be wounded": Ayr *busu*, Ahg *buis*.

Based on the original *bVs-.

WCh *bas- "cut off": Bol *bas*-.

CCh *bas- "break": Masa *bas*.

Agaw *bas- "cut (skin)": Xmr *bas*-.

Omot *bas- "slaughter": Kaf *baš*-, Anf *baš*-.

236 *bas- "apron"

Eg *bsṛw* "apron" (MK).

Going back to *bVsaw-.

CCh *bas-ay- "apron"¹, "loin-cloth"²: Gis *basay*¹, Bch *basey*².

If not *ba-say-.

237 *bas- "walk"

Sem *būš- "go away"¹, "trample"²: Akk *bēšu*¹, Hbr *buš*².

Extension of the original **bVš-*.

CCh **mV-ba[s]-* ‘enter’: Mofu *mbəz-*, *mbaz-*.

A secondary voiced in Mofu? Prefix **mV-*.

ECh **bas-* ‘come’: Mobu *bəse*, Ndam *basi*.

238 **bas-* ‘live, beget’

Sem **bVšVy-* ‘be, exist’: Akk *bašū*, Phn *bšy*.

Based on the original **bVš-*.

Agaw **bas-* ‘beget’: Kem *baas*.

An ancient causative?

239 **bat-* ‘move’

Sem **bVl-* ‘go away’¹, ‘go quickly’²: Arab *btt*¹, Tgr *bättä*².

WCh **bwat-* ‘accompany’: Ang *bwot*.

Secondary labialization of the vowel?

ECh **bat-* ‘return’: Tum *bād*.

240 **bat-/*bit-* ‘cut’

Sem **bit-/*but-* ‘cut off, break off’: Arab *btt* [-*u-*, -*i-*].

u-vocalism is secondary.

Berb **bVt-* ‘cut off, chop off’: Ahg *ə-bət*, Ayr *ə-bət*.

ECh **bit-* ‘strike’: Bid *bit*.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*. Cf. **baṭ-* ‘pierce, cut’.

241 **baṭ-* ‘pierce, cut’

Sem **buṭ-* ‘split, pierce’¹, ‘be split’²: Arab *btt* [-*u-*]¹, Jib *boṭṭəṭ*².

Secondary **-u-*.

Berb **bVt-* ‘pierce’¹, ‘divide’²: Ahg *əbəd*^{1,2}, Twl *ibdu*², Sml *ibdu*¹, Ntf *bədda*¹, Izd *bdu*¹, Izy *bdu*¹, Snus *bədda*¹, Izn *ebda*², Kby *əβdu*¹.

WCh **ḡat-* < **baṭ-* ‘cut’: Bol *ḡot-*, Ngm *ḡat-*, Gera *ḡad-*.

Note the shift of emphatization.

LEC **baṭ-* ‘part; divide’: Som *baḍ-*.

242 **baṭ-* ‘speak’

Sem **bVt-* ‘chat’: Ug *tbṭ*, Hbr *bṭy*, *bṭʔ*.

Various derivatives of the biliteral root.

WCh **baṭ-/*bayat-* ‘speaking, speak’: Krf *baati*, Fyr *beet*. **bayat-* seems to be a secondary extension of **baṭ-*.

CCh **mV-baṭ-/*mV-bit-* ‘answer, speak’: Gis *mbiḍ*, *mbəḍ-*, *buboḍ-*, Mofu *babaḍ-*, *mbaḍ-*.

Omot **yibat-* ‘speak’: Kaf *yibat-*.

Prefix **yV-* and irregular **t* < HS **t*. Metathesis?

243 **baw-/*bay-* ‘water’

Berb **bVw-bVw-* ‘water’: Sgh *bbubbu*.

Reduplication.

WCh **bay-* ‘watering of horses’: Hs *bai*, *bāyī*.

CCh **baʔi-* ‘water’: Nza *mbii*, *bii*, *mbiʔi*, Bata *mboy*, *bōye*.

Bata -*o-* < **-a-* after a labial.

LEC **baw-* ‘lake’: Arb *baww*.

Rift **boʔ-* ‘dew’: Kwz *boʔ-uto*.

From **baw-ʔ*.

Consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*.

244 **baw-/*bay-* ‘place, house’

Berb **bVw-* ‘enclosure’: Ayr *ə-biwa*, Twl *ə-biwa*.

Eg *bw* ‘place’ (pyr).

WCh **bayi-* ‘place’¹, ‘village’², ‘hut’³: Sura *pε*:¹, Ang *pi*¹, Mnt *bi*¹, Ank *bē*¹, Bol *beyi*¹, Krk *biyi*¹, Gera *bi*¹, Zak *bayi*², Geji *bi*³, Ngm *beʔi*¹, *bi*³.

CCh **baw-* ‘place, house’¹, ‘yard’²: Bura *vi*¹, Boka *bi-ta*¹, Ngw *mbwə*¹, Wmd *mbwa*¹, Mofu *mbaw*², Log *mba*¹.

The variant **bi-* in Boka may be a result of the morphonological development of **bay-*.

ECh **ba-* ‘place’: Sok *ba*.

From **baʔ-*?

HEC **bay-* ‘place’: Sid *bay-*, *baʔa*, Had *beeyo*, Kmb *bee-ccu*.

Had and Kmb -*ee-* < **-a-* before **-y-*.

Consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*. Related to **bay-* ‘build’ and **bayit-* ‘house’.

245 *bawal- ‘‘urinate, flow’’

Sem *būl- ‘‘urinate’’: Arab *bwl* [-u-].

ECh *bawal- ‘‘overflow’’: Bid *bolol*.

Partial reduplication.

246 *bawar- ‘‘lion, hyaena’’

Berb *b(V)war- ‘‘lion’’: Nfs *wār*, Ght *ä-ḥər*, Ayr *a-har*, Twl *a-har*, Zng *war*.

Note Berb *b- > *β.

WCh *bVwar- ‘‘lion’’¹, ‘‘hyaena’’²: Sura *mbə:r*¹, Ang *bwār*¹, Pol *bwər*², Fyr *mbwār*¹.

CCh *bVwVr- ‘‘lion’’: Gid *bōlu*.

Cf. Gis *mo-bor* ‘‘lion’’, Mofu *ma-bar* ‘‘panther’’.

ECh *b[a]w[a]r- ‘‘hyaena’’: Dng *boori*, Mig *booru*, Mubi *bōri*.

LEC *warab- ‘‘hyaena’’: Som *warab*, Or *warab-esa*, Rnd *waraba*.

Metathesis.

Wrz *warap- ‘‘hyaena’’: Gaw *oraap-atte*, Hss *araap-icce*, Dob *araap-acce*, Gll *oraap-atte*.

Metathesis.

Dhl *ḥoorā* ‘‘dangerous animal’’.

From *bawar-?

Cf. *bar- ‘‘beast of prey’’.

247 *bawVd- ‘‘sorcerer’’

WCh *bad- ‘‘sorcerer’’: Ngz *badə-ra*.

Frow *bawad-?

Agaw *bawVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’¹, ‘‘werewolf’’²: Bil *bawda*^{1 2}, Xmr *buda*^{1 2}, Kem *buda*¹.

Contraction in Xmr and Kem.

SA *bud- < *bVwVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’: Afar *buda*.

LEC *bawVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’: Som *bida*, Or *bawda*.

Som is irregular.

HEC *bud- ‘‘who has evil eye’’: Sid *bud-akko*, Dar *buda*, Bmb *buda*.

Omot *bud- < *bVwVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’: Kaf *budo*, Bwo *budo*.

248 *bawVĶ- ‘‘drop’’ (n.)

Sem *bawĶ- ‘‘shower’’: Arab *bawq*-.

Agaw *buk- < *bVwVĶ- ‘‘drops’’ (pl.): Bil *bokw*.

249 *bawVn- ‘‘rope, band’’

Berb *baw(V)n- ‘‘leather sack with strings’’: Ahg *a-bawn*.

Eg *wbn* ‘‘band (on mummy’s forehead)’’.

Metathesis.

ECh *bwan- ‘‘rape’’: Mkk *bonne*. From *bawan-.

Related to *ben- ‘‘tie’’. Note consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y- (in *ben-).

250 *bay- ‘‘chief, king’’

Eg *by.ty* ‘‘king of the Lower Egypt’’ (OK).

CCh *bay- ‘‘chief’’: Mofu *bay*, Gis *boy*, Bld *aboy*, Mtk *bay*, Mafa *boy*,

Daba *bəy*, Mus *bay*.

251 *bay- ‘‘back, hump’’

Berb *²u-bay- ‘‘camel’s hump’’: Ghat *t-uhī*, Ayr *t-uhəy*, Ahg *t-uhə*,

Twl *t-uhəy*, Sml *ta-yyu*.

Prefix *²u-. Note Berb *b- > *β-.

Eg *byʃ.t* ‘‘head, occiput, beard, breast, back’’ (n).

-ʃ is a sign for a vowel. The meaning is uncertain.

WCh *bay- ‘‘back’’: Hs *bāyā*, Bol *boy*, Krk *bai*, Ngm *be*, Maha *boy*,

Glm *bi*.

252 *bay- ‘‘build’’

CCh *bV- ‘‘build’’: Lmn *b-*.

ECh *bay- ‘‘build’’: Smr *bi*, Kwn *bay*, Mobu *baye*.

Archaic verb preserved outside Chadic in a derivative *bayit- ‘‘house’’.

253 *bayit- “house”

Sem *bayt- “house”: Akk *bītu*, *bētu*, Ug *bt*, Phn *bt*, *byt*, Pun *bt*, Moab *bt*, Hbr *bayit*, Aram (Palest) *baytā*, *betā*, (Nab, Palm) *byt*, Arab *bayt*-, SAr *byt*, Gz *bet*, Tgr *bet*, Tgy *bet*, Amh *bēt*, Gog *bet*, Mhr *bayt*, Shr *but*, Jib *bet*, Soq *beyt*.

WCh *bit- < *bVyit- “hut, shelter”: Sura *bit*, Mpn *bit*.

Cf. Zgh *bat-iwe* “hut” < *bayVt-? Derived from HS *bay- “build”.

254 *bayV^c- “sell”

Sem *bī^c- “sell”: Arab *by^c* [-i-].

WCh *bay- “trade”¹, “sell”²: Tng *paya*¹, Krf *bayi*², Glm *baya*-².

Complete loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

Rift *be²- “buy, sell”: Kwz *be²*-.

Irregular *²-.

255 *ba3- “tear off, skin”

Sem *buz- “tear off”: Hbr *bzz*, Arab *bzz* [-u-].

Secondary *-u-.

WCh *HV-ba3- “skin” (v.): Paa *huzu*, Jmb *vaz*.

A laryngeal prefix. Assimilation of vowels in Paa.

256 *ba3- “flow, be wet”

Berb *bV3- “be wet”¹, “pour”²: Sha *bzi*¹, Kby *βezze^c*².

Cf. a derivative with suffix *-g- in Izy *bzeg* “be wet”.

Eg *bzy* “flow out, sprinkle” (MK).

-y is a suffix.

WCh *ba3- “spit”: Ngz *baz-iyu*.

257 *ba3ar- “be torn, be peeled”

Berb *bV3Vr- “be peeled”: Ghd *βzər*.

WCh *ba3ar- “related to torn (clothes)” (adv.): Hs *bazar-bazar*.

Derived from *ba3- “tear off, skin”.

258 *bel- “blood”

WCh *²Vbyal- “vein”: Ank *vel*.

Prefix implied by the anlaut in Ank.

CCh *byal- “blood”: Gid *bēli*.

Cf. Msg *fel* id., Mba *fal* id.

Agaw *bill- “blood”: Bil *bir*, Xmr *bir*, Xmt *bera*, Kwr *bir*, Dmb *bir*,

Kem *birr*, Aun *beri*, Dmt *beri*.

SA *bil- “blood”: Saho *biilo*, Afar *bil*.

259 *bel- “weapon”

WCh *HVbyal- “arrow”: Kr *helu*.

A laryngeal prefix.

ECh *byal- “axe”¹, “knife”²: Mig *bo:la*¹, Smr *bela*².

LEC *bil- “knife”: Or *billaa*.

HEC *bil- “knife”: Kmb *billawwa*.

260 *belal- “rivulet”

CCh *byalal- “rivulet”: Gul *belle*.

In this case, the vowel is reconstructed in the second syllable as a single possibility in which the first syllable is not influenced.

ECh *byalal- “rivulet”: Smr *bellali*.

Archaic reduplicative root widely preserved in derivatives, cf. *bolan- “rain, cloud”. The original form of the root was *bVL- as it is continued in ECh *byal- “pond”: Mubi *bēli*. See also *bol- “flow, be wet”.

261 *ben- “build”

Sem *bVn- “build”: Akk *banū*, Ug *bny*, *bnw*, Phn *bny*, Pun *bn²*, *bny*, Amor *bny*, Moab *bny*, Hbr *bny*, OAram *bny*, Aram (Emp, Nab) *bnh*, *bn²*, (Palm) *bn²*, (Mand) *bnā*, Arab *bny* [-i-], SAr *bny*, Mhr *benū*, Jib *bene*, Soq *bene*.

Various trilateral formations based on *bVn-.

Berb *bVn- “build”: Ghd *ə-bni*, Sml *bənnā*, Izy *bnu*, Ntf *bnu*, Izd *bnu*, Izn *ə-bnu*, Snus *ə-βnu*, Sha *ə-bna*, Kby *ə-βnu*, Lib *bny*.

Manifested in individual languages as *bVnVy- or *bVnVw-.

ECh *byani(H)- “build”: Kwn *baṇ*, Mubi *bēni*.

Kwn may reflect a secondary formation **byani*²- similar to those of Sem and Berb.

262 *ben- "tie"

Berb **bVn-* "tie": Ghd *aβən*, Ahg *ahən*.

Note Berb **b-* > **β-*.

CCh **byan-* "tie": Log *hən*, *bən*, Bud *pēnai*, *fanai*.

Log *h-* may reflect a possible laryngeal prefix.

263 *ben- "be bad"

Eg *byn* "bad, angry" (OK), Copt **bōōn* id.: Boh *bōn*, Shd *bōon*.

Inlaut *-y-* seems to be a sign for vowel.

WCh **ban-* < **byana-* "wrath"¹, "bad"²: Tng *bana*¹, Wrj *embəna*².

ECh **byan-* "bad": Sok *benā*.

Agaw **bin-* "lie" (n.): Bil *bin*.

LEC **ben-* "lie" (n.): Arb *been*.

264 *ben- "building"

Berb **byan-* "tent, house": Ghat (ə)-*yan-an*, Ayr *e-hən*, Ahg *ə-hən*,

Twl *e-hən*, Tsl *e-hən*, Lib *bn*.

Note Berb **b-* > **β-*.

Eg *bnbn* "stela" (MK).

Reduplication.

WCh **byani(H)-* "upper floor"¹, "hut"²: Hs *bēnē*¹, Grk *pīn*², Ank *pīn*², Krk *ben*², Bele *bin*², Geji *biḡ*², Pol *biḡ*².

CCh **binVH-* "hut": Glv *veḡ*, Nak *vine*, Gis *veḡ*, Bld *viḡ*, Gudu *vīn*, Nza *vine*, Bch *vuney*, Bata *vino*, Log *vəni*, Suk *bīna*.

ECh **byaHin-* "hut": Mig *beḡ*, Mkk *biino*, Bid *beena*.

A nominal formation corresponding to **ben-* "build". WCh and CCh forms contain *C*³ = *-H-*. The latter may be a result of the Common Chadic development and not necessarily leads to the HS reconstruction of **beniH-*.

265 *ber- "cereal"

Eg *brry* "bread" (n).

-rr- may mean a partial reduplication or an orthographic peculiarity. In any case, *-y* stands for a vowel (of the first syllable?).

CCh **ba-byar-* "maize": Log *bāberā*.

Partial reduplication.

Omot **bar-* "maize": Mch *baaro*, Anf *baro*.

Omot **a* < HS **e* in certain conditions?

266 *ber- "cut"

Sem **bVrV-* "cut, cut down": Hbr *br*², Arab *br*².

Based on original **bVr-*.

Berb **bVrVy-* "cut": Sml *bri*.

Based on original **bVr-*.

CCh **byar-* "cut off": Tng *ber*.

Dhl *hiir-* "cut grass, mow".

267 *ber- "mouse"

Sem **birr-* "mouse, rat": Arab *birr-*.

Berb **bVr(r)-* "pole-cat": Sml *a-bərr-ān*.

ECh **byar-* "mouse, rat": Smr *dē-bere*, Tum *bə:r-āḡ*.

Prefix in Smr.

268 *bez- "sun, day"

Eg *bzy* "Sun-god" (reg).

-y stands for a front vowel.

CCh **byaž-* "day": Msg *bezā*.

Rift **bes-* "sunlight": Kwz *bes-iko*.

Continuants of **ž* in Rift are not established. The present example may be decisive.

269 *bezar- "corn"

Sem **bizr-* "seed"¹, "peppers"²: Aram (Pehl) *bzr*¹, (Palest) *bizrā*¹, Arab *bizr-*¹, Hss *bezār*², Mhr *bezār*², Shh *bizər*².

Cf. denominative Arab *bzr* [-i-] "sow".

WCh **bažar-* "corn": Mbu *vazar*, Jmb *vazar*, Tala *bazr*.

From **byazar-*.

Etymologically connected with **bažar-* "be torn, be peeled" (as

far as semantic change is concerned, cf. IE: **gʷrHnom* “something ground; grain”).

270 *biʒ-/bay- “be angry”

Eg *b* “evil” (l).

The final laryngeal is not preserved. Eg may reflect an archaic form of the HS stem that may be then reconstructed as **bi-*.

WCh **biʒ-* “be angry”: DB *biʒ*.

CCh **biH-/bay-* “angry” ¹, “bad” ²: Gaa *hiḥa* ¹, Gbn *hiḥa* ¹, FKl *ḥəy* ², Bud *abi* ².

Reduplicated forms in Gaa and Gbn may be related to CCh **bib-* “hot”.

ECh **bVy-* “anger”: Bid *beyo*.

Note the morphonological alternation in the root.

271 *biʒ-/bay- “bread, flour”

Eg *by.t* “kind of bread” (med).

CCh **biʒ-* “millet”: Gul *bio*, Afa *bio*, Kus *byo*.

Quite probably, a semantic archaism within the present root pointing to the original type of the cereal.

Bed *biʒ* “flour”.

HEC **boy-* < **b[a]y-* “flour”: Bmb *booya*.

Secondary change of vowel after a labial.

As far as morphonology of the root is concerned, cf. **biʒ-/bay-* “be angry”.

272 *biʒ- “pierce”

Eg *wbʒ* “pierce, open” (pyr).

Initial *w-* may stand for a rounded root vowel or represent a suffix.

WCh **biʒu-* “pierce”: Diri *ḥū*, Paa *ḥi*, Miya *ḥiya*, Kry *ḥiya*, Siri *ḥiyu*, Fyer *ḥoo*.

-y- in Miya, Kry and Siri is an innovation from **-ʒ-* in contact with a front vowel.

CCh **biʒu-* “pierce”: Daba *būh*, Bud *biu*, *biu*.

Note *-h* in Daba.

273 *biʒak- “slave, servant”

Eg *bʒk* “servant” (OK).

WCh **biHak-* “slave”: Pol *biyək*, Kir *ḥiyak*.

Kir *ḥ-* shows that WCh **-y-* goes back to a laryngeal after a front vowel. Under the influence of the vowel, the laryngeal yielded to *-y-*.

CCh **byak-* “slave”: Gis *beke*, Mofu *beke*, LPe *byek*.

CCh **-ya-* < **-iya-* < **-iHa-*.

Related to **boʒ-* “slave, servant”?

274 *biʒan- “separate, divide”

WCh **byan-* < **biʒan-* “separate”: Sura *ḥen*.

Agaw **bin-* < **biyVn-* “divide”: Bil *bən*, Kwr *bin*, Xmr *bin*, Aun *ben-əṇ*.

Cf. also Sem **bVyVn-* “separate”: Arab *byn* [-i-].

275 *biʒan-/biyan- “look, know”

Sem **bīn-* “know” ¹, “notice” ²: Ug *bn* ¹, Hbr *byn* ².

Sometimes compared with Sem **bayn-* “link (n.); between”, see HS **bawVn-* “rope, band” and cf. also HS **biʒan-* “separate, divide”.

WCh **baʒan-* “look”: Pero *ḥaan*.

Assimilation of vowels.

ECh **ʒibin-* “know”: Dng *ʒibine*, Mig *ʒibino*, Brg *ʒibini*, Sok *ibine*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels.

Note the alternation **-ʒ-* ~ **-y-*. Any connection with **biʒan-* “separate, divide”?

276 *biʒir- “pit, well; dig”

Sem **biʒr-* “balk” ¹, “well” ²: Akk *bīru* ^{1 2}, Hbr *bēʾēr* ², OAram *byr* ², Aram (Emp) *bʾr* ², (Palest) *bēʾērē* ², (Mand) *bira* ², Arab *biʒr-* ².

ECh **biʒir-* “dig”: Lele *biir*.

LEC **biHir-* “bore, drill”: Arb *biir-*.

Related to *bu²ar- “dig”, *ba²Vr- “well, pit” as a morphonological variant.

277 *bi²Vy- “snake”

Eg by² “holy serpent” (gr).

Metathesis.

CCh *bi²Vy- “python”: HGH *biya*, FG *biya*, Kap *mbya*, HNk *bg'ye*, HB *wg'ye*.

278 *bibab- “goat, sheep”

Sem *bibb- “wild sheep”: Akk *bibbu*.

WCh *bVwab- < *bVbab- “he-goat”: Ang *bwop*.

Unvoicing of *-b- in Ang is regular.

Descriptive stem.

279 *bičur-/pičur- “pudenda”

Sem *binV_{ur}- “vulva”: Akk *biššūru*, Arab *bunzur*.

Metathesis in Proto-Sem and secondary -u- in Arab. Cf. also Hss *bešēlēt* “clitoris”, Mhr *bešēlēt* id.

CCh *pičur-in- “testicles”: FJ *fčerin*, FM *fučuru*.

Metathesis in FG and Gude. The original stem seems to be *pičur-.

Numerous phonetic irregularities are connected with the meaning of the word. Note more distant variants in CCh: HNk *subəle*, Kap *səpule*, FGl *spuyli* etc. As far as the anlaut is concerned, see *ber-/per- “mouse, rat”. As a whole, the word seems to be an ancient derivative of an otherwise unattested and unreliable stem.

280 *biĉ- “spit”

Eg bšy “spit” (pyr).

WCh *biĉ- “spit”: Ang *bis*, *bes*.

ECh *bVĉ- “spit”: Smr *bə:sə*.

Dhl bu²u²- “spit”.

The continuants of HS *-ĉ- in Dhl are not well established. -t'- might reflect *-ĉ- in the intervocalic position. The root vowel -u- may be of a secondary origin.

281 *bid- “monkey”

Verb *bidd-Vw- “monkey”: Ghd *biddu*, Ahg *a-biddau*.

WCh *bid- “monkey”: Hs *biri*, Mnt *pit*, Ank *pit*, Grk *pit*, *pət*, Bol *bido*, Krk *bido*, Dera *bido*, Bele *bido*, Krf *biro*, Gera *biḍi*, Glm *birya*, Paa *vidi*, Jmb *vuda*.

Gera may reflect *bidVH-.

CCh *biḍ- “monkey”: Tera *vidi*, Jara *vide*, Heba *mbeḍa*, Glv *ṽavda*.

CCh *biḍ- < *bidVH-? Prefix in Glv.

282 *bi^car- “burn”

Sem *bV^cVr- “burn” (tr. and intr.): Ug *b^cr*, Hbr *b^cr*, Aram (Palest) *b^cār*, (Mand) *bar*.

WCh *biHar- “heat”: Mnt *biar*.

CCh *bar- < *bVHar- “burn”: Tera *vara*.

ECh *bVHVr- “warm up”: Kera *boore*.

Secondary labialization of vowels after *b-.

Agaw *²V-bVr- “flame” (v.): Aun *əbr-əṇ*.

283 bihal- “be angry”

Sem *bVhal- “curse” (v.): Arab *bhl* [-a-].

WCh *biHal- “anger”: Mnt *bial*.

284 *biH[o]d- “jump, run”

CCh *biHVd- “go”: Boka *bide-di*.

LEC *bVHod- “jump”: Som *bood*.

Omot *biHVd- “jump”: Bwo *biḍ*.

Dhl bu²uw- “run away”.

-uw- may be a suffix.

285 *biHok- “rain”

WCh *biHVk- “rain that succeeds sowing”: Hs *biko*.

LEC *bVHok- “rain”: Som *bokk*-, Or *booka*.

286 *bil- “butterfly”

WCh *bil- “butterfly, bird”: Hs *bilbilo*, Glm *bil-iwi*.

Reduplication in Hs. Glm may go back to *HV-bil- > *bil*-.

Agaw *bil- “butterfly”: Xmr *bil*.

Rift *ba-bal- “butterfly”: Kwz *babal-iko*.

Partial reduplication causing a change of vocalism.

Related to *bal- “wing, feather”?

287 bil- “door”

Sem **abul*- “door, gate”: Akk *abullu*, Aram (Syr) *ābul*-.

Prefix **a*-. Secondary **u* < **i* after a labial.

Agaw *bil- “door”¹, “hole, window”²: Xmr *bila*¹, Kwr *bela*².

LEC *bal-bal- “door”: Or *balbala*.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

288 *bin- “man, male relative”

Sem **bin*- “son”: Akk *binu*, Ug *bn*, Phn *bn*, Pun *bn*, Moab *bn*, Hbr *bēn*, Aram (Nab) *bn*, Arab *bin*-, SAr *bn*, Hss *he-būn* (pl.).

Hardly any connection with Sem **bar*- id.

WCh **mV-bVn*- “person”: Buli *mbən*, *mban*.

Prefix **mV*-.

CCh **bin*- “brother”: LPe *bin*.

289 *binVg- “bird”

Eg *bng* “kind of bird” (MK).

WCh **binVg*- “rough-coated fowl”: Hs *bingi*.

CCh **byanVg*- “bird”: Gid *benga*, *bugga*.

Secondary vocalism in *bugga*.

290 *bir- “metal”

Eg *byj* “ore, copper” (XVIII).

Vocalic -*y*-.

CCh **HV-bir*- “iron”: Mofu *bərey*, Gis *hire*.

Prefix **HV*- reflected in the Gis initial emphatic.

ECh **bir*- “iron”: Smr *biri*.

Agaw **bir*- “metal”: Kem *birr*.

LEC **bir*- “metal”: Som *bir*.

HEC **bir(r)*- “silver”: Bmb *birri*, Kmb *bira-ta*.

Omot **bir*- “metal”: Kaf *bir-ewo*.

Cf. derivatives in SA **birit*- “iron” (Saho *birtaa*, Afar *birtaa*) and Rift (Kwz *belet-iko* id.).

291 *bir- “jump”

CCh **mV-bir*- “jump, fly”: Daba *mbir*, Msg *mbir*.

Prefix **mV*-.

ECh **bir*- “jump”: Kwn *bəre*.

Bed *bir* “jump”.

Agaw **bir*- “jump”¹, “fly”²: Xmr *bir*-¹, Aun *berer-əŋ*².

Partial reduplication in Aun.

HEC **burr*- “jump”: Bmb *burr*-.

**i* > **u* after a labial.

292 *bir- “finger”

WCh **bir*- “finger-nail”: Sha *bər-ən*, Grn *mbil*.

Prefix **mV*- in Grn. Grn -*l*- < **r*- is regular.

Omot **bir*- “finger”: Ome *bir-aḏe*.

293 *bir- “bird”

Berb **bVr*- “quail”: Twl *ta-bərr-ut*.

Eg *bj* “kind of bird” (a).

WCh **bir*- “quail”: Hs *birabirā*.

Reduplication in Hs. Note a parallel variant *buraburā*.

294 *birVg- “be high”

Berb **bVrVg*- “rise”: Tua *burg-ət*.

Bed *birga* “high”.

295 *bisVr- “plant”

Sem **bišr*- “onion”¹, “sprout, shoot”², “dates”³: Akk *bišru*, *bišru*¹, Arab *busr-at*-², Hss *beser*³, Mhr *bēser*³.

Arab -u- < *-i- after a labial.

Eg *ibs* 'plant' (MK).

Prefix *- or a graphic sign for *-i- of the first syllable.

296 *bit- "jump"

WCh *bit- "jump": Bgh *pit*.

Bgh *p* < *b- is regular.

Omot *bitt- "jump" ¹, "fly" ²: Kaf *bitt* ¹, Mch *biitti* ².

297 *bo²- "grass"

Berb *bu²- "grass": Izy *a-bu*, Gua *buho*.

WCh *bay- < *ba²i- "kind of wild grass": Hs *bayā*.

ECh *bwa²i- "grass": Bid *boo²iboo²i*.

Full reduplication.

298 *bo²- "slave, servant"

Eg *wb* 'servant' (MK).

Initial *w*- stands for a rounded vowel in the root.

WCh *bway- < *bwa²i- "slave" ¹, "servant" ²: Hs *bāwa* ¹, Bol *baya* ¹, Ngz *baayi* ².

299 *bo²Vd- "vessel"

Sem *bu²d- "implement": Akk *bu²du*, *būdu*.

Unexpected HS *u > *u after a labial.

Eg *b²d.t* "dipper" (med).

ECh *bwa²Vd- "gourd": Mkk *boode*, Bid *booda*.

300 *bod- "penis"

CCh *bwadVH- "penis" ¹, "vagina" ²: Bch *vōdu-to* ¹, Gudu *vədə-cu* ².

SA *bud- "penis": Afar *buddaa*.

301 *bogur- "bird"

Eg *b²d* 'duck' (OK).

-d- < *-g- after *o.

ECh *bwagur- "hen": Kwn *bogor-to*, *bugur-to*, Kera *də-bərgə*, (pl.) *ga-bgur*.

Various assimilations of root vowels in individual forms.

302 *bo^c- "sun"

Eg *b^c* "Sun-god" (reg).

WCh *bwaH- "sun": Bks *ḥwe*, DB *ḥwe*.

The emphatic anlaut reflects the lost laryngeal.

303 *bo^c-bo^c- "pour, drink"

Sem *ba^c-ba^c- "gurgling of water": Arab *ba^cba^c-t*-
Deverbativ noun.

Eg *b^cb^c* "drink" (pyr).

ECh *bwaH-b[wa]H- "pour": Dng *boobe*, Jnk *boobo*.

Derived from HS *ba^c- "pour". Reduplication. May be an onomatopoeia.

304 *boḥ- "middle"

Sem *buḥ-buḥ- "middle": Arab *buhbūḥ-at*.

Full reduplication.

CCh *bwaḥ- "middle": Bud *boho*.

305 *boḥVr- "sea, lake"

Sem *baḥr- "sea, lake": Aram (Syr) *baḥrā*, Arab *baḥr*-, SAr *bḥr*, Gz *bāḥr*, Tgr *bāhar*, Tgy *baḥri*, Amh *bahər*.

Regular Sem *-u- > *-a- after a labial.

WCh *bwaHVr- "pond" ¹, "rivulet" ²: Sura *voyor* ², Grk *vor*, *voor* ^{1 2}, Ang *fwor* ².

ECh *bwar- < *bwaHVr- "sea, river": Kera *vor*.

306 *boḥ- "give birth"

Eg *bḥ* "give birth" (NK).

Conditions in which HS *ḥ > Eg *ḥ* are unknown.

WCh *bwaH- "give birth": Zaar *ḥwa*.

Emphatic in Zaar reflects a lost laryngeal.

CCh **mV-buh-* “give birth”: Nza *mbuho*, FJ *mbu*.

307 *boHar- “be yellow, be gray”

CCh **bwaH[a]r-* “gray”: Msg *bogora*^c.

Since **bwaHwar-* with two middle vowels is morphonologically impossible, the reconstruction of **-a-* in the second syllable is inevitable.

LEC **boHor-* “yellow”: Or *boora*.

Cf. Arb *burri* “red”? Assimilation of vowels.

HEC **bor-* “gray, brown”: Kmb *bora*.

308 *boḵ- “rot, be rotten”

Sem **bVḵ-* “rot”: Hbr *bqq*, Aram *bqq*, (Mand) *baq*.

WCh **ḥwak-* < **bwaḵ-* “suppurate, fester”: Sura *ḥwak*.

Shift of emphatization.

HEC **buḵ-* “rot”: Bmb *buuḵ-*.

309 *boḵ- “goat”

CCh **ḥwak-* < **bwaḵ-* “goat”: Mafa *ḥokw*.

Shift of emphatization. *-kw* < **-k-* appeared in the auslaut under the influence of the root vowel.

Bed *bok*, *book*.

Cf. ECh **bVḵ-* “kine”: Kera *beke*.

310 *boḵar- “cattle”

Sem **baḵar-* “bull”¹, “cattle”², “cow”³: Akk *buqāru*¹, Phn *bqr*², Hbr *bāqār*², Aram (Palest) *bēqartā*², Arab *baqar*², SAr *bqr*², Hss *beqār*³.

In the first syllable, Sem **-a-* < HS **-o-* is regular after a labial. *-u-* in Akk is secondary.

Berb **bukVr-* “one year old camel”: Twl *əbuyər*.

CCh **bwaḵVr-* “goat”: Tera *bokəra*, Tera-P. *pokər-ti*, Bch *bogər-ey*.

Derived from **boḵ-* “goat”. On the other hand, cf. **baraḵ-* “ram, goat, calf”.

311 *boḵVr- “rich, king”

Berb **bVḵVr-* “be rich”: Ahg *bəyər*, Twl *baghar*.

LEC **boḵor-* “king”: Som *boqor*.

The reconstruction of HS **boḵor-* implied by LEC is morphonologically improbable.

312 *bol- “flow, be wet”

Sem **bul-* “moisten”¹, “rain”²: Aram *bll*¹, Arab *bll* [-u-]².

Secondary **u*. Cf. Arab *wbl* [-u-] “fall (of rain)” (v.) and also a deverbative name in Hbr *yābāl* “heavy shower”, Arab *wabl-* “shower”.

CCh **HV-bwal-* “rain”: Bch *ḥole*.

Prefix **HV-*.

313 *bol- “lead, follow”

Sem **wVbVl-* “lead”: Hbr *ybl*, Aram *ybl*.

**wV-* may be a prefix.

WCh **byal-/bwal-* “come”¹, “follow”²: Grk *bel*¹, Bol *bol*², Sha *bol*¹.

CCh **bul-* “run”: HNk *mbule*, HG *mbule*, HB *mbulo*, HF *mbəlu*.

314 *bolan- “rain, cloud”

ECh **bVlan-* “rain”¹, “sky”²: Smr *belani*¹, Tum *bəlan*^{1 2}, Ndam *bəlān*².

LEC **bolan-* “cloud”: Arb *boolan*.

Related to **belal-* “rivulet”.

315 *bor- “eat”

Sem **bVrVy-* “eat”: Hbr *bry*.

Based on biliteral **bVr-*.

ECh **HV-bwar-* “eat”: Tum *ḥor*.

Prefix **HV-* reflected in the Tum anlaut.

316 *borig- “insect”

Berb *bVriy- “mosquito”¹, “flying ant”²: Ayr *bəryu*¹, Twl *bəryu*¹, Kby *i-bərriq*².

CCh *bwarVg- “louse”: Log *borgo-mī*.

*-g- may be irregular. A normal CCh reflex of HS *ǵ (at least in the anlaut) would be *γ. Cf. also metathetic Msg *biggerui* id.

ECh *bVrVg- “water insect”¹, “caterpillar”²: Kera *abərgi-jiwjiw*¹, Tum *kəṛə-bərg-ən*².

Composites both in Kera and Tum.

317 *bos- “fish”

Eg *bss* “kind of fish” (n).

Partial reduplication or a graphic peculiarity?

WCh *HV-bwas- “fish”: Dok *ṗwas*, Wnd *ḥas*, Bnd *bwas*.

Laryngeal prefix.

ECh *busi- “fish”: Mig *būsu*, Jegu *bišo*, Sok *busī*.

318 *bu³- “pot”

Eg *bɔw* “vessel” (med).

Cf. also *b^c* id. (OK) implying a different laryngeal. -w seems to be a vocalic sign for *-u-.

WCh *bu³- “pot”: Grk *bu*.

CCh *ḡu- < *bu³- “pot”: Tera *ḡu-ya*, Hw *ḡu-ra*, Gbn *ḡu-ta*, Boka *ḡə-ta*.

319 *bu³ar- “dig”

Sem *bV³ar- “dig (a well)”: Arab *b³r* [-a-].

WCh *buHar- “dig”: Zul *yabori*, Fyer *ḡur*, Bks *ḡor*, DB *ḡuur*.

LEC *boHVr- “dig”: Som *boor-*, Or *bor-*.

320 *bu³uh- “penis”

Sem *būḡ- “penis”¹, “votive phallus”²: Arab *būḡ*-¹, SA *bḡ-t*².

*ū results from a contraction.

Eg *bɔḡ* “penis” (pyr).

321 *buç- “sand, earth”

Sem *bāṣ- “sand”¹, “mud”²: Akk *bāṣu*¹, Hbr *bōṣ*².

Regular Sem *-a- < HS *-u- after a labial.

HEC *buc- “soil”: Bmb *bucca*, Kmb *bucca*, Sid *bušša*.

Irregular *-c-.

322 *buçal- “plant”

Sem *baṣal- “onion”: Hbr *bāṣāl*, Aram (Syr) *beṣlō*, Arab *baṣal*-, SA *bṣl*, Hss *beṣel*, Mhr *beṣāl*, Shh *beṣal*.

Regular Sem *-a- < HS *-u- after a labial.

WCh *ḡucal- < *buçal- “kind of grass”: Bks *ḡuṣal*.

Shift of emphatization.

Derived from *buç- “sand, earth”? For a semantic parallel see *caḡal- “grass”.

323 *buč- “pudenda”

Sem *buč- “shame, shameful object”: Ug *būt*, Hbr *būšā*, Aram (Emp) *bwt*, (Palest) *bīhūtā*.

Cf also Akk *la būštu* “shamelessness”. Related to *bVt- “be ashamed” (Akk *bāšu*, Ug *bṭ*, Hbr *bwš*, Aram (Palest) *b^hēl*).

Unexpectedly preserved *-u- in the root. Does it imply a reconstruction of a parallel HS *bač-?

Berb *buč- “vagina”¹, “penis”²: Siwa *bašša*¹, Sml *bəšši*¹, Ntf *a-bəšši*¹, Izn *a-bəṣ-un*¹, Kby *a-bbuc*².

Bed *bus* “podex, croupe”.

SA *bus- “vulva”: Saho *bus*, Afar *bus*, *busuu*.

HEC *bis(s)- “vagina”: Had *bisso*.

Unexpected *i.

Omot *bos- “vulva”: Yam *boosaa*.

324 *bud- “hate” (v.)

Sem *bVdVy- “express hate”: Arab *bḍy*.

Based on *bVd-.

ECh *bu-bud- “curse”: Mobu *bəbəḍe*, Ngm *bubbudde*.

Reduplication. Unexpected emphatic -ḍ-.

325 *bud- “stick”

Sem *bad(d)- “pole, stick, beam”: Hbr *bad*, Aram *badd-*, Arab *badd-*.
 Berb *budid- “pole of a hut”: Kby *a-βuδiδ*.

Secondary *u after a labial. Partial reduplication.

ECh *bVdVH- “stick”: Kera *bəḏ-uwa*.

Suffix *-H-.

Cf. partial reduplication in CCh *bV-bVdVH- “digging stick”:
 Mafa *bebeḏ*.

326 *bu^cun- “rain, sky”

Eg *b^cn* “sky waters” (pyr).

CCh *buHun- “rain”: Gid *būna*.

ECh *bun-H- “rain”¹, “sky”², “God”³: Mig *bun*¹, Dng *buḡ*²,
 Jegu *boḡ*^{2 3}, Bid *buḡ*^{2 3}, Mubi *bun*².

Metathesis.

327 *buhar- “shine”

Sem *bVhar- “be clear, shine”: Hbr *bhr*, Aram (Palest) *šabhar*,
 (Mand) *bh³r*, Arab *bhr* [-a-].

WCh *buHVr- “shine”: Tng *ḡer*, Bgh *ḡūr*.

CCh *buHar- “shine”: Msg *bara*, Bch *ḡura*.

328 *bul- “hut, village”

CCh *bul- “village”: Bud *bula*.

ECh *bVl-bVl- “yard”: Bud *belbele*.

Reduplication.

Agaw *²a-bVl- “tent”: Bil *abluu*.

SA *bul- “village, town”: Afar *buḷaa*.

Secondary -l- in Afar?

LEC *bul- “hut”: Som *bul*.

329 *bul- “lake, river”

Sem *bal- “lake”: Gur *bal*.

Proto-Sem status of this word is subject to doubts.

Eg *wbn* “spring, source” (n).

-n goes back to HS *-l-. Initial *w-* stands for a rounded root vowel.

WCh *bul-/bu²ul- “river”: Zul *ḡwula²yi*, *bullai*, Bgh *ḡul*.

Infix *-²-.

CCh *bul-ay- “sea, lake”: Gis *bulay*, Mofu *bəlay*.

Cf. reduplication in Bud *bilabila* “lake”.

Related to *bol- “flow, be wet”, *belal- “rivulet” and its cognates.

330 *bul- “dove”

Eg *bn* “kind of bird” (pyr), *bnw* “phoenix” (BD).

bnw reflects *bul- or *bol-.

WCh *bu²al- “dove”: Hs *bōlō*, Sura *mbul*, Ang *bul*, Ank *bel*, Chip *bul*,

Bol *mbolo*, Tng *la-mbul*.

Several forms have prefix *mV-.

CCh *mV-bwal- “turtle-dove”: Tera *mbole*.

Prefix *mV-.

ECh *bu²al “bird”¹, “dove”²: Bid *bulle*¹, Gabri *belu*², Kwan
*bəlō-ki*².

LEC *bulal- “dove”: Or *bullale*.

Partial reduplication. Amh *bulall*, Gur *bulle* are borrowed from
 LEC.

Secondary formation with an inlaut laryngeal in Chadic.

331 *bul-bul- “pour, flow”

Eg *bnbn* “let flow, pour” (gr).

WCh *bul-bul- “pour out”: Hs *bulbulā*.

Reduplication connected with *bul- “lake, river” and *bol-
 “flow, be wet”.

332 *bul-/bulal- “pit, well”

Berb *bVlVl- “breach, opening in the rock”: Ahg *e-bələl*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh *bul- “hole”: Log *bulu*.

ECh *bul- “hole”: Bid *bullo*, Mig *būle*.

333 *bula^c “throat”

Sem *bala^c “throat”: Aram *bāla^ctā*.

WCh *bula² < *bula^c “crawl, goitre”: Bks *bule²*.

Bed *bala²a* “gullet”.

Assimilation of vowels.

Afar *bili^ca* seems to belong to this root. However the vocalism of the word is not clear. Related to HS *bali^c “eat, swallow”.

334 *bulul- “flow, be wet”

Verb *bVlul- “be liquid”: Ahg *bəlulu*.

The first syllable may contain -a-.

LEC *bulul- “flow”: Or *bulula*.

Partial reduplication connected with *bul-bul- “pour, flow” and *bol- “flow, be wet”.

335 *bun- “monkey”

Eg *bnw* “baboon” (BD).

-w stands for a rounded vowel.

WCh *buni- “monkey”: Paa *bun*, Siri *bini*.

CCh *buni- “monkey”: Gude *mə-bin*, Bch *ma-bwən*.

336 *bur- “boat”

Eg *br* “kind of Nubian ship” (n).

ECh *bur- “boat”: Ndm *burō*.

337 *bur- “earth, sand”

Sem *barr- “empty place”¹, “field”², “(dry) land”³, “region”³: Akk *barru*¹, Hbr *bar*², Aram (Syr) *barra*², Arab *barr-*³, SAr *br*², Tgr *barr*⁴.

Regular Sem *-a- < HS -u- after a labial.

Verb *bVrVw- “valley”: Izy *ταβλαυτ*.

Derivative in *-Vw-.

WCh *buHVr- “sand”¹, “dust”²: Sura *ḥur*^{1 2}, Ang *bur*^{1 2}, Krk *bər-bər-ən*², Bks *ḥura*², DB *ḥura*².

Secondary laryngeal infix.

CCh *bur- “sand”¹, “dust”²: Log *būrā*¹, Bud *bur- bur*².

ECh *bar-H- “field”: Kwan *kō-ḥarā*.

Irregular vocalism. Secondary laryngeal suffix.

SA *bur- “sand”: Saho *buree*.

LEC *bur- “dune”¹, “earth”²: Som *bur^co*¹, Arb *boore*².

Cf. also Or *booruu* “muddy”.

Dhl *ḥur-une* “dust”.

338 *bur- “boil”

Eg *brbr* “boil” (n), Copt *berber id.: Boh *berber*.

Reduplication.

Verb *bVr- “boil”: Mzab *abər*, Nfs *abər*.

CCh *mV-bur- “boil”: Mnd *mbur*.

Prefix *mV-.

339 *bur- “penis”

Eg *bɔɔw* “potency” (MK).

-ɔɔ- continues HS *-r-. In the auslaut, -w is a sign for a rounded vowel.

WCh *bur- “penis”: Hs *būrā*.

CCh *bur- “penis”: Bura *bura*.

340 *bur- “calf”

Sem *būr- “calf”: Akk *būru*.

Regular long *ū preserved after a labial.

HEC *bur- “calf”: Dar *bur-uusa*.

Related to *bur- “goat, sheep”?

341 *bur- “goat, sheep”

WCh *mV-bur- “sheep”: Buli *am-bərə*, mberra, Tala *mburra*.

Prefix *mV-.

CCh *bur- “goat”: Hil *burā*, Klb *bura*.

Mwl *bwāra* < *bura-.

LEC *barar- “lambs” (pl.): Som *baraar*.

Partial reduplication and changed vocalism in a plural form.

Mgg *abuur* “sheep”.

342 *bura²- “build”

Sem *bVra²- “create”: Hbr br², Aram b^erā, (Mand) bra, Arab br² [-a-].

WCh *bur- “build”: Krf buru-, Glm bər-.

Related to *bür- “fortified place, building”. It is also possible to reconstruct *büra²-.

343 *buram- “(be) particolored, (be) yellow”

Sem *barm- “particolored”: Akk barmu.

Berb *bVram- “yellow straw”: Ayr i-bram.

WCh *burum- “yellow”: DB burum.

Assimilation of vowels.

344 *b[u]ray- “grain, corn”

Berb *bVray- “pounded grain”¹, “flour”², “pounded barley”³:

Bmr bərri¹, Sml i-bri-n², Sgh i-brai-n², Izn a-brəi³, Snh a-brəi³.

Eg bɔy “kind of pastry” (MK).

-ɔ- < HS *-r-. Cf. Eg brry s.v. *ber- “maize”

Derived from *bar-/bur- “grain, cereal”.

345 *burguč- “insect”

Sem *burgūt- “flea”: Arab burgūt-.

WCh *burguč- “mosquito”: Gera bursi, Dera buruk.

CCh *mV-bVrguč- “louse”: Daba mbərguč.

Related to *boriğ- “insect”.

346 *burog- “stomach”

Sem *argāb- “intestines”: Arab ʾargāb-.

Results from a metathesis of *-b- in *burog-. Initial *- is non-etymological. On the other hand, cf. Arab bugr- “swelled belly”.

CCh *bVrwag- “intestines”: Mnd brogue.

ECh *burwag- “stomach”: Tum buroog.

Derived from *bor- “eat”.

347 *bus- “plant, grass”

Eg wbs “cabbage, greens” (gr).

w- is a vocalic sign.

WCh *bus- “kind of plant”: Hs būšī.

348 *but- “hut”

Berb *but- “mud-house”: Ntf ta-but.

Cf. Bmr ta-but “door”.

WCh *but- “hut”: Bks but, Klr ʾabut.

Related to *bayit- “house”?

349 *but- “vessel”

Sem *batt- “bottle”: Arab batt-at-.

Regular *-a- < HS *-u- after a labial.

WCh *buHat- “gourd bottle”: Hs būta, Gera mboota.

CCh *bVt- “pot”: HNk pta.

p- < *b- in contact with unvoiced -t-.

SA *but- “pot”: Afar buti.

HEC *bot- “big jar”: Bmb bota.

Omot *bat-/bot- “gourd, calabash”: Ome batta, Kaf botoo, Mch boto, Gim bat.

350 *buṭ- “belly”

Berb *buṭ- “navel”¹, “belly”²: Awj a-būṭ¹, Ahg tə-but-ut¹, Twl tə-būṭ-ut¹, Sml a-buḍ¹, Ntf a-buḍ².

WCh *ḥut- < *buṭ- “belly, stomach”: Sura ḥut, Ang ḥwut, Mnt ḥət, Fyer ḥuto.

Shift of emphatization.

351 *buṭ- “vessel”

Sem *baṭ(t)- “vessel”: Akk baṭū, Arab baṭṭ-at-.

Regular *-a- < HS *-u- after a labial.

Berb *buṭ- “bottom of a vessel”: Ntf a-buḍ, Sgr buḍ.

352 *b[u]ṭin- “womb”

Sem *baṭn- “womb”: Hbr *beṭen*, Aram (Emp) *bṭn*, (Palest) *baṭnā*, *biṭnā*, Tgr *bāṭn*, Hrr *bāṭni*.

Secondary -i- in Aram. Regular *-a- < HS *-u- after a labial.

Berb *biniṭ- “navel”: Ntf *i-biniḏ*.

Metathesis on the HS level? Cf. Eg reflex of HS *b[u]ṭun-. On the other hand, in Berb cf. Kby *le-bden* “body”.

Derived from HS *buṭ- “belly”.

353 *buwuṭ- “burn; ash”

Eg *wbd* “burn” (mag).

Metathesis or a graphic representation of Proto-Eg *bud? -d < *-ṭ- is regular.

WCh *buw(V)ṭ- “ash”: Bol *buto*, Krk *bəto*, Dera *bubute*, Bele *buto*, Krf *buto*, Gera *bəḏa*, Diri *butu*, Ngz *bəbət*.

Partial reduplication in Dera.

CCh *bVwuṭ- “ash”: LPe *bwut*.

ECh *but- “ash”: Mig *bitti*, Bid *buto*, Brg *buti*.

Assimilation of vowels in Mig.

Dhl *ḥuw-eeḏ* “boil” may reflect a HS verb *buw- from which the present root was derived.

354 *buyaṭ- “egg”

Sem *bayṣ- “egg”: Hbr *bēṣā*, Aram (Syr) *bīṣtō*, Arab *bayḏ*-, Hss *bēṣeh*, Mhr *bēṣayt*, Shh *beṣ*.

Regular *-a- < HS *-u- after a labial.

WCh *buyaṭ- “egg”: Pol *byaṣ*, Geji *mbuṣi*, Zem *mboṣ*, Brw *mbuṣ*, *mboṣ*, Say *mbuṣ*, Buli *mbiṣ*.

355 *buṣ- “be bad”

Sem *bVzVy- “treat badly”¹, “scorn”²: Akk *buzzu*¹u¹, Hbr *bzy*², Aram (Palest) *bazzē*².

Based on *bVz-.

CCh *buṣ- “evil, bad”: Zgh *buza*, Gvo *bəza*.

356 *bük- “bird”

Eg *byk* “falcon” (a).

-y- may be a sign for a front vowel.

CCh *bwak- < *buka- “vulture”¹, “hen”²: LPe *bwok*¹, Msm *bok*¹, Gis *bokoy*².

ECh *²a-buk- “great bustard”: Bid ²*abuka*.

Prefix *²a-.

Agaw *bik- “kind of bird”: Bil *bikaa*.

357 *bül- “cure”

Sem *bil- “heal, cure”: Arab *bl* [-i-].

CCh *mV-bul- “cure”: Gis *mboul*, Mofu *mbəl*.

Prefix *mV-.

ECh *bVl- “cure”: Sbn *bələ*.

358 *bür- “door”

Sem *birr- “grill, lettuce (of doors, windows)”: Akk *birru*.

Berb *bur- “door”: Ghd *ta-βbur-t*, Ghat *ta-wur-t*, Ahg *ta-hor-t*, Kby *ta-bbur-t*.

Note Berb *b- > *β-.

LEC *bor- “back (of a house)”: Or *boroo*.

Related to *bür- “fortified place, building”?

359 *bür- “fortified place, building”

Sem *bir- “fortress, palace”: Akk *bir-t*, Hbr *bīrā*, Aram (Emp, Nab) *byrt*², (Palest) *bīrtā*.

WCh *bur- “place”¹, “hut”²: Paa *mbura*¹, Siri *bəri*¹, Buli *ibəri*¹, Fyer *bur*².

CCh *bur- “town”: Mnd *bəre*, Gudu *vura-čü*, Nza *vəra-či*, Mwu *vura*, Bch *vura-to*.

360 *büṣ- “breast, bosom”

Sem *bizz- “breast”¹, “nipple”²: Aram (Pehl) *bz*¹, (Syr) *bezzā*², Arab *bizz*².

Berb *buṣ- “large breasts”: Ahg *buhū-tən*.

A descriptive stem.

361 *bVĉir- “announce”

Sem *bVšir- “announce (good news)”: Akk *bašāru*, Ug *bšr*, Hbr *bšr*,
Aram (Palest) *bēšar*, Arab *bšr* [-i-], SAR *tbšr*, Soq *bsr*, Hss *abēšer*,
Mhr *abōšer*, Shh *ōšer*.

Berb *bVčVr- “announce”: Ghd *i-βdər*, Sml *i-bdər*, Kby *yəβdər*.

Berb reflects *-č-.

Irregular correspondence of affricates.

362 *bVġ- “wish”

Sem *bVġiw-/ *bVġiy- “look for”¹, “wish”²: Akk *buʾü, baʾü*¹,
OAram *ybʿh*², Aram (Emp) *bʿh*², Arab *bġw* [-i-]², Hss *beġayt*²,
Mhr *beġayt*².

CCh *bVγ- “not wish”: Log *bγʾa*.

Note the peculiar semantic development: “not wish” ? ← *
“wish not to”.

363 *bVʿon- “neck”

Eg *bʿn* “neck (of a bird)” (pyr).

This word may be also compared with HS *bulaʿ- “throat”.

WCh *bVHwan- “neck”: Pero *hwəŋ*.

-ŋ < *-n-H- as a result of the metathesis of the inlaut laryngeal.

364 *bVhVw- “shine”

Sem *bVhVw- “shine”: Arab *bhw* [-u-].

CCh *bVHVw-/ *bVHVγ- “light”¹, “lightning”²: Dgh *biya*¹, LPe
*buwo*².

Vowels both in Dgh and LPe are secondary for morphological
and/or phonological reasons.

365 *bVš- “dig, bury”

Sem *nVbuš- “dig out”: Arab *nbš* [-u-]

Prefix *nV-. Secondary *-u- after a labial may go back to HS
*-a-.

WCh *bVš- “bury”: Ngz *bəžu*, Bade *əbžu*.

CCh *bVš- “bury”: Bura *bša*.

366 *bVtVḵ- “cut”

Sem *bVtVḵ- “cut, chop”: Akk *batāqu, badāqu*, Hbr *btq*, Arab *btq*.
Eg *btk* “slaughter” (gr).

Late development of *ḵ > k.

367 *bVtun- “be pregnant”

Sem *bVtun- “be pregnant”¹, “have a big belly”²: Hbr *bt̃n*¹,
Aram (Talm) *bētan*¹, Arab *bt̃n*² [-u-], Hss *beṭ̃n*², Mhr *beṭ̃ayn*²,
Shh *beṭ̃in*².

Secondary *-u-?

Eg *bnd* “difficult delivery” (med).

Metathesis. Cf. Berb reflexes of *b[u]ṭ̃in-.

Derived from *b[u]ṭ̃in- “womb”.

368 *bVw-/ *bVy- “cry, weep”

WCh *bVy- “cry, weep”: Siri *biyi*, Kry *biy*.

Secondary *i before *y.

LEC *bo- < *bVw- “cry, weep”: Or *boo*-.

Note consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

369 *bVzḵ- “be wet, spit”

Sem *bVzḵ- “spit”: Arab *bzq* [-u-], Tgr *bozāqā*.

Berb *bVzVḵ- “be wet”: Ghd *bzəy*, Sml *ibzəg*, Ntf *əbzəg*, Shn *ibzəg*,
Kby *əbzəy*.

*C

370 *caʿ- “tree”

WCh *caʿ- “kind of tree”: Tng *saaye, saawe*.

Derivative in *-ay- or *-aw-.

CCh *cyaʿ- “wood”: Gaa *šəʿa*.

Irregular vocalism.

ECh *sVw- “tree”: Sok *səwi*.

Cf. also Sok čui id., suo “acacia”?

Rift *ca²- “tree”: Kwz ca²-unko.

371 *cabar- “stick”

Eg sbr “twig, branch” (med).

Cf. also isbr “whip” (NK) where *i-* may be a prefix.

WCh *cabar- “wooden poles”: Hs çabarā.

Hs ç- < WCh *c- is regular.

372 *cabel-/ *çabel- “wild cat, leopard”

WCh *cVbyal- < *çVbyal- “wild cat”: Sura səbəl, Ang söl, Mpn səbəl.

LEC *šabel- “leopard”: Som šabeel, Boni šuel.

Boni reflects an earlier *šawel- < *šabel-.

Irregular correspondence in the anlaut.

373 *cag- “break”

Sem *sVgV^c- “pierce”: Gz sag^{wc}a, Tgy säg^{wc}e.

Secondary formation based on *sVg-?

Eg sd “break” (pyr).

-d points out to a preceding vowel different from *a.

WCh *cag- “break, cut”: Hs çāga.

374 *cagaḥ- “bird”

Eg sdḥ “kind of bird” (MK).

Unexpected palatalization may indicate a root vowel other than *a.

WCh *cagag- “ibis”: Hs çagagi.

Partial reduplication.

ECh *sagay- < *sagaH- “vulture”: Kwan sagay.

375 *ca^caw-/ *ca^cay- “squeeze, press”

Sem *sV^cVy- “squeeze”: Akk se²ū.

WCh *cV-cVy- “squeeze”: Miya asəsəyo.

Partial reduplication.

ECh *saw- “squeeze out pus”: Ngam sow.

Secondary -o- < *-a- before a labial.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

376 *caḥVw- “plaited object”

Sem *sahw- “curtain”: Arab sawh-.

WCh *caw-/ *cay- “plaited cover for a door”: Hs çauyā, çaiwā, çayawa.

The inlaut laryngeal left no traces.

Rift *caḥw- “snare”: Irq caḥwe-li, Kwz ca²-uko.

Kwz seems irregular.

377 *caḥ- “herd”

Eg šḥ.t “herd of donkeys” (OK).

-ḥ denotes a root vowel.

WCh *caḥi- “herd”: Wrj čiyə, Siri cagu.

Wrj -i- influenced by WCh *i of the second syllable.

378 *caḥ- “know, teach”

WCh *caw- < *caHaw- “teach”: Bol soow.

Suffix *-aw-.

Rift *caḥ- “learn, know”: Irq in-caḥ-, Asa šah-.

379 *caḥal- “grass”

Sem *saḥl- “cresse”: Akk saḥlū.

CCh *cahal- “grass”: Mofu sahal.

ECh *sVHVl- “grass”: Mkk soole.

Probably, should be reconstructed as *caqal- and derived from *caq- “earth, field” if the comparison with *buçal- “plant” ← *buç- “sand, earth” is valid.

380 *calak- “gather”

Sem *sVlVḥ- “gather”: Arab slq.

Eg sḥk “gather” (pyr).

Note HS *-l- > -j-.

CCh *caḳal- ‘gather, collect’: Mafa *caḳal*, Mofu *čakal*.
Metathesis. Unexpected in č- Mofu.

381 *calaḳ- ‘lamb, goat’

Sem *saḥl- ‘lamb’: Arab *saḥl-at*.
Metathesis.

Berb *cVlay- ‘goat’: Siwa *zalaq*, Ayr *ə-zolaḡ*, Ahg *a-hulaḡ*, Twl *e-zolaḡ*, Sha *zalaḡ*.

CCh *calak- ‘gazelle’: Msg *salak*, *salag*.

ECh *sakal- ‘lamb’: Mig *sakalle*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction may be *caḳal-.

382 *cam- ‘yellow, red’

Sem *sām- ‘red’: Akk *sāmu*.

CCh *ci-cim- ‘yellow’: Gude *ššima*, Boka *šumma*, Hil *mī-ššima*.
Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

383 *camid- ‘grass’

Sem *samīd- ‘spice plant, vegetable groats’: Akk *samīdu*.

ECh *sVmVd- ‘grass’: Smr *semdē*.

Assimilation of vowels under the influence of auslaut -ē.

Derived from *cim- ‘grass, plant’.

384 *cap- ‘vessel’

Sem *sapp- ‘kind of vessel’: Akk *sappu*, Hbr *sap*, Phn *sp*.

Eg *sp.t* ‘vessel’ (n).

A cultural loanword or an inherited HS term?

385 *caq- ‘earth, field’

Sem *saḥḥ- ‘meadow’¹, ‘good land’² Akk *saḥḥu*¹, Arab *saḥāḥ*-².

Secondary formation in Arab based on *saḥḥ-.

Eg *sh.t* ‘field’ (pyr), Copt *soḥi id.: Fym *šōši*, Shd *sōše*.

CCh *caḳwa- ‘field’¹, ‘ground’², ‘sand’³: Log *sḫē*¹, Hwn *čəḫwē-ra*², Boka *-soḫi-tə*³, Gaa *čəkw-itə*³, Gbn *čiyək-tə*³.

Agaw *cVḫ- ‘prairie’: Kem *sēḥā*.

386 *car- ‘elder, chief’

Sem *sarr- ‘chief’: Arab *sarr*-.

May be a Persian loanword.

Eg *sr* ‘high official, elder’ (pyr).

WCh *car- ‘king’: Wrj *cāra*.

ECh *sVr- ‘adult’: Tum *səri*.

Cf. Berb *cVwVr- ‘precede, head, command’ (Ayr *izar*, əzwər, Kby *zwir*-, Ahg *əhwar*).

387 *car- ‘know’

Sem *wVsVr- ‘remind’¹, ‘teach, instruct’²: Akk *asāru*¹, Ug *wsr*², Hbr *ysr*².

Derivative in *wV-. Note that, semantically, Sem verb is a causative in relation to Eg and CCh.

Eg *sḫḫ* ‘know’ (a).

-ḫḫ reflects *-r-. It is less acceptable in the present case to treat inlaut -j- as a vocalic sign.

CCh *car- ‘know’¹, ‘remember’²: Glv *sər*¹, Msm *sar*².

388 *car- ‘rope, tendon’

WCh *car-ak- ‘rope, tendon’: Hs *čarkiyā*, Sura *carka*, Mbu *caraku*.

Suffix *-ak-.

Bed *sar* ‘tendon’.

Note form with an inlaut laryngeal: WCh *ci²Vr- ‘rope, tendon’ (Siri *cīra*, Bks *sir*), ECh *si²yar- ‘thread, rope’ (Smr *šire*, Mubi *sēṛi*).

389 *caram- ‘chief’

Sem *sVran- ‘prince’¹, ‘Philistine chiefs’² Ug *sm*¹, Hbr *s^crānīm*².

Philistine loanword related to or preserved by Gk *τυραννος*? If not a loanword, it may go back to HS **sVran-* assimilated from **sVram-*, cf. WCh.

WCh **caram-* ‘‘chief’’: DB *saram*.

Derived from **car-* ‘‘elder, chief’’.

390 **caw-* ‘‘faeces’’

WCh **caw-* ‘‘faeces’’: Ngz *šau*.

Ngz may, alternatively, go back to **caʔ-*.

Agaw **caw-* ‘‘faeces’’: Xmr *cawaa*, Kwr *šāwaa*.

391 **cawar-* ‘‘dance’’ (v.)

Sem **sūr-* ‘‘dance’’: Akk *sāru*, Hbr *swr*.

WCh **cwar-* < **cVwar-* ‘‘dance’’ (v.) ¹, ‘‘dance’’ (n.) ²: Gera *swarri* ¹, Ngz *suwaari* ².

Ngz *-uwa-* < **(V)wa-*.

ECh **sawar-* < **saHar-* ‘‘dance’’: Brg *čaari*.

392 **ceʔ-* ‘‘speak, shout’’

Sem **sVwVʔ-* ‘‘cry (of pain)’’: Akk *sāʔu*.

WCh **cyaH-* ‘‘speak’’ ¹, ‘‘speech’’ ²: Bgh *še* ¹, Fyer *se* ².

ECh **sway-* ‘‘shout’’: Smr *s(w)ōy*, Jegu *say*.

A secondary formation based on **swaʔ-*. The vowel may result from the influence of the second syllable.

Rift **ceʔ-* ‘‘shout’’: Irq *ceʔ-*.

393 **cel-* ‘‘female pudenda’’

Berb **c(V)lul-* ‘‘clitoris’’: Izn *azlul*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh **cyaH-* ‘‘vulva, female pudenda’’: Hs *čēle*, Krk *cele*, Tng *šeli*.

LEC **sil-* ‘‘vulva’’: Som *siil*.

Wrz **sil-* ‘‘clitoris’’: Hss *siil-akko*.

HEC **čil-* ‘‘vagina’’: Sid *čiʔle*, Kmb *čili-t*.

394 **cilam-* ‘‘tail’’

ECh **silVm-* ‘‘tail’’: Mkk *silme*.

Agaw **cimal(l)-* ‘‘tail’’: Bil *šamar*, Xmr *čimir*, Aun *camaro*.

Metathesis. Secondary emphatization in Xmr.

An alternative reconstruction is **cimal-*.

395 **cim-* ‘‘grass, plant’’

Sem **sim-sim-* ‘‘sesame’’: Arab *simsim-*.

Reduplication.

Eg *sm.w* ‘‘cabbage’’ (pyr), Copt **sim* id.: Fym *sim*, Ahm *sim*, Bhr *sim*, Shd *sim*.

WCh **cim-* ‘‘steep herbs (for medicinal purposes)’’: Hs *čima*.

ECh **syam-* ‘‘hay’’: Mkk *seemi* (pl.).

Rift **cam-* ‘‘kind of grass’’: Irq *camo*.

Dhl *taam-ine* ‘‘blade of grass’’.

Innovative **a* in Cush.

396 **cin-/cun-* ‘‘leg’’

Sem **sūn-* ‘‘lap, crotch’’: Akk *sūnu*.

Cf. Arab *sinʕ-* ‘‘joint (of fingers)’’ and *ʔsn* ‘‘kick with a foot’’.

Eg *ins* ‘‘leg’’ (med). Metathesis,

Agaw **sin-H-* ‘‘calf’’: Bil *siḡ*.

The laryngeal may be treated as a remainder of an archaic prefix moved to the end of the root (if so, the Agaw word may be compared with Chadic forms under **a-cin-H-*) or as a secondary suffix.

Chadic forms with **a-/Ha-*, a prefix of body parts, see under **a-cin-H-*.

397 **cinun-* ‘‘bird’’

Sem **sinun-* ‘‘swallow’’: Akk *sinuntu*, Arab *sinīnī*, *sinūnū*.

Rift **cuʔunun-* ‘‘hawk’’: Asa *šuʔununu*.

Secondary **-uʔu-* < **i* due to assimilation.

398 *cip- “sweep”

Sem *sVp- “rake up”¹, “purify, refine”²: Hbr *spy*¹, Gz *sff*².

Various formations based on biliteral *sVp-.

Berb *cVf- “plane” (v.)¹, “wash”²: Ayr *zafat*¹, Kby *ucuf*².

WCh *cVp- “take off the top layers of washed corn”¹, “sweep”², “skim”³: Hs *čāf-ače*¹, Diri *səfa*², Siri *čəfu*², Ngz *səpu*³.

ECh *sip- “sweep”¹, “remove foam”²: Bid *sep*¹, Mkk *sippe*².

Bid may reflect *sipa-.

399 *cir- “pot”

Sem *sīr- “mug”: Hbr *sīr*.

WCh *cīr- “small pot”: Ank *šir*.

CCh *cīr-/*cūr- “pot”: Zgh *šire*, Gava *sura*.

Traces of an ancient apophony?

400 *cir- “pierce”

Sem *sVr-sVr- “sharpen”: Arab *srsr*.

Reduplication.

WCh *cīr- “spit meat on skewers, pierce”: Hs *čīre*.

Related to *cīr- “thorn”.

401 *cir- “thorn”

Sem *sīr- “thorn, hook”: Hbr *sīrīm* (pl.).

Eg *sr.t* “thorn” (BD).

ECh *sīr- “roasting spit”: Bid *sīri*.

402 *ciway- “pay”

Sem *sūy- “cost” (v.): Arab *swy* [-a].

WCh *ciya- “pay”: Wrj *ča*, Kry *čiy*, Miya *c-*, Mbu *c-*, Jmb *ši*, *ša*, Ang *ši*.

Transformation of an earlier *ciwya-/*ciway-?

403 *co²ab- “drink”

Sem *sVbV²-/*sV²ab- “draw water”¹, “drink”², “be satisfied

with drinking”³, “buy wine in order to drink it”⁴: Akk *sāb*¹, Ug *šb*¹, Hbr *sb*², Aram (Jud) *sb*², Arab *s²b* [-a]³, *sb*² [-a]⁴.

Metathesis of *²- within Sem.

CCh *cwaHab- “suck”: Mofu *-sasab-*, Gis *soḥ*, *suḥ*, Daba *seḥ*, Zime *soḥo*.

Emphatic -ḥ- reflects the lost laryngeal.

ECh *swaHVb- “suck”¹, “drink”²: Kera *soḥe*¹, Mubi *suva*².

404 *cok- “pot, vessel”

Sem *²asuk- “vessel for ointments”: Hbr *²asuk*.

Prefix *²a-.

Eg *st.t* “baking form” (OK).

Progressive palatalization of *k > *t* after HS *o.

WCh *cwak- “calabash”: Ngm *šoko*.

CCh *swak- “pot”: FKī *šaka*, Zgh *sakə*, Glv *šaka*, FJ *šaku*, Bch *suk-to*, Log *skwa*, Ksr *sko*.

405 *coriy- “plant, grass”

Eg *šry* “kind of plant” (med).

-š- is a sign for a vowel.

WCh *cwari- “grass, thatching grass”: Hs *čāri*, Bol *saro*, Dera *šwari*, Kry *car*, Miya *car*, Cagu *cir-in*.

ECh *swariy- “kind of grass”: Mkk *soriyo*.

406 *cuḥVl- “pierce”

Sem *sVḥVl- “pierce”: Akk *saḥālu*.

WCh *cul- “pierce”: Sura *sul*, Chip *səl*.

Contracted from *cuHVl-.

407 *cuk- “close”

Sem *suk- “stop up”¹, “cover”²: Akk *sakāku*¹, Hbr *skk*², Arab *skk* [-u-]¹, Jib *sekk*².

CCh *ca-cVkwā- “stop up”: Mofu *sasəkw*.

Partial reduplication.

HEC *čuk- “close (with a lid)”: Bmb *cuk*-.

Bmb *c-* is due to the orthographic peculiarities of the lexical sources.

408 *cṼḤaḤ- “cut, break”

Sem *sṼḤaḤ- “break, crush”: Akk *sāqu*, *zāqu*, Arab *ṣḥq* [-a-], Jib *ṣḥak*,
Hss *seḥāq*, Mhr *seḥāq*.
Berb *cṼḥ(k)- “cut, pierce”: Kby *ceqq*.

409 *cṼmṼk- “cover”

Sem *sṼmṼk- “cover”: Akk *samāku*.
Eg *skm* “wrap” (gr).
Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *cṼkṼm-.

410 *cṼtṼḥ- “bird”

Eg *sth* “kind of bird” (XXII).
CCh *cṼt- “kite”: Bch *soto*.

* Ç

411 *çaʿal-/ *çawal- “jump”

Sem *ṣūl- “rush at, jump at”¹, “jump in fright”²: Arab *ṣwl* [-u-]
]¹, Jib *ṣell*².
WCh *çal- < *çaʿal- “jump”: Hs *çallē*.
ECh *saʿal- “jump”: Lele *çal*.
HEC *çāl- < *çaHal- “jump”: Had *çaall-*, Kmb *çal-*.

Consonantal alternation *-ʿ- ~ *-w-.

412 *çad- “grind”

Berb *çVd- < *çVd- “grind”: Ayr *əzəḍ*, Kby *ezḍ*.
Secondary emphatization of *-d-.
Omot *çad- “pound”: Ome *çaad-*.

413 *çad- “be thirsty”

Sem *ṣVday- “be thirsty”: Arab *ṣdy* [-a-].
Based on biliteral *ṣVd-.

CCh *caḍ- < *çad- “lick”¹, “drink”²: Mofu - *səḍ-*¹, Mafa *caḍ*.
Shift of emphatization.
ECh *sad-/ *siḍ- “suck”¹, “lick”²: Mig *ʿasiḍo*, Sbn *čada*².
Shift of emphatization preceding the merger of HS *ç in ECh.

414 *çadaç- “cut”

Sem *ṣVdaç- “split, separate”: Arab *ṣdʿ* [-a-].
ECh *sad- < *saHad- “cut”: Tum *sad*.
Metathesis.
An alternative reconstruction is *çaçad-.

415 *çag- “hair”

WCh *çag- “hair (in the horse’s tail)”¹, “hair”²: Hs *çagiyā*¹,
Cagu *gəṣiye*².
Metathesis in Cagu.
Rift *çag- “hair”: Irq *çaga*.
Unexpected Irq ç-.

416 *çaç- “stick”

Eg *çʿ* “twig” (med).
Partial reduplication (of orthographic nature?).
WCh *çaH- “stick”: Bol *cāwa*, *zāwa*, Klr *coh*.
CCh *nV-cah- “stick”: Gis *žaha*.
*n(V)c- > ž-.

The following forms may be related to this root: (i) Sem *aṣaw- “stick” (Arab *ʿaṣā*) with metathesis; (ii) Rift *caḥ- “arrow-tip” (Alg *caḥi*, Bur *caḥiya*).

417 *çaʿaḥ- “shout, ask”

Sem *ṣVʿaḥ- “shout”¹, “call” (v.)², “thunder” (v.)³: Hbr *ṣʿq*¹,
Aram (Jud) *ṣʿq*¹, SAR *ṣʿq*², Arab *ṣʿq* [-a-]³, Jib *ṣaʿak*¹.
Berb *[ç]VwVḥ- “sing”: Kby *cewweq*.
Irregular anlaut.
Eg *çʿk* “call” (n).
Note loss of emphatization in -k < *k.

CCh **ca*k- “ask”: Gbn *čəxi*, Boka *saxa-da*, Hwn *cake*.

Agaw **ca*w(V)*k*- < **ca*H(V)*k*- “ask”: Xmt *čawk*-.

Omot **ç*V_yV*k*-/**ç*V*w*V*k*- < **ç*VH*V**k*- “shout”: Ome *čäyk*- , Kaf *čook*-.

Dissimilation of **k* > **k* as in Eg.

Cf. also Som *dawaaq*- “shout caused by grief”?

418 **ca*h- “be white”

Sem **ç*V*h*- “be white”¹, “shimmer”², “be clear”³: Hbr *šhḥ*¹, Aram *šhḥ*², (Syr) *šahā*³, Arab *šhw* [-*u*-, -*a*-]³, Gz *šhw*³, Tgr *šhy*³, Tgy *šāhe*³, Soq *šhy*³.

Various trilateral formations based on **ç*V*h*-.

CCh **ca*y- “shining”: Mafa *caya²a*.

From **ca*H-.

Omot **ca*H- “white”: Ari *caa-mi*.

Cf. also Berb: Ghd *iḍua* “light” (adj.).

419 **ca*h- “metal”

Eg *dh* “kind of metal” (XVIII).

CCh **ca*x- “iron”: FG *caḫyi*.

Derived from **ca*h- “be white”? Cf. a similar type of semantic derivation in Lat *argentum* “silver” and the like.

420 **ca*h²- “sand”

Sem **šahra²*- “desert”: Arab *šahrā²*-.

WCh **ç*[*a*H*wa*]*r*- “sand”: Klr *ṣasoor*, DB *nžoor*.

DB *nž*- < **n*V*ç*-.

CCh **ç*V_yV*l*- < **ç*V_yV*r*- “sand”: Nak *səyle*, Mnd *šili*, Glv *səyelu*, svyula.

Cf. also HEC **šašar*- “sand” (Had *šašsara*)? An old compound?

421 **ca*h-*ca*h- “field”

Sem **šah-šah*- “plot of land”: Arab *šahšah*-.

Cf. non-reduplicated Jib *šsh*.

HEC **daḍ*- “field, land, soil”: Bmb *daḍdoo*.

From **ca*ç-, cf. HEC **du-du*f- “python” < **çu*-*çuf*- (see HS **çUfa*- “snake”).

Reduplication.

422 **ca*l- “rope; tie”

Sem **ç*V*l*- “join, attach”: Hbr *ṣl*, Arab *wṣl*, *yṣl*.

Denominative formation.

WCh **ca*l- “tree used to make ropes”¹, “rope”²: Ang *sāl*¹, Bol *coli*².

CCh **ca*l- “rope”: Mwu *saalu*.

423 **ca*p- “be clean”

Sem **ç*V*p*V²-/**ç*V*p*V*w*- “(be) clean”: Arab *ṣfw* [-*u*-], Mhr *šōfi*, Hss *šāfi*, Jib *sefi*.

Based on **ç*V*p*-.

WCh **ca*p- “wash”¹, “be clean”², “well washed”³: Hs *çaf*³, Sura *sugup*¹, Ang *sup*^{1 2}, Mpn *sūp*, *suwup*¹, Say *cap*¹, DB *sapa*².

CCh **ca*b- < **ca*p- “wash”: Tera *ših-ara*, Boka *sap-aḍa*, Hwn *cəbən*, Gbn *čəpən*, Gaa *čap-an*-.

Shift of emphatization.

424 **ca*t- “be warm”

Sem **ç*V*t*- “hot ashes”¹, “set fire”²: Akk *šetū*¹, Hbr *yšt*².

CCh **ca*t- “warm oneself”: Mofu *-sət*-, *-zət*-.

425 **ca*t- “shout, speak”

Sem **ç*ūt- “shout”: Arab *ṣwt* [-*a*-, -*u*-], Gz *ṣwt*.

Based on **ç*V*t*-.

WCh **ca*t- “speak”: Sura *sat*, Ang *sat*, Chip *sət*.

426 **ca*wad-/*ca*yad- “hunt”

Sem **ç*ūd- “hunt (v.)”: Akk *šādu*, Ug *šd*, Hbr *šwd*, Arab *šyd* [-*i*-, -*a*-].

-i- in Arab is secondary and induced by intervocalic -y-.

ECh **sawad-/*sayad-* ‘chase’¹, ‘hunt’ (n.)²: Sbn *čwada*¹, Mubi *saiyad*².

HEC **sa[y]ad-* ‘hunt’: Bmb *saad-*.

Unexpected *s-* indicating a possible borrowing from Sem.

Consonantal alternation **-w- ~ *-y-*.

427 *çawah-/çayah- ‘shout, ask’

Sem **šūh-* ‘shout, call, clamor’: Akk *šāhu*, Ug *šh*, Hbr *šwh*, Aram (Syr) *šwh*, Arab *syh* [-i-], Tgy *čawah bälä*, Amh *čohä*, Jib *ešyeh*.

WCh **çVwVh-/çVyVh-* ‘ask’: Wrj *cəγ*, Kry *šiy*, Miya *šiy*, Cagu *ša*, Siri *šuw*.

HEC **čēh-* ‘call’: Bmb *ceeh-*.

Bmb *c-* is an orthographic variant of *ç-*. HEC **-ē-* reflects a contraction of **-aya-*.

Consonantal alternation **-w- ~ *-y-*.

428 *çawan- ‘flint, stone’

Sem **šawān-* ‘flint, quartz’: Arab *šawwān-at-*.

WCh **çaw(V)n-* ‘hill, pile’: Hs *çauni*.

429 *çawlag- ‘stick’

Sem **šawlag-* ‘stick’: Arab *šawlag-ān-*.

Derivative in *-ān-*.

CCh **cugul-* ‘stick, beam’: Masa *sugula*, Bnn *sugul-da*, Mafa *cagalay*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **çawgal-*. As far as vocalism in CCh is concerned, see HS **dawhal-* ‘vessel’.

430 *çeb- ‘look’

Sem **šVb-* ‘observe’: Akk *šubbū*.

D stirpes in Akk.

WCh **çyab-* ‘look’: Tng *sebi*.

431 *çef- ‘flow, soak’

Sem **šVpVw-* ‘flow’: Arab *šfw*.

Based on **šVp-*. Cf. Hbr *šwp* ‘flow’.

Berb **çVf-* ‘weep’: Ghd *ezzəf*.

HEC **çeff-* ‘imbue, moisten’: Ala *çeffo*, Kab *çeffo*, Kmb *çef-fo*.

432 *çepur-/čepur- ‘bird’

Sem **šipār-* ‘sparrow’¹, ‘bird’², ‘sandpiper’³: Akk *šibāru*¹,

Hbr *šippōr*², Aram (Syr) *šepōr*, Hss *zefār*³.

Secondary *z-* in Hss. Cf. Arab *ʿusfur* ‘sparrow’.

WCh **čapur-* < **čyapur-* ‘guinea fowl’: Wrj *čapur*.

**-ya-* > **a* after an affricate.

CCh **cipur-* ‘guinea fowl’: Mrg *cəvur*, Klb *civər*, Hil *civə:rə:w*,

Bura *cəvur*, Chb *zuvura*.

ECh **sibVr-* ‘guinea fowl’: Smr *sibir*, Sok *sōir*.

May belong to HS **sa(m)bir-*.

Irregular anlaut.

433 *çer- ‘speak, shout’

Sem **šir-* ‘shout’: Arab *šrr* [-i-].

WCh **çyaru-* ‘speak’: Bol *sor-*, Tng *seer-*, Pero *čeero*.

434 *çibV^c- ‘finger’

Sem **šib^c-* ‘finger’: Aram (Syr) *šēb^c-*, Tgr *čēb^c-it*.

Cf. a derivative in Ug *ʾuṣb^c*, Hbr *ʾšbā^c*, Arab *ʾiṣba^c*, Gz *ʾäṣba^c*,

Tgy *ʾaṣabā^c*, Jib *ʾiṣba^c*, Soq *ʾəṣba^c*, Amh *lat*.

Eg *ḏb^c* ‘finger’ (pyr).

435 *çiç-/çuç- ‘chick’

Sem **šūš-* ‘chick’: Arab *šūš-*.

LEC **çuç-* ‘chick’: Or *çuçoo*.

HEC **çiç-* ‘chick’: Had *çiiç-oola*, Kmb *çiiç-oorra*.

Descriptive root with an alternation of vowels.

436 *çig- “flower”

Berb *çig- “flower”: Sus *ažžig*.

WCh *çig- “kind of tobacco flower”: Hs *çigī*.

Agaw *çag-/çig- “flower”: Bil *çaga*, Kwr *şəge*, Xmr *şiya*.

437 *çihar- “in-law”

Sem *şih(V)r- “son-in-law”¹, “brother-in-law”²: Arab *şihr*², Soq *şehēr*¹.

WCh *çVHVr- “in-laws”: Sura *səgər*, Mpn *səər*.

Regular -g- in Sura.

438 *çil- “snake”

Sem *şill- “adder”: Arab *şill*.

WCh *çil- “tapeworm”: Hs *çilā*.

439 *çilal-/çilul- “kite, hawk”

Sem *şalal- “night bird”: Akk *şallalu*.

Assimilation of vowels.

HEC *çulul- “kite”: Sid *çululle*.

Assimilated from *çilul-. Borrowed in Or *çululle*.

Rift *çilil- “cry of the hawk”: Irq *cilili*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Dhl *tsilala* “hawk”.

440 *çin- “sharp object”

Sem *şin- “thorn”: Hbr *şēn*.

WCh *çin- “sharp point”¹, “tooth”²: Hs *çinī*¹, Siri *çinna*².

441 *çin- “nose”

WCh *hV-çin- “nose”: Hs *hanči*, Sura *pəgə-zin*, Mnt *kəzəŋ*, Grk *yiddiŋ*, Bol *wunti*, Krk *untin*, Dera *wariŋ*, Ngm *wunti*, Maha *wotiŋ*, Bele *unti*, Krf *wuttini*, Gera *wunčini*, Glm *wuzi*, Grm *umši*, Pol *išin*, Geji *ičin*, Brw *ngə-sən*, Say *nyi-cəŋ*, Dwot *ngu-zuŋ*, Buli *išin*, Fyer *šin*.

Prefix *hV-.

CCh *(hV-)cin- “nose”: FKİ *n-čən*, FG *k-šin*, Mtk *χə-can*, Daba *me-čij*, Mus *mi-čij*, Gude *šinə*, Gudu *čin*, Nza *činē*, Bch *šine*, Bata *činne*, Log *xsəni*, Bud *činne*, Kus *asen*, Msg *čunge*, hantsiŋ, Lame *čini*, Bnn *čina*.

Prefix *hV- in several languages.

ECh *sin-um- “nose”: Sbn *şyan-*, Tum *hun*, Smr *sen-dum*, Nch *žinum-*.

Suffix of body parts *-um-.

Archaic root preserved only in Chadic. Cf. *çin- “smell”. Note prefix *hV- in WCh and CCh probably lost in ECh for phonetic reasons.

442 *çin- “smell” (v.)

Sem *VšVn- “smell”: Akk *ešēnu*.

Cf. Arab *şnn* “have a bad smell”, Gz *şnw* “be fragrant”.

SA *sin- “odor”: Saho *sin*.

HEC *çinç- “smell”: Bmb *çinç-*.

Partial reduplication.

Omot *çin- “smell”: Kaf *çiin-*.

Derived from *çin- “nose”.

443 *çir- “bird”

Sem *şir- “bird”: Tgy *şir*, Amh *čəre*.

Borrowed from Cush?

Eg *dry.t* “kite” (pyr).

-y functions as a vocalis sign.

WCh *çir- “parakeet”: Hs *çiryā*.

LEC *çir- “kind of bird”: Or *çirrii*.

Omot *çer- “bird”: Ome *çeraa*.

444 *çir- “cut”

Sem *šVr- “cut, split”¹, “separate”² Aram (Syr) *şry*¹, Arab *şwr*¹, Soq *şer*².

Various derivatives based on the original *šVr- (*šVwVr-, *šVrVy-).

LEC *çir- “cut”: Or *çira*.

445 *çirih- “warm” (v.)

Sem *šVrVh- “warm” (v.): Akk *šarāhu*.

Rift *ciriḥ- “glow”: Irq *ciriḥ*.

Reflexes of HS *ḥ are not quite clear.

446 *çirV- “gather, collect”

Eg *dr*^c “gather” (XX).

WCh *çir- < *çiHVr- “pile up”: Hs *çira*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction could be *çi^cVr-.

447 *çit- “be silent”

Sem *nVšit- “be silent”: Arab *nšt* [-i-].

Prefix *nV-.

WCh *çit- “quiet, silent”: Ang *šit*.

448 *çiwar- “flock”

Sem *šiwār- “flock (of wild kine or bulls)”: Arab *šiwār*-, *šuwār*-, *šiyār*-.

Berb *çVrVw- “flock (of wild animals)”: Tua *asera*, pl. *i-serā-ten*.

Metathesis.

449 *çoçof- “drip”

WCh *çaçaf- “bubble”: Hs *çaçafō*.

Modified vocalism in a reduplicated form?

LEC *çoçof- “drip”: Or *çoççoḫa*.

If Or -ḫ- < HS *-f-.

Partial reduplication of *çof- “drop”.

450 *çof- “drop”

Eg *df* “drops” (n).

CCh *cVf- “sprinkle” (n.): Mafa *čaffe*^a.

LEC *çof- “drop”: Or *çoḫa*.

Note Or -ḫ-.

Omot *çaf-çaf- “drip”: Kaf *čafčafō*.

Full reduplication with changed vocalism.

Related to *çef- “flow, soak”.

451 *çoh- “dry up”

Sem *šVh- “dry up”¹, “be dry”²: Hbr *šhy*¹, Aram (Palest) *šh*².

Derivatives in C³ = y, ³ based on the original biconsonantal structure *šVh-.

CCh *cwaH- “dry up”: LPe *čo*³, Masa *soya*, Msm *tcho*³o, Bnn *so*³a-mo.

Masa -y- < *-H-.

452 *çor- “hair”

Sem *šVrr- “whiskers”: Akk *šerretu*.

Eg *ḏḏ* “plait” (of hair) (BD).

-ḏḏ may go back to *-r or *-rr.

WCh *çwar- “hair”: Hs *çōrō*.

The vowel may result from assimilation.

Cf. also Berb *[c]V^cVr- “hair” (Kby *ecc^cer*).

453 *çub- “cloth”

Eg *wḏb* “cloth” (XVIII).

Initial w- represents the root vowel.

WCh *suḫa- < *çuba- “cloth”: Bol *suḫa*, Tng *seb*, Ngm *suḫa*.

CCh *cuḫ- < *çub- “cloth”: Bch *suḫwe-to*.

454 *çul- “pour, drip”

Sem *mVšul- “drip”: Arab *mšl* [-u-].

Prefix *mV-.

WCh *çul- “pour”: Hs *çula*.

455 *çur- “press together”

Sem *šVr- “press together, wrap”: Hbr *šwr*, Aram *šwr*, Arab *šrr*.

Secondary formation in Hbr and Aram based on *šVr-.

ECh **sur-* “press, pack”¹, “be heavy, load”²: Kbl *sər*¹, Bid *sur-ray*¹, Mig *sūra*².

Mig *-ū-* may reflect **-u-* or **-uwa-*.

456 **çura*^ç- “throw”

Sem **šVra*^ç- “throw”: Arab *šr*^ç [-a-], Soq *šer(r)*.

WCh **çVHVr-* “fall”: Bol *soor*.

Metathesis.

ECh **suHVr-* “fall”: Kera *suuri*.

Metathesis.

457 **çübur-* “sharp instrument”

Sem **šibār-* “pointed tool”: Akk *šibāru*.

Regular HS **u* > Sem **a* after a labial.

WCh **suḫur-* < **çubur-* “knife”: Buli *səbər*, Say *subur*, Dira *suḫuri*,

Pol *sərrəb*, Dwot *surup*.

Metathesis in Pol and Dwot.

458 **çüf(a)*^ç- “snake”

Sem **šipa*^ç- “snake”: Hbr *šepa*^ç.

Cf. a derivative in Hbr *šip*^ç-*ōnī* id.

Eg *ḏdf.t* “snake” (BD).

Note *ḏd-* as a reflex of **ç*.

HEC **ḏu-ḏuf-* “python”: Sid *ḏuḏuufa*.

Partial reduplication. As far as **ḏ* < **ç* is concerned in a situation of two contacting **ç*, see HS **çaḫ-çaḫ-* “field”.

459 **çVrVf-* “burn”

Sem **šVrVp-* “burn”: Akk *šarāpu*.

Eg *ḏḏf* “burn” (trans.) (NK).

-ḏ- reflects **-r-*.

*Č

460 **čabāḫ-* “wing”

Eg *sbḫ.t* “wing” (gr).

WCh **čaHab-* “wing”: Sura *čaap*, Ang *čēp*, Chip *šəp*, Mpn *čāp*.
Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **čaḫab-*.

461 **čabVḫ-* “speak, shout”

Eg *sbḫ* “shout” (pyr).

WCh **čab-* “speak”: Tng *saba*.

CCh **čab-* “ask”: Msm *tchab*.

462 **čad-/čid-* “breast”

Sem **tady-* “breast”: Hbr *šad*, Aram (Syr) *tādā*, Arab *tady-*, Hss *tōdi*, Mhr *tōdi*, Shh *tode*³, Soq *todi*.

ECh **čid-* “breast”: Ndam *sid*.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

463 **ča*^ç-/**či*^ç- “catch”

WCh **čiw-* “fish” (v.): Kry *čiwu*, Ngz *šuyu*.

Ngz *-uy-* < **-iw(V)y-*.

Dhl *ta*^ç-*aaδ* “trap” (v.).

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

464 **ča*^çlib-/**ču*^çlib- “fox, jackal”

Sem **ta*^çlib- “fox”: Akk *šēlebu*, *šēlibu*, Ug *t^çlb*, Hbr *ša^çal^çbīm*, Arab *ta*^çlab-.

Assimilation of vowels in Arab.

CCh **či-čVIVb-* “jackal”: Msg *čičelebe*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh **čulib-* “wolf”: Mkk *sullibe*.

Derived from *č⁶al- ‘beast’ with suffix *-(i)b-. Alternation
*a ~ *u.

465 *čah- ‘bird’

Eg *sh.t* ‘kind of bird’.

CCh *čah- ‘kind of bird’: Mafa *caha-caha*.

Reduplication in Mafa.

466 *čaḥar- ‘plan’ (v. and n.)

Eg *shr* ‘idea, plan’ (OK).

WCh *čaHar- ‘intention, plan’: Fyer čoor.

ECh *čaHar- ‘imagine, predict’: Bid čaar.

467 *čak- ‘plait’

Eg *slj* ‘spin’ (pyr).

l < *k must be followed by HS *e or *o. Eg -j seems to stand
for the root vowel *a.

WCh *čak-/čaHVk- ‘plait’: Krk čaku, Ngz čaakau.

Secondary laryngeal?

CCh *či-čik- ‘twist’: Daba čičiku.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

Cf. ECh *čaHak- ‘loom’ (Mig čaaka).

468 *čakam- ‘shoulders, nape’

Sem *tVkVm- ‘shoulders, upper part of the back’: Ug *tkm*, Hbr
šekem.

LEC *sagam- ‘nape’: Som *sagan*, pl. *sagmo*.

Voiced *-g- < *-k- before a sonant? Final -m > -n is regular
in Som.

469 *čakin- ‘net’

Sem *t⁶ikin- ‘net’: Akk *šikinnu*.

Secondary vocalism with assimilation.

WCh *čank- ‘snare’: Hs čaṅkō.

In WCh the HS group *-kVn- is transformed into a cluster
*-nk-. Cf. HS *čak- ‘plait’.

470 *čaḱel- ‘thigh’

Eg *sdj* ‘leg’ (n).

Palatalization of *g > *d* before *e. Note HS *l yielding to Eg
-j.

CCh *čakyal- ‘thigh’: Bud čakel.

An alternative set of comparisons may be suggested for Eg *sdj*
‘leg’ if it is connected with *sdh* ‘shin’ (med). It could be iden-
tified with WCh *sag- ‘leg’ (Miya *šagu-hu*) and CCh *sig-
‘bone’ (Log *šigo*).

471 *čam- ‘gather, join’

Sem *čum- ‘collect, gather’: Arab *tm* [-u-].

Secondary *-u-.

WCh *čam- ‘link up, join’: Hs čamme.

472 *čama²- ‘eat, feed’

Sem *tVma²- ‘feed (with rich food)’: Arab *tm*² [-a-].

WCh *čam- ‘taste, test’: Mpn čam.

Cf. WCh *čim- < *čiHVm- ‘food’: Hs čimā.

CCh *čam- ‘eat (hard food)’: Mubi čam.

473 *čapaḥ- ‘catch’

Eg *spḥ* ‘catch with a lasso’ (pyr).

WCh *čaHap- ‘catch’: Hs čafe, DB *syap*.

Metathesis. DB -ya- < *-Vya- < *-aHa-.

ECh *čaHap- ‘catch’¹, ‘fish’ (v.)²: Smr šəbə¹, Bid čaap²,
ačap¹.

Metathesis. Voicing of *-p- in Smr is regular.

An alternative reconstruction is *čaḥap-.

474 *čar- “throw”

Sem **ṭVr*- “throw”: Aram *trtr*, Soq *trr*.

Reduplicative stem in Aram. Cf. Arab *nṭr* [-u-, -i-] “disperse”.

WCh *čar- “throw, shoot”¹, “strike”²: Hs čara¹, Sura čar²,

Ang čar¹, Mpn čar¹.

Dhl *taaro* “pierce”.

475 *čar- “weapon”

Eg *šsr* “arrow” (pyr).

šs- is one of possible reflexes of HS *č-.

Dhl *taaro* “spear”.

Derived from *čar- “throw”?

476 *čawVb-/*čayVb- “clothes”

Sem **tawb*- “kind of clothes”: Akk *šubtu*, Aram (Syr) *tawb*-, Arab *tawb*-, Sok *tob*.

Eg *sbby.t* “clothes” (gr).

Partial reduplication *čVbib-.

WCh *čwab- “put on”: Pero *čobbo*.

From *čVwab-.

ECh *čwab- < *čVwab- “undress”: Sbn *čwəbə*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

477 *čawVr-/*čVr- “bull”

Sem **tawr*- “bull”: Akk *šūru*, Ug *tr*, Hbr *šōr*, Aram (Syr) *tawrā*, Arab *tawr*-, Gz *sōr*, Hss *tawr*.

Eg *šsr* “bull (for slaughtering)” (pyr).

šs- continues HS *č-.

Eg may represent the original form of the HS root while Sem reflects a secondary extension in *-w-. Cf. WCh **tawVr*- “bull” (Hs *tōrō*); ECh **tawVr*- “cow, antelope” (Sok *tor*, Tum *toř*).

478 *čeʔ- “pierce”

Sem **ṭVʔay*- “pierce, wound”: Arab *ṭʔy* [-a-].

Derived from a biconsonantal **ṭVʔ*-.

CCh *čV- “cut”: Mofu č-.

ECh *čwaʔ- “pierce”: Kera *čoʔe*.

Dhl *tiʔ*- “punch a hole”.

The root vowel is not clear. The development of the laryngeal may be not quite regular.

479 *čem- “fog, rain”

Eg *sym* “fog” (sarc).

Vocalic -y-.

CCh *čyam- “rain”: Log *sema*, *sama*, Kus *sama*.

Cf. WCh *čam- “rainy season”: DB *čam*.

480 *čen- “house”

Eg *sn.wt* “palace” (pyr).

WCh *čyan- “house”: Sha *čen*, Klr *čyen*.

CCh *čīn- “house, compound”: Bnn *sina*, *šina*.

481 *čer- “shine; light”

Eg *šsr* “shine” (gr).

šs- may reflect HS *č-.

WCh *čyar- “light” (n.): Buli *bə-šerə*, Wnd *čeri*, Geji *čil-ti*.

Prefix *bV- in Buli.

482 *čer- “medicine”

Eg *syʔ* “medicine” (med).

-ʔ continues HS *-r-.

CCh *čyarir- “medicine”: Bud *čerire*.

Partial reduplication.

483 *čer- “speak, shout”

Sem **ṭVr-ṭVr*- “chat”: Arab *trtr*.

Reduplication.

Eg *šsr* "speak out" (MK).

šs- is one of possible reflexes of HS *č-.

WCh *čyar- "cry out" ¹, "explain" ²; Hs *čērā* ¹, Ang *čir* ².

CCh *čir- "shout": Mba *čiri*.

ECh *čyačyar- "cry (of guinea-fowl)": Bid *čēčer*.

Partial reduplication.

Descriptive stem?

484 *čera³- "furrow"

Sem *čir³- "furrow": Akk *šer³u*, *šir³u*.

ECh *čaHar- < *čyaHar- "furrow": Bid *čaare*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is *čē³ar-.

485 *čin- "move"

Eg *syn* "hurry" (pyr).

-y- is a vocalic sign.

WCh *čin- "go": Bol *čina*.

486 *čir- "faeces, dirt"

Eg *sr* "dirt" (gr).

ECh *čir- "faeces, dirt": Mkk *siiri*.

HEC *čir- "faeces": Had *čiro*.

Cf. also Bmb *sera* id.?

487 *čit- "throw, shoot"

Eg *sty* "throw, shoot" (OK).

-y denotes a front vowel in the root.

CCh *čit- "shoot": Gbn *čitə*-, Boka *čett*-, Gaa *čiti*.

488 *čiw-/čiy- "grass, plant"

Eg *sw* "kind of plant" (l).

WCh *čiy- "grass": Hs *čiyāwa*.

Cf. Rift *caw- "reeds" (Irq *cawo*)? Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

489 *čor- "be strong"

Sem *čVrVw- "be considerable, be big": Arab *črw*.

Based on *čVr-.

Eg *wsr* "strong" (pyr).

WCh *čwar- "strength": Gwn *čori*.

490 *ču^cal- "beast"

Sem *č^cu^cāl- "fox": Hbr *šū^cāl*, Aram *ta^clā*, Arab *č^cu^cāl*-, Jib *it^col*, Mhr *ye^cayl*, Hss *ye^cayl*, Shh *it^col*.

Dhl *teele* "lion", *laali* "lioness".

Assimilation of vowels.

491 *čumal- "creamy milk"

Sem *č^cumāl- "milk skin": Arab *č^cumāl-at*-.
Cf. more archaic vocalism in Arab *č^camāl*- "sour milk".

Eg *smr* "cream".

Note -r < HS *-l-.

492 *čül- "seed"

Sem *č^cül- "seed": Arab *č^cül*-.
Secondary formation in Arab *č^cayyil*- id.

WCh *čVl- "seed": Tng *sala*.

CCh *čuli- "seed": Klb *čuli*, Hld *čuli*, Wmd *čuli*, HNk *cili*, HBz *čolu*.

ECh *čulwa- "rice": Mubi *čulwayo*.

493 *čVbVḪ- "close" (v.)

Eg *sbḪ* "close" (XVIII).

ECh *čVb- "close": Kera *čebe*.

Complete loss of the laryngeal.

494 *čVwağ-/ *čVyağ- “shout, ask”

Berb *sVwVγ- “shout”: Kby *sug*.

Irregular development of *č-?

CCh *čyag- < *čVyaγ- “ask”: Bud *čega*.

Unexpected change of *-g-.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

*Č

495 *čagan- “goat, boar”

WCh *čang- “goat”: Cagu *šangen*, Mbu *čangu*.

Suffix *-(y)an- in Cagu.

ECh *čang- “goat”: Smr *čaⁿge*.

Agaw *čyagan- “boar”: Aun *cyägānaa*.

Chadic word-structure of the present word is similar to the development in HS *čakin- “net”.

496 *čač- “catch, seize”

Eg *č* “catch” (MK).

WCh *čaw-/ *čay- “catch, seize”: Krk *čaw*, Paa *čei*.

Phonetically developed from *čač-u-/ *čač-i-.

CCh *ča-/ *či- “catch, seize”: Mtk *či*, Gis *žē*, Log *si*, Bud *ča*.

497 *ča[č]Vr- “snake, worm”

Sem *šV[č]Vr- “snake”: Akk *šēru*.

Intervocalic *-h- is also plausible.

CCh *čar- “worm”: Log *čarē*.

498 *čahar- “show”

Sem *šVhar- “appear, be evident”: Arab *zhr* [-a-], Mhr *zahar*, Soq *tahar*.

CCh *čar- “show”: Klb *a-čār*.

From *čaHar-.

499 *čaht- “squeeze”

Sem *šVht- “extract oil”: Akk *šahātu* [-u-].

WCh *čūt- < *čaHut- “press, squeeze out”: Glm *čuuz-*, Pero *čotto*.

Glm -z- < *-t- is regular.

ECh *čēl- < *čayVl- “squeeze”: Kera *čēte*.

Assimilation of vowels. ECh *ayV- < *-aHV-.

500 *čaʔ-/ *čiʔ- “bird”

ECh *čač- “kind of bird”: Bid *čeeču*.

Reduplication.

HEC *čiʔ- “bird”: Sid *čeʔaa*, Dar *čiʔa-*, Had *čiʔa-*, Kab *čiʔa-*, Bmb *čiʔa-*, Kmb *čiʔa-*, Tmb *čiʔa-*.

Omot *čaʔ- “bird of prey”: Mch *čaʔo*.

Alternation *a ~ *i. Irregular correspondences of CCh and Cush laryngeals.

501 *čak- “vessel”

Berb *čVk- “plate for couscous”: Ghd *a-zku*.

WCh *čakwa-n- “pot”: Wrj *čakwān-na*.

Suffix *-n-.

CCh *čaχwa- “pot”: FG *caχwa*.

HS *k > CCh *χ under the influence of the originally emphatic *č.

ECh *čwaka- < *čakwa- “big vessel”: Bid *čook-iya*.

502 *čal- “locust”

Sem *šVl-^{tal}- “locust”: Hbr *šēlāšal*.

Reduplication.

WCh *čiHal- “locust”: Ang *čōl*, Mnt *šiyel*, Tng *solo*.

Metathesis.

503 *čal-/ *čil- “shadow”

Sem *šil(l)- “shadow”: Akk *šillu*, Ug *zł*, Hbr *šēl*, Aram *ṭullā*, Arab *ṣill-*, Gz *šelālāt*, Jib *zelel*.

WCh *(nV-)čila- “shadow”: Ang *žil*, Sha *čala*.

CCh **nV-žal-* < **nV-čal-* ‘west’: Gis *nžala*.

HEC **čal-* ‘shade’: Sid *čaale*.

Dhl *tiilali* ‘shadow’.

Partial reduplication.

Alternation **a ~ *i*.

504 **čam-* ‘think, know’

Sem **wV_lVm-* ‘think’: Arab *wəzm*.

Prefix **wV-*.

CCh **čam-* ‘know’: Pad *cam*, FM *čam*, Nak *cama-*, Nza *cəm-an*, Zgh *cama*.

505 **čamon-* ‘think, know’

Sem **t_lun-* < **t_lVnVn-* ‘think’: Arab *znn* [-u-], Hss *žen*, Shh *eznin*.

Probably, with assimilation of the inlaut **-m-* > **-n-*.

WCh **čamwan-* ‘think, remember’: Hs *čammāni*, Ang *čan*, Krk *čawan*.

Derived from **čam-* ‘think, know’.

506 **čar-* ‘look, see’

Sem **nV_ltar-* ‘guard’¹, ‘look’²: Akk *našāru*¹, Ug *ngr*¹, Phn *nšr*¹, Hbr *nšr*¹, Aram *nšr*¹, Arab *nšr* [-u-]², SAR *nšr*¹, Gz *nšr*².

Prefix **nV-*.

Berb **čVr-* ‘see, look’: Izn *zer*, Snh *zar*.

WCh **čar-* ‘guard’: Hs *čare*.

Cf. Berb **čVr-* ‘pupil (of an eye)’ (Twl *əzzeru*).

507 **čaw-* ‘mouse, rat’

Berb **čVw-* ‘jerboa’: Ayr *e-dəwi*, Twl *e-dəwi*.

WCh **čiy-* ‘field rat’: Hs *čiyō*.

An old morphonological variant **čVy-*?

Agaw **in-čaw-* ‘mouse’: Bil *inšuwaa*, Xmr *iečuwaa*, Xmt *ačuwaa*,

Kem *yešwaa*, Aun *enčaa*, Dmt *inčii*.

Prefix **in-*.

Omot **[i]n-čaw-* ‘rat’: Ome *učaa*, Kaf *ičoo*, Bwo *inčoo*, Gim *uč*, *uč*.

Note fluctuations of vowels in the prefix.

506 **čawar-* ‘neck’

Sem **tawār-* ‘neck’: Akk *šawāru*, Hbr *šawār*.

Eg *wsr.t* ‘neck’ (pyr).

Metathesis.

509 **čen-* ‘wind, cold’

Sem **t_ln-* ‘cold’ (n.): Hbr *šinā*.

WCh **čyan-* ‘wind’: DB *čyen*.

510 **čil-* ‘tail’

Sem **t_lVl-* ‘wag (of a tail)’: Arab *žll*.

Denomiantive verb.

WCh **čila-* ‘tail’: Wrj *čalai*, Geji *čil*.

Omot **čell-* ‘tail’: Kaf *čero*, Mch *čero*, Maji *čəru*.

511 **čilam-* ‘be dark’

Sem **t_lVlam-* ‘be dark, be black’: Akk *šalāmu*, Arab *žlm* [-a-], SAR *tlm*, Gz *šalma*, Tgr *šalma*, Tgy *šällämä*, Gaf *šillämä*, Amh *čällämä*, Arg *čelläma*, Har *čeläma*, Gur *čällämä*, Soq *tlm*.

Cf. Ug *žlmt* ‘darkness’, Mhr *žalem* id.

CCh **čilVm-* ‘dark’¹, ‘black’²: Bud *čilim*¹, Gul *selem*².

Derived from **čal-/čil-* ‘shadow’. Cf. also LEC **delam-* ‘return of the cattle home in the evening’ (Som *delan* < **delam*, pl. *delmo*) and ECh **čulum-* ‘west’ ← **čil* ‘dark (side)’: Mig *čulum-ti*.

512 **čotVĥ-* ‘bird’

Eg *sth* ‘kind of bird’ (XXII).

WCh **čwat-* ‘bird’: Mbu *čoti*.

Cf., on the other hand, Hs *čita* id., Diri *ačida* id.

SA **ča-čut-* ‘bird’: Saho *čaačutta*.

Partial reduplication.

HEC **či-čut-* ‘bird’: Ala *čičuta*.

Partial reduplication.

513 *čupar- “fingernail”

Sem **tupr-* “fingernail”: Akk *šupru*, Hbr *šipporen*, Aram (Palest) *tuprā*, Arab *zufr-*, Gz *šəfr*, Tgr *šəfər*, Tgy *šəfri*, Amh *təfər*, Gaf *šəfra*, Arg *čuffər*, Gur *təfər*, Soq *tifer*, Mhr *layfer*, Shr *zefer*, Jib *zifer*.

Agaw **čifar-* “finger”: Bil *čəfər*, Aun *tsefir*.

Metathesis in Kwr and Dmb. From Ethio-Sem?

HEC **zurup-* “finger”: Bmb *zurup-mata*.

Unexpected **z-*.

Omot **žafar-* “finger”: Kaf *yafaroo*.

Assimilation of vowels. Irregular **ž-*. A common HEC ~ Omot innovation or a loanword? This innovation is partly shared by Agaw: Kwr *žerfa*, Dmb *zalfa*, not comparable immediately with other forms quoted above. If, however, these Agaw words are derived from Agaw **čifar-* > **čiraf-*, they may be believed to be the source of Omot and HEC.

Rift **čaraf-* “fingernail”: Alg *čarafu*, Bur *čarafu*.

Metathesis.

Cf. phonetically close **čibV-* “finger”. The vocalism of the first syllable may be tentatively reconstructed as **a* ~ **i*.

514 *čur- “flint, flint knife”

Sem **turr-/turr-* “flint”¹, “rock”²: Akk *šurru*¹, Hbr *šōr*¹, Aram *tūr-*², Arab *zurar-*, *zirr-*¹, SAR *zwr*².

Berb **čVr-* “flint”¹, “rock”²: Qbl *i-zra*¹, Ahg *a-zəru*².

WCh **čur-* “knife without handle”: Hs *čūrā*.

CCh **čur(i)-* “hoe”: FM *curu*, Gude *cəra*, FJ *čili*, FBw *cəṛən*.

Related to HEC **čar-* “whetstone” (Bmb *čar-aanco*)? Eg *wḏḏ.t* “knife” (gr) may be connected with this root.

515 *čVHol- “shine, be bright”

Sem **tVhVl-* “shine”: Hbr *šhl*.

LEC **čol-* < **čVHol-* “bright”: Or *collee*.

*Č

516 *ča²-/*čaw-/*čay- “move upwards”

Sem **nVša²-* “rise, grow, raise”: Akk *našū*, Ug *nšū*, Hbr *nš²* [-a-], Arab *nš²* [-a-, -u-], Gz *nš²*, Amh *nässa*.

Prefix **nV-*.

Eg *šwy* “raise” (pyr).

Cf. also *zšy* “lift” with digraph *zš-* reflecting HS **č-*. In both cases, -y is a suffix.

WCh **ča²-* “stand up”: Wrj *ša*, Kry *ša-*, Diri *ša-*, Miya *ša-*, Paa *šu*, Cagu *šu*, Mbu *ša-*, Pol *ša*, *ši*, Geji *ša*, *ši*, Zem *ša*, *ši*, Brw *še*, *šu*, Tala *iša*, Ngz *ša*, *šau*.

CCh **ša²-/*šay-* “stand up, rise”: Tera *ža*, Gaa *še²e*, Gbn *ša²i*, Hwn *ši*, Mrg *šay*, Klb *šēy*, Chb *šāy*, HB *ša-vo*, FK *ša-tu²*, Lame *ši-*, LPe *še*, Boka *že²i*.

ECh **čaw-/*čay-* “stand up, rise”: Smr *so*, Lele *sē*, Tob *say*.

Cf. Rift **če-s-* “lift, raise” (Irq *čes-*). Consonantal alternation **-* ~ **-w-* ~ **-y-*.

517 *ča²- “meat”

Sem **šā²-/*še²-* “sheep”: Akk *šū²u*, Ug *š*, Hbr *šē*, Aram *si-t-*, Arab *šā-t*.

Berb **[c]V-* “meat”: Ahg *isa-n*.

Irregular reflex of Berb **c-* in Ahg.

WCh **čaw-/*ču²-* “meat”: Wrj *šū-na*, Kry *šwi*, Miya *šwiya*, Paa *šwi*, Cagu *šu-n*, Siri *šuyi*, Geji *šu*, Zem *šau*, Brw *šau*, Say *šu*, Bgh *šaw*, Grn *šu*, Kir *šo*, *šu*, Tala *šu*, Ngz *šuwai*, Bade *saa*.

WCh **-* > **-w-* in unknown conditions. Note also WCh **ša-* “cow, bull”.

CCh **šiw-/*šuw-* “meat”: Gbn *šuwe*, Hwn *šuwe*, Zgh *šuwe*, Lame *šiau*, *šeo*, Msm *šiou*, Bud *hu*, Glv *šuw*, HF *šū*, Mofu *ašəw*.

Note CCh **(nV-)ša-* “cow, bull”.

ECh **čVw-/*čVy-* “meat”: Lele *sii*, Mkk *sey*, Jegu *su-ut*.

LEC **sow-/*soH-* “meat”: Som *so²*, Bay *so²o*, Gel *so*, Kon *sowa*, Gato *soha*, Gdl *soha*.

LEC **-o-* < **-a-* before a labial?

Omot **(²a-)šaw-/*ša²-* “meat”¹, “goat”²: Ome *aššwa*, *ašo*¹, Mao *šaa*².

Rift *ĉa²- ‘‘body’’: Asa *ša²a*.

Semantic development is not quite reliable.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w- in several branches. WCh and CCh reflect a secondary development of the root vocalism.

518 *ĉa²Vb- ‘‘rain’’

Sem *ša²bab- ‘‘shower’’: Arab *ša²bab*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh *ĉaHVB- ‘‘rainy season’’: Krf *ša²bu*, Gera *sa²bu*.

519 *ĉa²Vp- ‘‘foot’’

Sem *š[a]²p- ‘‘foot’’: Akk *šēpu*, Jib *šef*, Soq *šaf*.

Agaw *šanp- ‘‘foot, heel’’: Bil *šaanfi*, Kwr *šaanpaa*, Dmb *šanf*, Kem *šaambaa*.

Secondary nasalization or a reflex of an early HS cluster *-mp- lost in Sem?

520 *ĉa[b]ir- ‘‘thigh’’

Sem *šapr- ‘‘thigh’’: Akk *šapru*.

Irregular Sem *p < HS *b.

LEC *sibir- ‘‘back thigh (of camel)’’¹, ‘‘thigh’’²: Som *sibir*¹, Or *sarba*².

Assimilation of vowels in Som. Metathesis in Or.

521 *ĉad- ‘‘pit, well’’

Eg *šd.t* ‘‘well’’ (OK).

WCh *ĉad- ‘‘pit’’: Hs *šaddā*.

May be derived from *ĉud-/ĉa²ad- ‘‘harrow, till’’.

522 *ĉad-/ĉa²id- ‘‘field, land’’

Sem *šād- ‘‘field, vacant land’’: Ug *šd*, Hbr *šāde*.

Eg *šdw.t* ‘‘field’’ (MK).

The function of -w is not clear. Is it a suffix?

ECh *ĉVHid- ‘‘earth’’: Kwn *čədo*, Mkk *siiḏo*.

Related to *ĉud-/ĉa²ad- ‘‘harrow, till’’.

523 *ĉaf- ‘‘lake’’

CCh *šaf- ‘‘lake’’: Mrg *šafu*.

Omot *šaf- ‘‘river, lake’’: Ome *šafaa*.

524 *ĉag- ‘‘mix’’

Sem *mVšug- ‘‘mix’’: Arab *mšg* [-u-].

Prefix *mV- and modified vocalism.

WCh *ĉag- ‘‘mix’’: Tng *sāge*.

525 *ĉa^c- ‘‘cut’’

Eg š^c ‘‘cut’’ (pyr).

WCh *ĉaw- ‘‘scratch’’¹, ‘‘cut’’²: Wrj *šaw*¹, Paa *šawo*¹, Brm *šuwe*², Dwot *šu-x*², Buli *šo*², Ngz *šuwai*².

*-w- goes back to intervocalic *-H- (before a rounded vowel).

CCh *šaH-/ĉay- ‘‘cut’’: Chb *šay*, Mrg *ša*, FG *ša-nti*, HG *ša-ve*, HN *ša-nte*.

*šay- < *šaHi-.

526 *ĉa^c- ‘‘begin’’

Eg š^c ‘‘begin’’ (MK), Copt *ša: Boh *ša*, Shd *ša*.

-š^c- stands for HS *-a-.

WCh *ĉaH- ‘‘begin’’: Sura *šēē*.

The development of the vowel is regular.

527 *ĉa^c- ‘‘vessel’’

Eg š^c ‘‘vessel’’ (OK).

WCh *ĉaya^c-/*ĉawa^c- ‘‘pot’’: Sha *šya*, ša, Klr *šwa^ci*.

Based on *ĉa^c-.

528 *ĉa^car- ‘‘hair’’

Sem *ša^cr- ‘‘hair’’¹, ‘‘wool’’²: Akk *šartu*¹, Ug *š^crt*², Hbr *šē^cār*, ša^carā¹, Aram (Syr) *ša^crō*¹, Arab *ša^cr*¹, Gz *še^cert*¹, Soq *ša^cihor*¹.

Cf. denominative Sem *ša^Ĉar- ‘‘be hairy’’: Hbr š^Ĉr, Arab š^Ĉr [-a-].

WCh *ĉaHar- ‘‘hair on the chest of a ram’’¹, ‘‘hair’’²: Hs šāri¹, Bks syah².

Bks -h is regular.

Omot *šaHar- ‘‘hair’’: Maji saaru.

Assimilation of vowels.

529 *ĉa^Ĉop- ‘‘hair’’

Sem *ša^Ĉap- ‘‘hairlock’’¹, ‘‘hair’’²: Arab ša^Ĉaf-at-¹, Jib šəf².

In the second syllable, HS *o > *a before a labial.

Berb *cVf- ‘‘hair’’: Izn azäf.

WCh *ĉaHwap- ‘‘hair’’: Sura šwəp, Chip šap, Mnt swəp, Mpn siwəp, Bol šowə, Maha šofi.

*-iwa- < *-iHa-.

LEC *sap- ‘‘pubic hair’’: Or sapii.

Secondary Or -p- under the influence of the laryngeal.

HEC *sap- ‘‘hair, pubic hair’’: Dar sape.

LEC loanword?

530 *ĉah- ‘‘wish, be able’’

Sem *šVh- ‘‘wish’’¹, ‘‘like’’²: Arab šhw, šhy [-a-, -u-]¹, Jib šuthi².

CCh *šah- ‘‘be able, can’’: Mafa šaha.

As far as the development of meaning is concerned, cf. the semantic history of Germ *mag* and *darf*.

531 *ĉahar- ‘‘moon, star’’

Sem *šahr- ‘‘new moon’’: Arab šahr-, Aram saharā, Mnd sira, Gz šahr, Soq šehar, Jib šəhar.

WCh *ĉaHar- ‘‘star’’: Ank sum-šar, Tuli ša-šur, Zak čā-zur, Bot šaar, Grn saar.

Partial reduplication in Tuli and Zak.

532 *ĉah- ‘‘grow’’

Sem *šūh- ‘‘become high’’: Akk šāhu.

Based on biconsonantal *šVh-.

WCh *ĉaH- ‘‘grow’’: Wrj ša, Sha šəho.

533 *ĉah- ‘‘urine; urinate’’

Sem *šuh- ‘‘urinate’’: Arab šh [-u-].

Denominative formation?

WCh *ĉaH- ‘‘urine’’: Bks šaa.

Agaw *šay- ‘‘urine’’: Kem šay, Aun čay-əŋ, čaq-əŋ.

Aun č- appears to be regular.

Dhl saahaw- ‘‘urinate’’.

Unexpected s-. Cf. *sah- ‘‘urine’’.

534 *ĉahür- ‘‘snore’’

Sem *šVhir- ‘‘snore’’: Arab šhr [-i-].

WCh *ĉa(n)Hur- ‘‘snore’’: Hs min-šāri, Wrj šər-mə, Diri šərma, Paa žur-guna, Ngz žankor.

Secondary cluster *-nH-.

535 *ĉakin- ‘‘knife’’

Sem *šakīn- ‘‘knife’’: Hbr šakkīn, Aram (Syr) sakkīnō.

WCh *č[a]nk- ‘‘knife’’: Krf šonge, Glm čonga.

Metathesis. The development of the original morphological structure is parallel to WCh reflex of HS *čakin- ‘‘net’’.

Dhl hlakane ‘‘sharp (knife)’’.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from *čuk- ‘‘cut, pierce’’.

536 *ĉalah- ‘‘break’’

Sem *šVlah- ‘‘split’’: Arab šlh [-a-].

WCh *ĉaHal- ‘‘crush’’: Tng seele.

Metathesis.

ECh *ĉaHal- ‘‘break’’: Dng saale.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction could be *ĉahāl-.

537 *ĉalay- ‘‘hail’’ (n.)

Eg šny.t ‘‘hail’’ (pyr).

Note -n- < HS *-l-.

CCh *ša-šalay- ‘‘hail’’: Gis šašalay.

Partial reduplication.

538 *ĉaluĉ- ‘‘cut, slaughter’’

Sem *šVluĉ- ‘‘cut, split’’: Akk šalāqu, Arab šlq [-u-].

WCh *ĉalVĉ- ‘‘opening a vein (in the leg of an animal)’’: Hs salkā.

Cf. *ĉalah- ‘‘break’’.

539 *ĉambar-/ *ĉambir- ‘‘flute’’

WCh *ĉambar- ‘‘kind of flute’’: Hs sambara.

Emphatic *-ĉ- seems to have no phonological justification.

Omot *šumbir- ‘‘shepherd’s flute’’: Mch šumbiro.

Secondary *u before a labial.

540 *ĉap- ‘‘leaf’’

WCh *ĉaHVp- ‘‘leaf’’: Siri šāpi, Miya šēpi.

Metathesis from *ĉapVH-? Cf. CCh.

CCh *šapVH- ‘‘leaf’’: Lame šapa, LPe šap, ZBt šab, Masa šab.

-b- < -ĉ- results from the emphatization of *-p-.

LEC *šaf- ‘‘leaf’’: Or šafo.

HEC *šaf- ‘‘leaf’’: Had šaf-ita, Kab šaf-ita, Dar šafa.

541 *ĉar- ‘‘cut, saw’’

Sem *wVšVr- ‘‘saw’’: Arab yšr, wšr, Gz wšr, Mhr wušor, Jib ʔšr.

Prefix *wV-.

WCh *ĉar- ‘‘cut (trees)’’: Hs sārā.

CCh *šar- ‘‘adze, shave’’: Gis šar, Mofu šar.

LEC *sar- ‘‘cut’’: Som sar.

542 *ĉar- ‘‘tree’’

Eg šʔ ‘‘tree’’ (XVIII).

-ʔ continues HS *-r-.

ECh *ĉar- ‘‘tree’’: Bid čaro.

543 *ĉar- ‘‘buy, sell’’

Sem *šVrVy- ‘‘buy, sell’’: Arab šry [-i-].

Derived from *šVr-.

WCh *ĉar- ‘‘buy (in order to sell)’’: Hs sārā.

544 *ĉar-/ *ĉaVr- ‘‘barley’’

Sem *šaār-/ *šaār- ‘‘barley’’: Ug šʕr, Hbr šʕorā, Aram (Syr) šʕārātā, Arab šaār-, Sab šʕr.

Derivative vocalism in Arab. The original form might have been *šar- influenced by or contaminated with *šaār- ‘‘be hairy’’.

Eg šr.t ‘‘barley’’ (MK).

545 *ĉariĉ- ‘‘road’’

Sem *šārīĉ- ‘‘road’’: Arab šārīĉ-.

ECh *ĉaHVr- ‘‘path’’: Dng säre.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is *ĉaār-.

546 *ĉeĉ- ‘‘faeces’’

Eg šʔ.w ‘‘faeces’’ (med).

CCh *šyaĉ- ‘‘faeces’’: Hwn šē, šē.

Omot *šiy- ‘‘faeces’’: Ome šiyaa.

From *šīĉa-.

Rift *ĉaĉ- ‘‘faeces’’: Irq čaĉe.

547 *ĉeĉ- ‘‘sand’’

Eg šʕy ‘‘sand’’ (pyr), Copt *šō: Akh šou, Boh šō, Shd šō.

-y stands for a front vowel of the root.

WCh *čyay- < *čyaH- ‘‘sand’’: Bgh šey.

548 *ĉeĥaṭ- ‘‘squeeze’’

Sem *šVḥaṭ- ‘‘squeeze’’: Hbr šḥt [-a-].

WCh *čyaHVt- ‘‘squeeze’’: Krf šetu, Gera šeed.

Cf. *čahut- “squeeze”.

549 *ček- “smell” (trans.)

Sem *nVšak- “smell”: Arab *nšq* [-a-].

Prefix *nV- and modified vocalism.

WCh *čyak- “smell”: Hs *šeka*.

550 *čem- “go, enter”

Sem *šim- “enter”: Arab *šym* [-i-].

Based on biconsonantal *šim-.

Eg *šm* “go” (pyr).

ECh *čyam- “enter”¹, “run”²: Kwan *seme*¹, Mobu *səme*², Ngm *seme*².

551 *čer- “root”

Sem *šVrs- “root”: Akk *šuršu*, Ug *šrš*, Hbr *šoreš*, Aram (Syr) *šeršō*.

Partial reduplication. No reduplication is attested in Gz *šeraw*,

Tgr *sər*, Tgy *sər*, Amh *sər*, Gaf *sər*, Gur *sər*, Soq *šerah*.

Berb *car- “root”: Kby *azar*.

WCh *čyarwa- “root”: Hs *saiwā*, Bol *sori*-, Ngm *šori*, Maha *sar-om*, Krf *sooriyo*, Gera *suurə-na*, Glm *surya*, Grm *sūra*, Miya *šerwa*, Paa *šari*, Siri *šūra*, Mbu *šar-nani*, Jmb *šera*, Pol *šer-tə*, Geji *šar-ki*, *šer-ki*, Say *šer-tə*, Kir *šəri*, Tala *šəri*, DB *šure*.

CCh *šar- “root”: Mtk *šo”žor*, Dgh *šəla*, Glv *šali*, Zime *šor*.

*-a- < *-ya- after an affricate?

ECh *čyar-aw- “root”: Tum *heraw*, Ndam *sirwe*, Lele *sara*, Kera *kə-sar*, Bid *čāra*, Mig *čāru*.

Agaw *sVr- “root”: Kem *sər*, Kwr *sər*.

552 *či²-/čiw- “darkness”

Sem *šiw- “evening”: Akk *šiwitu*.

Eg *šw.t* “shadow” (pyr).

Cf. LEC *di²- “become dark”: Or *di²a*. Note the consonantal alternation *²- ~ *-w-.

553 *čid- “vessel”

Sem *šidd- “kind of vessel”: Akk *šiddatu*.

Eg *šdy* “vessel” (med).

-y is a vocalic sign.

554 *čid- “squeeze”

Sem *šid-/šud- “squeeze”¹, “load, put on: Arab *šdd* [-i-, -u-]¹, Jub *šedd*².

ECh *čidVH- “squeeze, press”: Smr *šidə*.

Suffix *-VH-.

Cf. HS *čehat- “squeeze”.

555 *čiḡar- “grow, be long”

Sem *šVrah- “grow”: Arab *šrh* [-a-].

Metathesis.

WCh *čiHVr-/čuHVr- “grow”¹, “high, tall”²: Bol *siir*¹, Ank *sur*¹, Sha *šoḡo*¹, Tng *soori*².

Rift *čeHVr- “long”: Gor *čeer*, Alg *čeer*, Bur *čeedu*.

Cf. LEC *dēr- < *deHVr- “long, tall”: Som *deer*, Or *deeraa*, Rend *dər*.

556 *čin- “speak”

Eg *šny* “speak” (MK), Copt *šini id.: Fym *šini*, Ahm *šine*, Bhr *šini*, Shd *šine*.

-y stands for a front vowel of the root.

WCh *čin- “speak”: Dik *šin*, Mng *šin*.

557 *čip- “moisten, be wet”

Sem *nVšap-/nVšup- “absorb (of liquids)”: Arab *nšf* [-a-, -u-].

Prefix *nV-. Secondary development of the vowel in a derivative.

ECh *čip- “moisten”: Bid *čip*.

558 *ĉiwam-/ *ĉiyam- ‘‘rat’’

Sem *šiyām- ‘‘rat’’: Arab šiyām-.

ECh *ĉVwVm- ‘‘rat’’: Tum soom.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

559 *ĉo^c- ‘‘cereal’’Eg š^c.t ‘‘kind of bread’’ (med).Cf. reduplicated š^cš^c ‘‘kind of corn’’ (l).WCh *ĉwaH- ‘‘millet’’¹, ‘‘meal made of millet’’²: Hs ĉāwā²,
Sura šwaa¹, Ang šwe¹, Mnt sua², Ank sua², Siri šawi², Tng
sau¹.

560 *ĉogar- ‘‘tree’’

Sem *šagar- ‘‘tree’’: Arab šagar-at-.

Assimilation of vowels. Cf. Hss šegerēt ‘‘plant name’’.

CCh *šwagVr- ‘‘palm tree’’: Sok soger, sogor.

Secondary vowel of the second syllable.

561 *ĉo^cid- ‘‘cut, scratch’’Eg š^cd ‘‘cut’’ (med).WCh *ĉwaHid- ‘‘tattoo’’¹, ‘‘scratch’’²: Ang līt¹, Cagu šēd², Jmb
šind², Klr šut², Ngz šaadu².

CCh *šwadVH- ‘‘chop’’: Zgh šodaya.

Metathesis.

562 *ĉohVr- ‘‘fall’’

Eg šhr ‘‘throw down’’ (pyr).

Semantically, Eg is a causative in relation to Chadic forms.

WCh *šwaHVr- ‘‘fall’’: Bol soor.

ECh *ĉuHVr- ‘‘fall’’: Kera suuri.

Cf. Sem *šVrVy- ‘‘put flatwise’’ (Akk šerū).

563 *ĉom- ‘‘pot’’

Eg wšm ‘‘pot’’ (XVIII).

w- is a sign for a rounded vowel.

ECh *ĉwam- ‘‘pot’’: Kera soma.

564 *ĉor- ‘‘become dry’’

Eg wšr ‘‘become dry’’ (MK).

w- is a vocalic sign.

WCh *ĉwar- ‘‘become dry’’: Krk səwru.

565 *ĉorah- ‘‘swallow’’

Sem *šVrah- ‘‘glut’’: Arab šrh [-a-].

Note the semantic development.

LEC *šōr- < *soHVr- ‘‘feed’’: Or soora.

Metathesis.

566 *ĉud-/ *ĉa³ad- ‘‘harrow, till’’

Sem *šud- ‘‘harrow, till’’: Hbr šdd.

Eg šjd ‘‘dig, till’’ (OK).

WCh *ĉaHVd- ‘‘till, plough’’: Wrj šad-, Kry šeyasēd, Miya šad-, Paa
šadu, Siri šada.

Dhl hlaq- ‘‘sweep ground’’.

-d- seems to reflect a lost laryngeal.

Note a parallel form of the root with an inlaut laryngeal.

567 *ĉu^c- ‘‘knife’’Eg š^c.t ‘‘knife’’ (pyr).

CCh *šuw- ‘‘knife’’: Gis šuw-eḏ, Bld šuw, Mofu šuw-eḏ.

From *ĉuH-.

ECh *ĉuw- ‘‘knife’’: Mkk suwo.

From *ĉuH-.

Related to *ĉa^c- ‘‘cut’’.

568 *ĉuĥat- ‘‘be afraid’’

Sem *šVĥat- ‘‘be afraid’’: Akk šaĥātu [-a-].

WCh *ĉuHat- ‘‘be afraid’’: Fyer šušwet, Tng soode, suude.

Partial reduplication in Fyer.

569 *ĉuk- “cut, pierce”

Sem *šuk- “pierce (with a spear)”¹, “skewer”²: Arab škk [-u-]¹, Jib šekk².
 WCh *ĉuk- “pierce, slaughter”: Hs sōka, sūka.
 Omot *šuk- “slaughter”: Ome šuk-, Yam šuk-, Kaf šuk(k)-, Bwo šuk-, Gim šuk-.

570 *ĉuk- “sharp weapon”

WCh *ĉuk- “knife”: Sha šuk, Klr suk.
 CCh *šuk- “knife”: Tera šug-di, Boka šəχ-tə.
 Boka -χ- < *-k- in contact with an unvoiced stop.
 HEC *šuk- “big knife”: Bmb šuko, šuuko.
 Derived from *ĉuk- “cut, pierce”.

571 *ĉun- “sorcery, magic”

Eg šn.w “sorcerer” (NK).
 ECh *ĉun- “magic, medicine”¹, “fetish”²: Kwn sɔ:nɛ¹, Sok sune².

572 *ĉup- “lip”

Sem *šap- “lip”: Akk šaptu, Ug šp-t, Hbr šāpā, Aram (Syr) sep̄tō, Arab šaf-at.
 *-u- > *-a- before a labial.
 Rift *šuf- “lip”: Irq šufi, Bur šufi, Kwz šifi- to.
 Initial *š- is irregular.
 Cf. also Eg sp.t “lip” (pyr)?

573 *ĉur- “make warm”

Sem *šur- “keep in the sun”: Arab šrr [-u-].
 Eg ššr “roast” (pyr).
 Eg š- may reflect prefix *ʔV-.

574 *ĉuram- “big vessel”

Sem *šurām- “big vessel”: Akk šurāmu.
 Eg ššm.w “big mug” (OK).
 Note -š- < *-r-.

Probably, a *Wanderwort*.

575 *ĉVmVm- “be ill”

Sem *šVmVm- “become weak”: Akk šamāmu.
 Eg šmm, šm “be feverous” (med).

576 *ĉVpVt- “be angry”

Sem *šVpVt- “threaten”: Akk šapātu, šapātu.
 Eg špt “wrath” (BD).
 Eg -t- is one of regular continuations of HS *-t-.

*Ĉ

577 *ĉaba²- “army, people”

Sem *šaba²- “army, soldiers”: Akk šābu, Ug šb², Phn šb², Hbr šābā(?).
 Eg ḏbš “army”.

Related to *ĉaba²- “wage war”.

578 *ĉaba²- “wage war”

Sem *šVba²- “attack”¹, “wage war”², “fight”³: Akk sabā²u², Hbr šb²², Arab ḏb² [-a-]¹, SAr ḏb²¹, Gz šb²², Tgr šb²³, Tgy šb²³.
 Agaw *šab- “wage war”: Bil šab-, šib-, Kwr sab-.

579 *ĉafir- “plaiting”

Sem *šapīr- “plaiting”¹, “braid”²: Arab ḏafir-², Gz ḏafir², Jib ḏafre-t¹, Soq ḏafir-ah¹.

Cf. Sem *šVpVr- ‘‘plait, twist’’: Arab *ḍfr*, Gz *ḍfr*, Jib *ḍḥfr*.
 ECh *čyapir- < *čapir- ‘‘kind of pubic hair’’: Bid *dyeepir*.

*-ya- < *-a- influenced by the front vowel of the following syllable.

LEC *čif(V)r- ‘‘women’s hairdo’’¹, ‘‘braid’’²: Or *čifra*¹, Kon *čirf*¹, Gid *čirf*².

Metathesis in Kon and Gid. Unexpected *i resulting from the assimilation of vowels.

Related to *čef- ‘‘plait, comb’’.

580 *čam- ‘‘be bitter’’

WCh *čamam- ‘‘(be) bitter’’: Hs *čāmi*, Siri *šāmāmu*, Cagu *šemama*, Paa *šammā*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh *čyam- ‘‘bitter’’: Jegu *ʔzeema*.

*čyam- < *čami-.

Omot *čam- ‘‘(be) bitter’’: Ome *čāam*-, Kaf *čāamm*-, Mch *čammo*.

Ome and Kaf may reflect a secondary formation with an inlaut laryngeal *čaHam-.

581 *čamb- ‘‘lizard, frog’’

Sem *šabb- ‘‘turtle’’¹, ‘‘lizard’’²: Hbr *šāb*¹, Arab *ḍabb*², Hss *ḍōb*², Mhr *ḍōb*², Shh *ḍob*².

*-b(b)- continues a prenasalized HS cluster *-mb-.

WCh *čumb- ‘‘frog’’: Hs *čumbō*.

Secondary *-u- before a labial.

Rift *čamb- ‘‘frog’’: Alg *čembe*‘u, Bur *čambe*‘u.

582 *čap- ‘‘marry’’

Berb *čVp- ‘‘marry’’: Ayr *əttəf*.

Rift *čap- ‘‘pay bridewealth’’: Kwz *čap*.

583 *čar- ‘‘enemy’’

Sem *šarr- ‘‘enemy’’: Akk *šerru*, *šēru*, Ug *šr-t*, Hbr *šar*, Aram *‘ār*, Gz *dar*, Tgy *šār*.

Eg *ḍḍḍ* ‘‘enemy’’ (pyr).

Reduplication. Note -ʔ < HS *-r-.

Related to *čir-/čur- ‘‘be hostile’’

584 *čayVp- ‘‘stranger, guest’’

Sem *šayp- ‘‘guest’’: Arab *ḍayf*-, Hss *ḍayf*, Mhr *ḍayf*.

Cf. a denominative verb *šVyVp- in Arab *ḍyf*[-i-] ‘‘be a guest’’, Jib *edef* ‘‘give hospitality’’.

WCh *čay(V)p- ‘‘friend’’¹, ‘‘pilgrim, stranger’’², ‘‘guest’’³: Sura *mi-zep*², Chip *mə-zep*¹, Mnt *mə-zep*², Ank *mos*², Grk *mə-dap*², Krk *šapa*¹, Pero *mi-živa*³, Krf *n- zafe*¹.

CCh *mi-šip- ‘‘guest’’: Mrg *mišipi*, Chb *məšəbi*, Wmd *mišibi*, Klb *mihibi*.

Prefix *mi-. Voicing of *-p- in individual languages is regular.

585 *čef- ‘‘plait, comb’’ (v.)

Sem *šVp-šVp- ‘‘plait (hair)’’: Arab *ḍḍf*.

Reduplication.

WCh *čyaf- ‘‘comb (beard)’’: Hs *čēfe*.

586 *čim- ‘‘tie, sew’’

Sem *šum- ‘‘join, bind’’: Arab *ḍmm* [-u-], Gz *ḍmm*.

*-u- < HS *-i- influenced by the following labial.

WCh *čim- ‘‘sew’’: Siri *šim*, Jmb *šim*, Geji *šim-vi*, Buli *šemu*.

ECh *čim- ‘‘sew’’: Mig *dyimmo*, Mubi *ʔzeme-ge*.

587 *čur- ‘‘be hostile’’

Sem *šur- ‘‘be hostile’’¹, ‘‘inflict harm’’²: Ug *šrr*¹, Arab *ḍrr* [-u-]¹, Sar *ḍrr*¹, Jib *zerr*².

Cf. also Hbr *šwr* ‘‘be hostile’’.

Eg *ḍʔy* ‘‘be hostile’’ (pyr).

Suffix -y. Note HS *-r- > -ʔ-.

WCh *čVr- ‘‘ostracizing’’: Hs *čiri*.

Assimilation of vowels.

588 *ĉüb- “flow, rain” (v.)

Sem *ĉib- “flow” (v.): Arab *qbb* [-i-].Rift *ĉub- “rain (v.)”: Irq *ĉuw*-, Bur *ĉub*-, Kwz *ĉub*-.Dhl *luβ*- “rain (v.)”.

*d

589 *da²- “child”WCh *da²- “child”: Hs *ḍa*.*ḍ* < *d- under the influence of the laryngeal.ECh *dwa²- “son, child”: Smr *doi*.

Unexpected *-wa-, probably resulting from the interaction with the lost vowel of the second syllable.

LEC *da²- “baby, child”: Or *daa²-ima*.Related to *da²-/*daw- “man, chief”? As far as the development of meaning is concerned see s.v. *bar- “man”.590 *da²- “worm, snake”WCh *da²- “snake”: Hs *ḍa*.Hs *ḍ* < *d- under the influence of the laryngeal.Cf. Ang *dū* “lizard”.Bed *d²a*, *do²o* “worm”.591 *da²- “urinate, ejaculate, perspire”Berb *dVH- “perspiration”: Izy *riḍi*.Eg *d²* “ejaculate”.Bed *da²*- “urinate”.Related to *da²-/*daw- “be wet”? The present word seems to be a generalized term for liquid excreta.592 *da²- “place, house”Berb *daH- “place”: Ghd -*dā*-, Sml *i-dā*.WCh *daH- “place”¹, “town”²: Sha *ḍa*¹, Ngz *ḍā*².*ḍ* < *d- under the influence of the laryngeal.CCh *dayi- “town”: Bura *di*, Ngw *dey*, *di*.From *da²i-.ECh *daH- “house”: Sok *dā*.LEC *da²- “hiding place”: Or *da²oo*.Rift *da²-/*di²- “place”: Irq *di*, Bur *da*, Alg *di* (pl.).Cf. also Irq *do* “house”, Alg *do²o* id. Unexpected -i- in Irq and Alg may reflect the vocalism of plural.593 *da²- “move”Berb *dV(w)- “go, walk”: Izy *eddu*, Kby *ddu*, *əddu*.Eg *d²* “run, run away”.WCh *da²-/*di²- “go”¹, “come”², “follow”³: Ang *dā*¹, Miya *ḍiy*², Kry *ḍə*³.Miya -*iy*- < *-i²-.CCh *da²-/*di²- “run”¹, “lead”², “migrate”³: Tera *ḍa*¹, Hwn *ḍa*¹, Log *da*, *di*².HEC *dV- “come”: Sid *d*-.Dhl *ḍaa^c*- “leave in a hurry”.

Unexpected laryngeal.

Omot *doH- “return” (Ome *doh*-) and Rift *dah- “come, enter” (Irq *dah*-, Kwz *dah*-, Asa *dah*-) may also belong to this root.594 *da²-/*daw- “be wet”Sem *nVdaw-/naday- “be wet”: Arab *ndw*, *ndy* [-a-].Prefix *nV-. Cf. Sem *dVy- “rain” (n.) (Eja *dəyyä*, Gog *diyä*).Berb *dVw- “soak”: Ahg *ə-du*.WCh *da²- “pour”¹, “be wet”²: Sura *ḍō*¹, Ang *dō*¹, Kry *ḍā*², Jmb *da²ā*².Agaw *du- “pour”: Aun *du-ḡ*.LEC *da²- “rain” (v.): Som *da²*-.Cf. also reduplication in SA *dad- “rainy season” (Saho *dada*).
Consonantal alternation **ḍ*- ~ *-w-.595 *da²-/*daw- “man, chief”Berb *dVw- “men”: Fgg *i-du*.

Cf. also Nfs *i-wd-an*, Sha *i-wd-an* id. continuing *wVd-.
 WCh *da³- ‘‘chief’’: Sura *n-daa*, Ang *dē*.
 CCh *da³i- ‘‘man’’¹, ‘‘people’’²: Mba ³diya¹, Msg dai².
 Rift *daH- ‘‘stranger’’: Irq *dahay-mo*, Bur *daha*, Asa *dē-imu*.

Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-w-. Related to *da³- ‘‘child’’?
 Note *nV-da- ‘‘person; father’’ in WCh and CCh.

596 *da³ap- ‘‘follow’’

WCh *da³ap- ‘‘follow’’: Sura *tap*, Bol *dapp-*, Krk *dāf-*.
 HEC *daHap- ‘‘reconnoitre, spy’’: Had *daap*.

597 *da³aw- ‘‘move’’

Sem *dV³aw/*dV³ay- ‘‘sneak (of a wolf)’’: Arab *d³w*, *d³y* [-a-].
 Berb *dVw- ‘‘arrive in the afternoon’’: Ayr *adwu*.
 WCh *da³aw- ‘‘return’’¹, ‘‘come’’²: Hs *dāwō*¹, Paa *dav*².
 Cf. also Miya *diy* ‘‘follow’’ reflecting *dV³Vy-, probably, corresponding to Arab *d³y*.
 Derived from *da³- ‘‘move’’.

598 *da³ud- ‘‘trample’’

ECh *dV³ud- ‘‘trample’’: Mkk *dūd-*.
 Agaw *dad- ‘‘trample’’: Bil *dad-*, Kwr *dad-*, Dmb *dad-*, Kem *dad-*.
 Reduplication of *da³- ‘‘move’’.

599 *da³üm- ‘‘spear’’

Sem *da³üm- ‘‘spear’’: Akk *da³imu*.
 Secondary inlaut laryngeal?
 CCh *³udum- ‘‘spear’’: FJ *wudumi*, Gude ³uduma.
 Assimilation of vowels and metathesis.

600 *dab- ‘‘follow’’

CCh *da³Vb- < *HV-dab- ‘‘follow’’: Dgh *daba*, Mnd *daba*.
 Metathesis of the laryngeal prefix.
 Omot *dab- ‘‘follow’’: Ome *dab(b)-*.

Cf. Sem *dib- ‘‘crawl, walk slowly’’: Arab *dbb* [-i-].

601 *dab- ‘‘vessel, box’’

Sem *dabb- ‘‘vessel for oil’’: Arab *dabb-at-*.
 Eg *db* ‘‘box’’ (n).
 LEC *dob- ‘‘vessel for oil’’: Som *dobi*.
 *-o- < HS *a before a labial consonant.

602 *dab- ‘‘trample’’

Sem *dVb-dVb- ‘‘trample’’: Arab *dbdb*.
 Reduplication.
 WCh *dabVH- ‘‘trample (floor)’’: Hs *daba*.
 Laryngeal suffix?

603 *dab- ‘‘big animal’’

Sem *dabb-/*dubb- ‘‘bear’’: Akk *dabbu*, Amor *dabbu*, Hbr *dōb*, Aram (Syr) *debb-*, Arab *dubb-*, Gz *dəb*, Tgr *dəb*.
 *dubb- is a secondary variant of *dabb-.
 Eg *db* ‘‘hyppopotamus’’ (OK).
 Dhl *ḏaḥi* ‘‘animal, meat’’.

604 *dab- ‘‘skin, hide’’

ECh *daḥ- < *dabaH- ‘‘skin’’: Kwn *daba*.
 Irregular emphatic.
 Agaw *dabb- ‘‘tanned hide’’: Bil *dabba*.
 Derivative in *dVbVl- ‘‘hide’’: Bil *dəbbəla*, Kwr *dəbbəlaa*, Kem *dəbbəlaa*.
 LEC *dub- ‘‘skin’’: Som *dub*.
 Secondary *u.
 Omot *dabb- ‘‘clothes made of bull-hide’’: Kaf *dabboo*.

Cf. Bed *adeeb* ‘‘skin, hide’’ < *³a-daHab-. As to -ee- < *-aHa-, see s.v. *daḥar- ‘‘drive away’’.

605 *dab-/*dib- “break, beat”

WCh *dab- “break”: Sura *teḫ*, Ang *tap*, *teḫ*, Mnt *teḫ*, Krk *dabu*,
Ngm *dap*, Glm *dw-*.

SA *dib- “whisk, beat”: Afar *dibe*.

Alternation *a ~ *i. Connected with *dab- “trample”?

606 *daba²- “insect”

Sem *daba²- “small locust”: Arab *dabā*(?)*-t-*.

CCh *daḫ- < *daba²- “termite”: Lame *daḫ*, *dəḫai*.

ECh *dVb-dVb- “tsetse”: Kera *adəbdəbə*.

Reduplication.

607 *daba³- “pound, grind”

Berb *dVbV₃- “thresh”: Zng *dəbəz*.

WCh *daba³- “coarsely ground flour”: Hs *dābāza*.

Nominal derivative of the original verbal root.

608 *dabin- “fence, trap”

Sem *dibn- “enclosure”: Aram (Syr) *debn-*, Arab *dibn-*.

*dibn- may result from a modification of *dabin-?

LEC *dabin- “trap”: Som *dabin*.

609 *dabur- “insect”

Sem *dabr- “bee”¹, “wasp”²: Hbr *d̥bōrā*¹, Aram (Jud) *d̥bōrā*¹,
Arab *dabr-at-*², *dabbūr-*².

CCh *dVbur- “termite”: Bata *dəvuř-ḡən*.

LEC *darab- “earth-worm”: Or *darabii*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels?

Derived from or related to *daba²- “insect”.

610 *dac- “flint knife”

Eg *ds* “knife, flint” (pyr).

ECh *das- “knife”: Gbr *dase-n*, Kbl *dasi*, Dor *dosi-n*.

HS *-c- (and not *s) is reconstructed on the basis of the related
*dac- “cut, chop” where it is definitely attested in WCh and
CCh.

611 *dac- “cut, chop”

Eg *ds* “cut” (t).

WCh *dac- “cut”: Hs *dāça*.

Cf. Zem *ducə* “kill”.

CCh *dVc- “chop”: Log *dəsə*.

ECh *daHis- < *Hi-das- “cut”¹, “cut hair”²: Sbn *dyəs*¹, Sok
*dis*².

Metathesis of the laryngeal prefix.

Related to *dac- “flint knife”.

612 *dad- “mother”

Sem *dad- “nursing mother”: Arab *dada(h)*.

WCh *dad- “mother, sister”: Ngz *daadu*.

May go back to *daHad-.

CCh *dad- “mother”: Gis *dada*.

Descriptive root.

613 *dad- “man, boy”

Berb *dad- “people”¹, “brother, uncle”²: Izy *mi-dd-en*¹, Kby
*dadda*².

Kby is also used as a term of respect.

WCh *dad- “boy”: Bol *dāde*.

LEC *dad- “men, people”: Som *dad*, Boni *dad*.

Descriptive root? Reduplication of *da²-/*daw- “man, chief”?

614 *dad- “flow, be wet”

Eg *d̥d̥d̥* “flow away”.

WCh *dVd- “be wet”: Wrj *dəd*, Diri *dəd*.

LEC *dad- “flow of water”: Som *daad*.

HEC *dad- “flow”: Had *daadd-*.

Reduplication of HS **daʔ-/*daw-* ‘‘flow, be wet’’.

615 **daf-* ‘‘heat, sweat’’

Berb **dVf-* ‘‘warmth’’: Aks *ddfa*.

WCh **daHVf-* ‘‘sweat’’: Ngz *daafau*.

CCh **(mu-)daf-* ‘‘sweat’’: Ngw *mu-ɖufa*, Glv *ngu-dafa*, Gava *ngwu-ɖufa*, Log *mu-tfu*, Kus *n-dafy*.

Kus *n-* is assimilated from **mV-*.

Bed *duf* ‘‘sweat’’.

-u- < **a* before a labial.

Agaw **dif-* ‘‘sweat’’: Bil *dif*.

Irregular vocalism.

HEC **daff-* ‘‘sweat’’: Dar *daffa*.

Omot **duf-* ‘‘sweat’’: Hmr *duf*, *duuf*.

-u- < **a* before a labial.

Related to **dafaʔ-* ‘‘be hot, perspire’’.

616 **dafaʔ-* ‘‘be hot, perspire’’

Sem **dVpaʔ-* ‘‘be hot’’: Arab *dʔ* [-*a-*, -*u-*].

CCh **daf-* ‘‘hot, warm’’: Kus *ndafu*, Mus *dafu*.

Cf. Mtk *ɖuf-* ‘‘warm (water)’’ (v.).

HEC **daf(f)-* ‘‘perspire’’: Dar *daff-*.

Cf. WCh **daf-* ‘‘cook’’ (v.): Hs *dafaʔ*?. Related to **daf-* ‘‘heat, sweat’’.

617 **dag-* ‘‘forget, lose’’

ECh **dag-* ‘‘get lost’’: Mkk *daggiya*.

Suffix *-iya*.

LEC **dag-* ‘‘forget’’: Or *daga*.

618 **dag-* ‘‘see, know’’

Eg *dgy* ‘‘see, look’’.

Suffix *-y-*.

ECh **dVg-* ‘‘think’’: Kera *ɖigi*.

Irregular emphatic.

SA **(HV)dag-* ‘‘know, learn’’: Saho *-ɖag-*, *-ɖig-*, *-ɖeg-*, Afar *dag-*, *ɖag-*.

HEC **dag-/*deg-* ‘‘know’’: Kmb *dag-*, *deg-*.

619 **dag-/*dig-* ‘‘go’’

Sem **dig-* ‘‘go slowly’’¹, ‘‘be slow’’²: Arab *dgg* [-*i-*]¹, Gur *dag*, *ɖag*².

Eg *dgɔ* ‘‘go’’ (n).

-ɔ stands for **a* of the root syllable.

Agaw **dig-* ‘‘come close’’: Aun *dig-əŋ*.

HEC **dag-* ‘‘come’’¹, ‘‘go’’², ‘‘escape’’³: Sid *dag-*¹, Dar *dag-*², Bmb *dag-*³.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

620 **dagan-* ‘‘corn’’

Sem **dagan-* ‘‘corn’’: Ug *dgn*, Phn *dgn*, Hbr *dāgān*.

WCh **dang-* ‘‘corn’’: Ang *tang*.

The development of the original structure in Chadic is parallel to similar structural changes in HS **čakin-* ‘‘knife’’ and **čakin-* ‘‘net’’.

621 **dagir-/*dagur-* ‘‘beans, millet’’

Sem **digr-* ‘‘haricot’’¹, ‘‘bean’’²: Arab *digr-*¹, Soq *digir*².

Assimilation of vowels from **dagir-*. Cf. also Arab *dagr-*, *dugr-* id.

ECh **dagir-* ‘‘millet’’: Sok *dagir*.

Agaw **ɔa-da(n)gur-* ‘‘bean’’: Xmr *adogur*, Dmt *adanguari*, Aun *adan-guari*.

Prefix **ɔa-*.

SA **ɔa-dagur-* ‘‘bean’’: Saho *adogur*.

Prefix **ɔa-*.

LEC **digir-* ‘‘bean’’: Som *digir*.

Assimilation of vowels. A Sem loanword?

622 **da^c-/*di^c-* ‘‘look, know’’

WCh **diH-/*diw-* ‘‘see’’: Cagu *duw-*, Fyr *ɖi*.

Secondary *-w- < *-H- before a rounded vowel (cf. also its influence upon the root vocalism in Cagu).

SA *da^c-/*di^c- “know, be able”: Saho di^c-, da^c-, di^c-, da^c-, Afar di^c-, da^c-, da^c-.

LEC *da^c- “understand”¹, “see”²: Som da^c-, da^c-¹, daay², Bay d-².

Dhl *daaw-at*- “look after”.

-w- < *-c-?

Rift *da²- “watch, gaze”: Kwz da²-am-.

Note Rift *-2- < *-c-.

Cf. reduplications in Dhl *diid*- “inspect” and Rift **did*- “remember”: Kwz *did*-.

623 *daham- “vessel, container”

Sem *dahmay- “pan”: Arab *dahmā*-.

Derived from *dahm-.

WCh *Ha-dam- “bag”: Sura *daam*.

Metathesis. Cf. Hs *madāmi* “pot” < WCh *ma-daHam-.

624 *dahun- “lie, deceive”

Sem *dVhun- “deceive”: Arab *dhn* [-u-].

WCh *danuH- < *daHun- “lie, deceive”: Chip *duŋ*, Bks *daŋ*.

Metathesis.

625 *dah-/diḥ- “fall”

Sem *dVh- “push”: Akk *daḥū*, *deḥū*, Phn *dhy*, Aram (Syr) *deḥa*², (Mand) *dh*², Arab *dḥw*.

Various derivatives based on a biconsonantal stem.

WCh *daH- “fall”: Siri *da*, Cagu *dā*-, Mbu *dā*-.

CCh *diH- “fall”: Chb *ḍi*.

ECh *daHwa- “fall”: Kwn *ḍawē*, Mobu *ḍawe*.

Omot *diḥ- “fall”: Mch *dihi(ye)*.

Note *-h- < *-ḥ-.

626 *dahar- “drive away”

Sem *dVhar- “drive away”¹, “divorce”²: Arab *dḥr* [-a-]¹, Gz *dḥr*².

Bed *deer* “drive away”.

-ee- < *-aHa-.

SA *daHar- “drive away”: Afar *da²ar*.

Unexpected *-2-.

LEC *day(V)r- “drive away”¹, “send”: Som *dayri*-¹, *dir*-².

*-y- may reflect an intervocalic laryngeal.

Any connection with *dVhar- “hunt” (v.)? As far as the meaning is concerned, cf. Slav *gъnati “hunt, drive away”. Derived from *dar- “drive away”.

627 *daḥiḥ- “press, squeeze”

Sem *dVhVḥ- “oppress”¹, “trample over”²: Akk *daṣū*¹, Tgr *däḥaṣa*², Tgy *däḥaṣä*², Amh *daṣä*², Gur *datä*².

CCh *daHiḥ- “squeeze”: Gis *doč*, Mofu *ḍač*, Daba *ḍič*.

628 *dahVr- “skin”

Eg *dḥr* “skin” (MK).

ECh *dar- “skin”: Tum *dar*.

629 *dah- “stone”

Berb *dVγ(Vγ)- “stone”: Kby *adyay*.

Partial reduplication.

Eg *dḥ.w.t* “stone block” (n).

WCh *daHya- “stone”: Jmb *ḍaya*, Dwot *ḍayi*.

ECh *dVHVγ- “stone, rock”: Tum *dəə:y*.

630 *dah- “smoke”

Sem *duḥ(h)- “smoke”: Arab *daḥḥ*-, *duḥḥ*-.

Secondary vocalism in *duḥḥ*-.

CCh *dyaH- < *daHi- “smoke”: LPe *dēoka*, Msm *deu*.

631 *daHir- “press, squeeze”

Berb *dVr- “press”: Ahg *a-dər*.

WCh *daHir- “crack”¹, “thresh”²: Hs *dāre*¹, Bol *dūr*², Wrj *dər*², Kry *dər*², Miya *dər*², Cagu *dar*², Mbu *dər*², Jmb *dira*².

If Hs does not belong here, it is quite plausible that the original form of the root was **dir-*.

632 *dak- “niche, stair”

Sem **dak(k)-* “bench”¹, “staircase”²: Arab *dakk-at-*¹, Tgr *dakka*¹, Mhr *dekk-ūt-*¹, Soq *dekk-oh*².

Berb **dVwVk-* “niche”: Ghd *a-ddūk*.

Secondary formation based on **dVk-*.

633 *dak-/*duk- “beat, pound”

Sem **duk-* “pound”: Akk *dakāku*, Arab *dkk* [-u-].

Cf. Sem **dVka*² “pound, push”: Akk *dakū*, Hbr *dk*².

WCh **dak-/*duk-* “pound”: Hs *daka*, Bol *dak-*, Tng *tug-*.

CCh **dak-* “trample”¹, “strike”²: Mba *dak*¹, Log *tku*².

Alternation **a* ~ **u*. Cf. **dak-/*duk-* “break, pound”.

634 *dak- “clay, sand”

Berb **dVk(k)-* “clay”: Sus *idəkki*.

WCh **dak-* “clay soil”: Hs *daḳo*.

Bed *dek^{wa}* “dust”.

Irregular *-k-* < **-k-*. The development of the vowel is not quite clear.

Agaw **daḳu-* “clay”: Kwr *daḳ^{wa}*.

635 *dak-/*duk- “break, pound”

Sem **duk-* “crush”¹, “break, beat”²: Hbr *dqq*¹, Arab *dqq* [-u-]².

Berb **dVk-* “strike, pound”: Kby *duqq*.

WCh **dak-* < **dak-* “pound”: Hs *dan-dakā*, Ngz *ḍəku*.

Dhl *ḍuk*-uδ- “destroy”.

Alternation **a* ~ **u*.

636 *dal- “buttocks”

Sem **dall-* “buttocks, hips”: Gz *dälle*, Amh *dalle*.

CCh **dal-* “buttocks”: Mrg *ta-dal*, Hld *ndə:lu*, Klb *ndel*.

Prefixes **ta-* and **nV-*.

637 *dal- “be weak, be tired”

Sem **dall-* “small, inferior”¹, “weak”², “imperfect”³: Akk *dallu*¹, Ug *dl*², Pun *dl*³, Hbr *dal*².

LEC **dal-* “be tired”: Som *daal-*.

Omot **dall-* “become meager”: Kaf *dalli-*.

638 *dalah- “go, walk”

Sem **dVlah-* “walk slowly”: Arab *dlh* [-a-].

CCh **dal-* “go (away)”: Glv *dal-*, Gdf *dala*, Nak *adala*, Gis *ndal*.

Cf. Zgh *dile*. Prefix **nV-* in Gis. Complete loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

ECh **dal-* “go”: Mobu *dale*.

639 *dam- “blood”

Sem **dam-* “blood”: Akk *dāmu*, Ug *dm*, Hbr *dām*, Aram (Syr) *dāmō*, Arab *dam*, Gz *dam*, Tgr *dām*, Tgy *dām*, Amh *dām*, Gaf *dām^{wa}*, Hrr *dām*, Gur *dām*.

Berb **dam(m)-* “blood”: Ghd *damm-en*, Nfs *i-damm-en*, Siwa *i-damm-en*, Zng *damm-en*, Sml *i-damm-en*, Izd *i-damm-en*, Mzab *i-dam-en*, Shn *i-dam-en*, Sha *i-dam-en*, Kby *i-dam-en*, Izn *iḍammen*, Snh *eddem*.

The above forms are generalized pl. Sg. indicates **dim-*, cf. Kby *iḍim*.

WCh **dam-* “blood”: Sura *təyom*, Ang *tom*, Ank *tiyem*, Bol *dom*, Tng *tom*, Ngm *dom*, Maha *dom*, Bele *dom*, Krf *n-daame*, Gera *n-dooma*, Ngz *dədam*.

Omot **dam-* “blood”: Kaf *damoo*, Mch *damo*.

640 *dam- “flow (of blood)” (v.)

Sem **dVm-* “wound” (v.): Aram *dmm*.

Eg *dm* “coagulate” (med).

Eg -j may indicate HS **a*.

Derived from **dam-* “blood”.

641 *dam- "equid"

Sem *dam-dam- "mule": Akk *damdammu*.

Reduplication.

Berb *dVm(m)- "mule": Ayr *edami*.

ECh *gV-dam- "horse": Kera *gədaamo*.

Prefix *gV-.

SA *dam- "zebra": Afar *daami*.

642 *dam- "break, press"

Berb *dVm- "press, squeeze": Zng *a-ḡammi*.

WCh *daVm- "beat": Hs *dāmā*.

ECh *diim- "break": Jegu *ḡimm*-, Mkk *diimu*, Mig *ḡiimo*, Dng *ḡyiime*.

Rift *dam- "knead": Kwz *dam*-.

Secondary laryngeal infixes in WCh and ECh. An alternative reconstruction is *da'im-.

643 *dam- "live, last, sit"

Sem *dVm-/*dūm- "dwell"¹, "last" (v.)², "stay a long time in one place"³: Ug *dm*¹, Arab *dwm* [-u-]², Hss *adīm*³, Mhr *adyim*³, Shh *edyim*³.

Secondary derivative from *dVm- morphologically identical with HS *dVwVm- "drip, flow" formed on the basis of *dam- "cloud".

Eg *dm* "lie".

-j is a vocalic sign.

WCh *dam- "dwell"¹, "sit"²: Bgh *tam*¹, Geji *dem-owi*, *dəm*².

Secondary -e-.

ECh *dam- "dwell, live, sit": Smr *dam*, Sbn *dama*.

Rift *dam- "wait": Irq *dam*-.

644 *dam- "knife"

Eg *dm.t* "sword" (MK).

CCh *dam-dam- "knife": Mafa *damdam*.

Reduplication.

Related to *dam- "break, press"?

645 *dam- "cloud"

Sem *damm-/*dimm- "light fog with dew"¹, "rainless cloud"²:

Aram (Syr) *dīm-ət*¹, Arab *damm*-, *dīmām*².

Cf. *dVma^c- "rain" (v.): Arab *dm^c* [-a-].

WCh *a-dam- "cloud": Tng *adam*.

Prefix *a-.

Cf. Berb *adVm- "drip" (Izy *addum*).

646 *damik- "hare"

Sem *dVmVk- "run quickly (of a hare)": Arab *dmk*.

Denominative verb.

WCh *damik- "hare": Paa *damiki*.

647 *dan- "family"

Eg *dn.w.t* "family" (XVIII).

WCh *dan-H-/*Ha-dan- "family, clan, people": Hs *dangi*, Sura *dan*, Ang *deng*.

Originally, *Ha- is a prefix.

Cf. also Rift *dan-H- "twins" (Irq *dangi*).

648 *danah- "go, walk"

Sem *dVnah- "walk slowly (carrying a load)": Arab *dnh* [-a-].

WCh *dan-H- "go"¹, "come"²: Bgh *dang*¹, Buli *dang*².

CCh *din-H- "go": Mwl *udin-ən*, Kus *ndinga*.

Irregular vocalism results from the influence of a lost vowel preceding *-H-.

ECh *dan-H-/*daHan- "run away"¹, "go away"², "follow"³:

Kera *dege*¹, Jegu *day*², Mkk *daane*³.

Metathesis in Mkk.

649 *dand- "run away"

WCh *dand- "emigrate": Hs *dandī*.

Agaw *dand- "run away": Kwr *daand*-.

650 *dan(g)- “elephant”

HEC *dan- “elephant”: Sid *daan-icco*, Had *daane-cco*, Kmb *dani-ec̥coa*.

Omot *dang- “elephant”: Kaf *dangiyo*, Mch *dāḡgao*, Anf *dang-ec̥co*, Bwo *dang-as*.

Dhl *dannaβa* “female elephant”.

Rift *dang- “elephant”: Irq *dangw*.

This root serves as a base for HS derivatives attested outside Cush and, thus, may be a HS archaism. Cf. also SA *dakan- “elephant” (Saho *dakaano*, Afar *dakaano*), LEC *dagon- id. (Som *dagon*, Dhl *dokomi* id.).

651 *da(n)ger- “monkey”

CCh *dagyal- “monkey”: Bud *dägel*.

Spontaneous change of *r > *l.

ECh *dVgVr- “monkey”: Ndm *də:gre*.

LEC *danger- “monkey”: Som *daŋer*, Boni *dašer*.

HEC *dager- “monkey”: Had *dagieraa*, Kmb *dagieraa*.

652 *dangol- “elephant”

ECh *dVng[wa]l- “trunk”¹, “elephant”²: Dng *dugulo*¹, Mig *diḡgillu*¹, Sok *dogol*².

Omot *dongor(r)- “elephant”: Ome *dongor*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from *dan(g)- “elephant”. The reconstruction of *-a- in the first syllable is tentatively based on the vocalism of *dan(g)-.

653 *dankal-/*dankul- “bean”

WCh *dankal- “sweet potato”: Hs *dankali*.

Cf. Kanuri *dangali*.

Agaw *a-dangwal- “beans”: Bil *adāḡwal*.

Prefix *a-.

LEC *dangul- “beans”: Or *daangulle*.

Connected with *dagir-/*dagur- “beans, millet”? Cush shows voicing of the postnasal stop.

654 *daparan- “tree”

Sem *daparan- “juniper”: Akk *daparānu*, Ug *dprn*.

CCh *dapVrVn- “acacia”: Mofu *davərna*.

Voiced -v- < *-p- between two vowels?

An ancient composite? For the first component cf., probably, WCh *da[p]- “leaf” (Krk *dafo*, Ngm *daho*, *davo*).

655 *daq- “fall, push”

Eg *dh* “fall” (XIX).

WCh *dak- < *daq- “upset”: Tng *dako*.

Shift of emphatization.

CCh *dVq- “push”: Mofu *-dæg-*.

656 *dar- “run”

Sem *dVr- “run freely”¹, “run tirelessly”²: Akk *darāru*¹, Arab *drr*².

Berb *dVrVr- “gallop”: Kby *dre*^c.

Secondary *-c-.

CCh *dar- “run”: Tera *dara*, Glv.

Prefix *mV- and modified vocalism in Glv.

657 *dar- “road”

Sem *darar- “straight way”: Arab *darar-*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh *darVH-/*daHVr- “road”: Grk *der*, Krk *ndaru*, Maha *dore*, Miya *darhi*, Mba *dēri*, Jmb *dāru*.

Secondary inlaut laryngeal. Prefix *nV- in Krk.

Mgg *dar* “way, road”.

Derived from *dar- “run”. For the semantic development, cf. Gk *ὁδός* “road” ~ Slav **xoditi* “walk” and many other similar formations in IE.

658 *dar- “dwelling place”

Sem *dār- “dwelling”¹, “house”², “granary”³: Hbr *dōr*¹,
Aram *dāra*(²)¹, Arab *dār*-², Hrr *dēra*³.
Berb *dar- “room”¹, “house”², “village”³: Rif *tha-ddar-t*¹, Izn
*thi-ddar-t*¹, Snus *ta-ddar-t*², Kby *ta-ddar-t*³.

659 *dar- “man, master”

CCh *dar- “bridegroom”: Msg *darai*.
Rift *dar- “master”: Gor *daari*.

Cf. also Sem *dār- “generation, family” (Akk *dāru*, Ug *dr*, Phn
dr, Hbr *dōr*)?

660 *dar- “drive away”

Sem *dVr- “drive away, make go”: Arab *dr*², Soq *ʾedre*.
Eg *dr* “drive away” (pyr).

Comparison with Arab *ṭrr* “drive” is also possible.

Omot *dar- “drive away”: Kaf *dar*.

Cf. *daḥar- “drive away”.

661 *darak- “shield”

Sem *darak- “leather shield”: Arab *daraq-at*.
ECh *darag- “shield”: Mubi *daraga* (from Arab?).

662 *darib- “road”

Sem *dar(V)b- “road, street”: Arab *darb*-, Mhr *darb*.

CCh *darVb- “road”: Log *darba* (< Arab?).

Bed *darib* “road”.

Agaw *darib- “road”: Bil *dārib*.

SA *darib- “road”: Saho *darib*, Afar *darib*.

LEC *darab- “enclosure”: Or *darabaa*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from HS *dar- “road”. Some of the above Cush forms
may be Arab borrowings.

663 *das- “vessel”

Eg *ds* “clay jug” (pyr).

WCh *das- “kind of calabash”: Hs *dasa*.

CCh *dasya-/ *daswa- “pot, calabash”: Mofu *des*, Gude *dosa*.

664 *daw- “day”

Eg *dwʃ.w* “morning” (MK), Copt *towī id.: Bhm *tooui*, Shd *tooue*.
-ʃ stands for a vowel.

ECh *daw- “day”¹, “sun”²: Smr *dawa*^{1 2}, Sbn *dawa*^{1 2}, Tum
*daw*², Kera *dāway*¹.

665 *daw-/ *day- “arrow”

WCh *dVyiw- “arrow”¹, “knife”²: Jmb *dāwa*¹, Tng *diya*².
Contraction.

ECh *dVw- “dart” (n.): Tum *dəw*.

LEC *daw- “arrow”: Bay *dawwe*.

HEC *day- “arrow”: Bmb *daaya*.

Traces of HS consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

Rift *daʔ- “quiver” (*daʔa*-) may also belong here.

666 *dawaʔ-/ *dayaʔ- “be ill”

Sem *dūʔ-/ *dūy- “be ill, be weak”: Ug *dw*, *dwy*, Hbr *dāwe*, Aram
(Syr) *dʿwī*, Arab *dw*² [-a-].

CCh *daʔVw- “illness”: HNk *dəwa*, Kap *dawa*, HF *dawa*.

ECh *dVw- “weak”: Kera *dewe*.

LEC *dayaʔ- “be hurt badly”: Or *dayyaʔa*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

667 *dawak- “equid”

WCh *dawak- “horse”: Hs *dōki*, Bol *dōso*, Krk *dōku*, Dera *dok*, *dōwi*,
Ngm *doku*, Bele *dōšo*, Krf *dūšo*, Gera *dūša*, Grm *dūsa*, Miya
duwakə, Cagu *dākə-n*, Siri *dukwi*, Mbu *dāku*, Jmb *dakwa*, Ngz *dūka*.
Rift *da[k]way- “donkey”: Irq *daqwai*, Alg *ndagʷai*, Bur *daqʷe*, Kwz
dagwagwai-ko.

Secondary *k. Metathesis.

Agaw *dikwar- 'donkey' (Kem *doxwaraa*, Kwr *dekoraa* etc.) seems to be derived from this stem.

668 *dawal- 'big vessel'

Sem *dal(V)w-/*dal(V)y- 'bucket': Akk *dalū*, Hbr *dāl*, Arab *dalw*-, Hss *dōlew*, Mhr *dēlew*, Shh *dele*.

Metathesis. Cf. Aram *dlw* 'draw water', Gz *dlw* id.

ECh *dal- 'pot': Dor *dali*.

No traces of contraction.

LEC *dawVl- 'measure of weight' (Or *daawlaa*) may also belong to this root.

669 *dawal- 'go, enter'

Sem *dūl- 'go around': Akk *dālu*.

ECh *dawal- 'enter': Lele *dool*.

Contraction of *-awa- > Lele -oo-.

670 *dawhal- 'vessel'

Sem *dawhal- 'basket': Arab *dawhal-at*.

WCh *duHVl- 'pot': Sura *tugul*, Ang *tūl*.

WCh *u may go back to HS *-aw(V)-.

CCh *dawVl- 'pot, calabash': Log *dōli*, Mofu *dagəlu*.

ECh *d[u]gVl- 'basket' ¹, 'pot' ²: Kbl *dugul* ¹, Nch *degele* ².

ECh *g is a possible reflex of HS *h.

Any connection with *dawal- 'big vessel'?

671 *dawul- 'fence'

Sem *dawl- 'vicinity': Arab *dawl*-.

WCh *wVdul- 'goat pen, sheep fold': Ang *dul*.

Voiced Ang *d*- in the anlaut proves the existence of a preceding syllable. Note metathesis.

ECh *dVlVw- 'fence': Tum *dələw*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is *wadul-.

672 *dawVh- 'tree'

Sem *dawh- 'high tree': Arab *dawh-at*-.

WCh *daw(VH)- 'kind of tree': Hs *dauye*.

CCh *duw- < *duHVw- 'kind of tree': Gis *duway*.

Cf. Dgh *daḍa* 'branch' with reduplication.

ECh *daH- 'tree': Nch *dā*.

673 *day- 'put'

Eg *wdy* 'put' (pyr).

Eg *w*- may be a prefix.

CCh *day- 'put': Log *de-he*.

ECh *daH- 'put (down)': Mubi *da*.

Cf. a reduplication in Sok *doudoi* 'lie down'.

Dhl *da^c* 'put into, insert'.

674 *dayas- 'trample, beat, push'

Sem *dūs-/*dīs- 'trample': Akk *dāšu*, Hbr *dwš*, *dys*, Aram (Syr) *dwš*, Arab *dws*, *dys* [-u-], Gz *dys*, Mhr *dōs*, Shh *dos*, Hss *dōs*.

Metathesis in Gz. The vocalism of the first syllable is conditioned by intervocalic *-y-.

WCh *dyas- < *dayas- 'pound' ¹, 'beat, strike' ²: Geji *desi* ¹, DB *daš* ².

HEC *dayas- 'split': Kmb *dayyaas*-.

Assimilation of vowels. Borrowing from Sem?

675 *dehan- 'smoke'

Sem *dVhan- 'be smoked' ¹, 'dark-colored' ²: Arab *dḥn* [-a-] ¹, Shh *edḥān* ².

Secondary vocalism in a derivative.

CCh *dyaHVn- 'smoke': Gudu *mi-deni*.

Derived from *dah- 'smoke'.

676 *dehul- 'go, enter'

Sem *dVhul- 'enter': Arab *dḥl* [-u-].

WCh **dyaHul-* “enter”¹, “go out”²: Sura *del*¹, Chip *deɛl*¹, Mnt *del*¹, Pol *deli*², Geji *deli*², Diri *dulə*².
 ECh **dul-* “go out”: Jegu *dul*.

677 **deḵ-* “shave, cut hair”

ECh **dVḵ-* “cut hair”: Mkk *dik-*.
 Shift of emphatization.
 Rift **deḵ-* “shave bald”: Irq *deḵw-*.

678 **deman-* “cloud, rain”

WCh **dyaman-* “rainy season”¹, “rain”²: Hs *dāmunā*, *dāminā*, *dāmanā*¹, Bade *demanu*², Ngz *dəman*¹.
 Secondary vowels in the second syllable in Hs.
 CCh **dyaman-* “rainy season”: Gude *deṽən*, Log *dēman*, Kus *deman*.
 Dissimilation of nasals in Gude.
 Agaw **dimin-* “cloud”: Bil *dəmna*, Xmr *dimmena*.
 Reflects HS **demin-?*
 HEC **duman-* “cloud”: Dar *duuman-ca*, Bmb *dumman-ci*.
 Labialization of the vowel in the first syllable.
 Omot **daman-* “cloud”: Ome *dämmānaa*.
 Assimilation of vowels.
 Derived from **dam-* “cloud”.

679 **deman-* “insect”

Sem **diman-* “insect”: Akk *dimānu*.
 Eg *dnm* “worms” (BD).
 Metathesis.
 WCh **dyaman-* “spider”: Hs *dāmanā*.
de- is a forbidden sequence in Hs.
 Derived from **dim-* “insect”.

680 **den-* “stone”

Eg *dny* “stone block” (n).
-y is a vocalic sign.
 WCh **dyan-H-* “whetstone”: Bks *ᶶa-deṇ*, *ma-deṇ*.

Suffix **-H-*.

ECh **dVn-H-* “stone”: Tum *dəṇ*.
 Suffix **-H-*.

681 **den-* “dwell, remain”

Sem **dūn-* “remain”: Hbr *dwn*.
 Modification of biconsonantal **dVn-*.
 WCh **dyan-* < **dyaHVn-* “sit”: Ngm *dəno*, Maha *dəna*.
 ECh **dyan-* “dwell”: Kbl *den*.
 SA **din-* “sleep”: Saho *diin*, Afar *diin*.

682 **der-* “dress” (v.)

Eg *dr* “put on (clothes)” (gr).
 WCh **dyar-* “put on (clothes)”: Kera *dere*.
 ECh **dyar-* “take off (clothes)”: Lele *der*.

683 **der-* “bird”

ECh **dyar-* “dove”: Mkk *deere*, Kwn *dere*.
 Agaw **dir(u)-* “hen”: Bil *diruwa*, Kwr *dirwa*, Aun *dur-*.
 Aun *-u-* < **-i-* under the influence of the rounded vowel in the second syllable.
 Omot **der-* “rooster”: Ome *deeraa*.

684 **diʼ-* “sickness”

Sem **diʼ-* “sickness”: Akk *diʼu*.
 Rift **diʼ-* “sick person”: Kwz *diʼ-ako*.
 Related to **dawaʼ-/dyaʼ-* “be ill”.

685 **diʼay-* “fly” (v.)

Sem **dVʼVy-* “fly” (v.): Ug *dʼy*, Hbr *dʼy*.
 WCh **diyaH-* “fly” (v.): Krk *diyau*.
 Metathesis.
 Related to **diʼVw-/diʼVy-* “bird”.

686 *di³im- “be red”

Sem *dV³Vm- “be dark red”¹, “red”², “brown”³: Akk d³m¹,
Amh dama², Hrr dāma³.

Eg idmy “red cloth” (pyr).

Metathesis. A Sem loanword?

Agaw *dVm(m)- “(be) red”: Aun damma.

SA *dum- “red”: Saho duma.

*-u- < *-i- before a labial.

LEC *diHim- “red, red-brown”: Or diimaa.

HEC *diHim-/ *diHum- “red”¹, “become red”²: Sid daama¹,
duumo¹, duu³m-², Dar diimma¹.

Secondary vocalism in Sid?

Rift *dim-ay- “red”: Kwz dimayi-.

687 *di³Vw-/ *di³Vy- “bird”

Sem *da³-/ *day- “vulture”: Ug d³iy, Hbr dayyā.

Secondary -a- in Sem.

WCh *dway- < *dVway- < *dVHay- “bird”: Bgh dway.

CCh *diyaw- < *di³aw- “bird”: Gis diyew, Bld diyaw.

ECh *dVHaw- “night bird”: Tum doo.

Assimilation of vowels.

Related to *di³ay- “fly” (v.).

688 *dib- “take”

Eg dbdb “grasp, take back” (XXI).

Reduplication.

WCh *diHab- “take out, pluck, gather”: Hs dība.

Secondary inlaut laryngeal? The original root was *dib-.

LEC *deb- “grasp”¹, “give back”²: Som dab¹, Or deebisa².

689 *dibin- “round container”

Eg dbn “round box; ring” (OK).

CCh *dibin- “basket”: Gude divin.

Cf. *dabin- “fence, trap” ← * “round structure”?

690 *dič- “sneeze”

Sem *datt- “cold, catarrh”: Arab datt-at-.

Deverbative.

WCh *dič- “sneeze”: Sha dāš, DB diš.

691 *di(m)bur- “back”

Sem *dubr- “back”: Hbr d³bīr, Arab dubr-.

Secondary formation in Hbr. Assimilation of vowels.

CCh *di(m)bur- “buttocks”: WMrg dimbur.

From *dub- “back, tail”.

692 *did- “elder”

Sem *did- “honorable title”: Mhr ha-dīd, Shh edid, did, Soq dedo.

WCh *did- “chief’s title”: Ang didē.

Cf. Miya didi “in-law”.

CCh *did- “grandparent”: Gis dide.

Descriptive stem?

693 *did- “bee”

WCh *did- “fly” (n.): Bol didi, Krf di:di, Gera didi, Ngm didi.

Agaw *did- “honey”: Kem didaa.

SA *did- “wasp”: Afar diidaa.

HEC *did- “bee, honey”: Dar diida, Bmb diida.

Descriptive stem. Reduplication?

694 *did- “clothes”

Sem *did- “kind of clothes”: Akk didu.

WCh *HV-did- “shirt”: Ang did.

Prefix *HV-.

695 *dif- “vessel”

Eg dfy “vessel” (OK).

-y is a vocalic sign.

CCh *dif- ‘‘pot’’: Mwu *deevo*, Nza *dəvə*, FBw *divə-n*, FMch *divu*.

Omot *dip- ‘‘gourd’’: Ome *dip̚ee*.

Note emphatic -p̚-.

696 *di^c-/*du^c- ‘‘speak, call’’

Sem *du^c- ‘‘call’’¹, ‘‘be called’’²: Arab *d^cw* [-u-]¹, Tgr *d^cy*².

Various triconsonantal formations based on *du^c-.

CCh *diHya- ‘‘call, say’’: Lame *de*, Masa *dē³e*, Msm *de*, *de*, *di*, Bnn *diye*.

ECh *diy- ‘‘say’’: Dng *diye*.

Probably, from *diHya- as in CCh.

Bed *di* ‘‘speak, call’’.

SA *da^c- ‘‘call’’: Saho *da^c*, Afar *da^c*.

The root vowel is not clear.

Alternation *i ~ *u.

697 *di^cas- ‘‘walk’’

Sem *dV^caš- ‘‘trample’’¹, ‘‘tread down’’²: Arab *d^cs* [-a-]¹, Tgr *dāhasa*².

Cf. also Tgy *dāhasā*, Gur *dasā* ‘‘destroy’’ with different laryngeals.

WCh *diHV^s- ‘‘follow’’: DB *dis-*.

CCh *dVHV^s- ‘‘enter’’: Gbn *dəsi*.

Cf. *dayas- ‘‘trample, beat, push’’.

698 *dihas- ‘‘cut, skin’’ (v.)

Sem *dVhaš- ‘‘skin, peel off’’: Arab *dhs* [-a-], Tgr *dāhsa*, Shh *dhas*, *dhaš*, Soq *dōhes*.

WCh *diHV^s- ‘‘cut, skin’’: Bol *diss-*.

699 *dihus- ‘‘hide, skin’’

Berb *dV^s- ‘‘tanned leather’’: Ahg *te-dəse*, Ayr *te-dase*.

No traces of the inlaut laryngeal.

WCh *diHus- ‘‘hide, skin’’: Ngm *diši*, Gera *dīsi*, Grm *duči*, Bol *dīši*.

Related to *dihas- ‘‘cut, skin’’.

700 *diHab- ‘‘enter, return’’

ECh *diyab- < *diHab- ‘‘enter’’¹, ‘‘run away’’²: Kbl *diyabə*¹, Kera *debe*².

LEC *deHeb- ‘‘return’’: Or *deebi²a*.

Contracted from *diHab-.

Cf. HS *diHVp- ‘‘enter’’.

701 *diHVp- ‘‘enter’’

Berb *dVf- ‘‘enter’’: Izn *a-def*.

CCh *diHVp- ‘‘enter’’: Hwn *dəf-ən*.

LEC *daf- ‘‘hurry, hasten’’ (Or *daf-*) may also belong here. Cf.

HS *diHab- ‘‘enter, return’’.

702 *dik- ‘‘bird’’

Sem *dik- ‘‘rooster’’: Aram (Syr) *dik-*, Arab *dik-*.

ECh *dik- ‘‘rooster’’: Mubi *dik*.

Bed *diik* ‘‘rooster’’.

703 *dik- ‘‘build’’

Sem *nVdV^k- ‘‘build’’: Gz *nadaqa*, Tgr *nadqa*, Tgy *nadaqa*, Amh *nāddāqā*.

Prefix *nV-.

WCh *dik- < *dik- ‘‘build’’: Sura *dik*, Chip *dik*.

Shift of emphatization.

704 *dik- ‘‘be small, be thin’’

Sem *dik(k)- ‘‘be small’’¹, ‘‘be thin, fine’’²: Akk *daqāqu*¹, Ug *dq*², Arab *diqq-*², Gz *dqq*², Soq *dqq*².

LEC *dik(k)- ‘‘become faint, tenuous’’¹, ‘‘small’’²: Som *dīq-*¹, Or *diqqa*².

Related to *da^k-/*du^k- ‘‘break, pound’’.

705 *dikar- "pot"

Sem *dikār- "pot": Akk *diqāru*.

CCh *digyar- < *digar- "pot, jar": Mofu *dəger*, Gis *diger*.

CCh *-g- may reflect earlier intervocalic *k̄.

706 *dim- "voice"

Sem *dimm- "moan" (n.): Arab *dimm-at*.

WCh *dim- "sound of voice": Hs *dimī*, *qumī*.

u < *i* under the influence of the labial. Irregular Hs and WCh

q- < **d-* reflects an original prefix *HV-.

CCh *dim- "song": Gis *dim-es*.

Related to *dVm- "utter".

707 *dim- "go, run"

Sem *dVm-dVm- "march": Tgr *dmdm*.

Reduplication.

Berb *dVm- "pant (when running)": Ahg *əddəm*.

The meaning makes the comparison dubious.

Eg *dmy* "move" (pyr).

-y is an infinitive suffix.

CCh *dim- "enter" ¹, "go out" ²: Mnd *dəm*- ¹, Bch *dəmə* ², Gudu *dəmu* ², Mwu *udima* ².

Prefix *u- in Mwu.

ECh *dVm- "enter": Sbn *də:mə*.

708 *dim- "insect"

Sem *dimm- "locust" ¹, "louse, ant" ²: Akk *dim-i-tu* ¹, Arab *dimm-at* ².

CCh *da-daHVm- "locust": Mofu *da-damiy-daw*.

Partial reduplication. Note the inlaut laryngeal and the secondary vocalism.

709 *dim- "dwelling, place"

Sem *dim- "tower" ¹, "borough" ²: Akk *dim-atu* ¹, Ug *dm-t* ².

Eg *dmy* "town" (pyr), Dem *dmy* id., Copt **tmi* "village": Boh *ṛmi*, Shd *ṛme*.

Copt shows that Eg -y continues a suffix.

710 *dimb- "gourd (vessel)"

WCh *dimb- "gourd": Krf *dimbi*.

LEC *dibb- "gourd, gourd vessel": Or *dibbe*.

HEC *dibb-/ *dimb- "drum": Sid *dibbe*, Had *dibbeʿe*, Dar *dibbe*, Kab *dibb-ita*, Bmb *diimba*.

711 *din- "cloud, rain"

Sem *dīn- "long rain": Arab *dīn-at*.

WCh *din- "cloud": Mnt *tīn*.

712 *din- "vessel"

Eg *dny.t* "bowl, basket, vessel" (MK).

-y stands for a front vowel.

CCh *din- "cooking pot": Lame *dinai*, LPe *dənai*.

Suffix -ay- in individual forms.

713 *din- "be weak"

Sem *dūn- "be weak": Arab *dwn*.

Based on biconsonantal *dVn-.

Berb *dVn- "be weak": Zng *a-dən*.

Rift *din- "get old": Irq *dūn*-.

714 *ding- "bird"

WCh *ding- "guinea fowl": Grm *dingi*.

Rift *ding- "stork": Irq *dingi*.

It is difficult to say whether *-ng- is an original HS cluster or the result of the loss of a vowel in the second syllable (if a reconstruction *dinVg- is suggested).

715 *dink- “dwarf”

Eg *dng* “dwarf” (pyr).

*-nk- > Eg -ng- in a contact position.

LEC *dink- “dwarf”: Or *dinki*.

HEC *dink- “dwarf”: Kmb *danka*, Tmb *dinka*.

A borrowing LEC → HEC or HEC → LEC? On *-nk- see HS *ding- “bird”.

716 *dinkar- “lizard”

WCh *dVnkar- “lizard”: Krk *dankara*, Ngm *dakura*.

Cf. Msg *digidiḡi* id., Hs *kadagara* id.

Omot *dingar- “lizard”: Kaf *dingaro*, Gim *dingar*.

Omot *-ng- may be a regular reflex of HS *-nk-.

Somehow connected with *dink- “dwarf”?

717 *dinVy- “divide”

Eg *dny.t* “part” (n), Copt **toy(i)*: Boh *toi*, Shd *toe*.

ECh **i-dinVy*- “divide”: Dng *idinye*.

Prefix **i*-.

718 *dir- “learn, remember”

Sem *dVrVy-/*dVrVy- “learn, understand”: Arab *dry* [-i-].

Based on biliteral *dar-/*dir-.

CCh *HV-dir- “remember”: Lame *qir*-.

719 *dirac-/*dirač- “press, beat”

Sem *dVrVs- “force out, trample”: Akk *drs*, Aram (Jud) *drs*, Arab *drs* [-i-, -u-].

Irregular vocalism of the second syllable.

WCh *dirVč- “press down”: Hs *dirče*, Kry *dərčə*.

CCh *dVrac- “push (away)”: Mofu *dəras*.

Sem ~ WCh correspondence is irregular as far as the affricate is concerned. CCh *-č- is inconclusive.

720 *dišar- “cereal”

Sem *dišar- “wild growing cereals”: Akk *dišarru*.

Eg *dšr* “corn” (OK).

A cultural loanword?

721 *diway- “fly” (n.)

Sem *dawVy- “Spanish fly”: Aram *dāwəy-at*.

Assimilated from *diway-?

WCh *diyaw- “fly”: Krk *diyaw*, Pero *tiyo*.

Metathesis from *diway-?

CCh *dV²Vy- “fly”: Hwn *de*, Gbn *deya*.

ECh ***diw*- “fly”: Dng *duwo*, Jegu *diwo*, Brg *diwo*, Mig *duwuwu*,

Mubi *quwo*, Sok *dōu*.

Unexpected emphatic in Mubi.

722 *diy- “plant”

Eg *dy* “cabbage” (gr).

ECh *Hwa-diy- “grass”: Mkk *oḡiyu*.

Prefix *Hwa-.

723 *dob- “water”

Sem *dVbb- “ocean”: Ug *dbb*.

Omot *dob- “rain”: Ome *dubi*, Dime *dobi*, Kar *dobi*.

Semantically, the HS word seems to denote abundance of (flowing) water. As far as the meaning of Sem is concerned, cf. OIr *ler* “sea” ~ Slav **liti* “pour, flow”.

724 *dob- “speak, call”

Sem *dub- “speak”: Akk *dabābu*.

WCh *dwab- “call”: Tng *dobi*.

LEC *deb- “answer”: Or *deeb-isa*.

Unexpected vowel.

725 *dog- “forge, beat”

Sem *dug- “grind (to a powder)”: Arab *dgg* [-u-].

Berb *dVg- “forge”: Aks *dəg*.

CCh *dwag- “smith”: Bid *dōgei*.

ECh *dwag- “forge”: Mubi *dogga*.

HEC *dug- “tan”: Sid *duug*-, Had *duug*-, Bmb *duug*-.

A typical case of tanning described as beating. Cf. another possible cognate: HEC *dig- “demolish, destroy” (Sid *diig*-, Dar *diig*-).

726 *dohan- “fat, grease”

Sem *duhn- “fat, grease”: Aram (Palm) *dhn*-, (Syr) *dūhān*-, Arab *duhn*-.

Berb *dun- “fat, grease”: Sml *ta-dun-t*, Znt *ra-δun-t*, Snus *ra-δun-t*,

Ahg *t-adən-t*, Twl *tā-dhən-t*, Tsl *ta-dhən-t*, Zng *tə-dun-t*, Izy *radunn*.

WCh *dwan-H- “fat, grease”: Sura *dəw*.

Metathesis.

727 *doḥVn- “millet, grain”

Sem *duḥn- “sorghum”: Akk *duḥnu*-, Hbr *dōḥan*-, Aram (Syr) *duḥnā*-, Arab *duḥn*-.

CCh *dwan- “corn”: Mtk *dawna*.

From *dwaHVn-.

728 *don- “stand up”

Eg *dwn* “stand up” (med).

-w- stands for a rounded vowel.

WCh *dwan-H- “stand up”: Fyer *dwan*.

Secondary *-H-, probably, functioning as a suffix.

729 *don- “be strong”

Sem *dVn- “be strong”: Akk *danānu*.

Eg *wdn* “be strong, be heavy” (XVIII).

w- is a vocalic sign.

CCh *dwanu- “strong, strength”: Chb *dəna*-, Wmd *duno-ma*-, Ngw

dina-, Mrg *dəna-ma*-, Mba *dono*-, Log *donō*-, Bud *dunoa*-, Gul *dunu*-, Kus *dunu*.

ECh *dwanu- “strong”: Smr *dwana*-, Sok *duno*.

730 *dub- “horn”

Eg *db* “horn” (med), Copt **tap* id.: Boh *tap*-, Shd *tap*-.

ECh *ba-dub- “horn”: Tum *ba-dubo*.

Prefix *ba-.

731 *dub- “back, tail”

WCh *dub- “tail”: Ang *tup*.

CCh *dub- “back”¹, “buttocks”²: Mofu *duba*¹, Gis *dəba*^{1,2}, Daba *dədəba*², Msg *dəba*¹, Gid *dubo*¹, Zime *duḥu*¹, FJ *duba-ku*².

LEC **dib*-/**dub*- “tail”¹, “buttocks”²: Som *dib*¹, Or *duboo*¹, Rnd *dub*¹, Arb *dub*².

Cf. also Som *dabo* “tail, buttocks”, Bay *däbe* id.

HEC *dub- “tail (of sheep)”: Dar *duba*.

Omot **duḥ*- < **duHVb*- “tail”: Ome *duḥfiya*.

The development of HS **b* to Omot **ḥ* is not quite clear. It may be explained by the influence of an intervocalic laryngeal.

CCh (Zime, FJ) and Omot may indicate HS **duHVb*-. It is not clear whether the present root is also connected with Agaw **danb*- “back, bottom” (Bil *dänbi*) and Omot **damb*- “anus, back” (Kaf *dambo*-, Anf *dombo*-).

732 *dubar- “speak”

Sem **dVbur*- “speak”¹, “retell”²: Phn *dbr*¹, Hbr *dbr*¹, Arab *dbr* [-u-]².

Secondary *-u-.

ECh **duwVr*- < **dubwar*- “speak”: Kbl *duwər*.

Secondary **wa* after a labial?

HEC **dabar*- “answer”: Had *dabar*- “answer”.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from **dob*- “speak, call”.

733 *duč- “push, beat”

Sem *dVt- “beat, push”: Ug *dt*, Arab *dt*.

WCh *duč- “push”¹, “pound”²: Ang *tus*¹, Dera *duše*².

734 *dud- “vessel”

Sem *dūd- “pot, cauldron”: Akk *dūdu*, Ug *dd*, Hbr *dūd*, Aram (Syr) *dūd*.

Eg *dd.t* “pot, cauldron”.

WCh *dud- “calabash”: Sura *tū*, Ang *tūt*.

Reduplication?

735 *dud- “bird”

Sem *dūd- “bird”: Akk *dūdu*.

ECh *dudi- “bird”: Smr *dudi*, Sbn *dudi*, Dng *ḏuḏa*, Mig *ḏiḏu*, Sok *ḏiḏi*.

Secondary emphatization in Dng and Mig.

Descriptive stem, cf. *did- “bee”.

736 *dug- “bird”

Sem *dugg- “thrush”: Arab *dugg*.

CCh *dug- “kite”: Chb *dugu*.

Cf. also *kwa-dig-/ *kwa-dug- “vulture” (FK *kwadəgu*, HF *wadəyu*, Klb *kwadiga*, Gudu *kadugwa*).

737 *dugan- “darkness, night”

Sem *dugn- “darkness”: Arab *dugn*.

ECh *dugVn- “at night”: Kera *duugn*.

LEC *dukan- “darkness”: Or *dukkana*.

Unexpected *-k- < HS *-g-.

HEC *dukan- “darkness, cloud”: Bmb *dukkani*.

Unexpected *-k- < HS *-g-.

*-k- seems to be a common Cush innovation in this word.

738 *duham- “be dark”

Sem *duhm- “black”: Arab *duhm*.

ECh *dVHam- “darkness”: Gbr *damā*, Kbl *dama*.

A reduplication in Mubi *deḏem* id. with -e- in the root continuing *-uHa-.

SA *dum- “be dark”: Saho *dum*, Afar *dum*.

739 *duk- “bury”

CCh *dVk- “bury”: Gis *dik*, Mafa *da-dsg*.

Secondary -i- in Gis.

Omot *duk- “bury”: Ome *duk*-, Kaf *dukki*, Mch *duukki*, Bwo *duk*-, Anf *duk*-, Gim *duk*-.

740 *dum- “destroy”

Sem *dum- “destroy”: Hbr *dmm*.

LEC *dum- “be destroyed”: Som *dum*.

Any connection with *dum- “split, pierce”?

741 *dum- “worm, snake”

Eg *dm* “worm” (NK).

WCh *dum- “eel, water snake”¹, “snake”²: Hs *dumiya*¹, Krk *ḏadəmo*², Krf *duma*².

Prefix *ḏa- in Krk.

CCh *dum- “ascarid”: Mba *dum-say*.

HEC *dum- “roundworm”: Bmb *duma*.

Omot *dVm- “python”: Mch *dämo*.

742 *dum- “antelope”

Berb *dVmVw-/ *dVmVy- “gazelle”: Ahg *a-dmū*, Twl *te-dəmi-t*, Zng *dāmi*, *dəmma*, Sha *ra-dəmu-τ*.

Derivatives of *dVm-.

Omot *dum- “kind of antelope”: Yam *dumaa*.

743 *dum- “split, pierce”

Berb *dVm- “split”: Rif əddəm.

Eg dm “sharpen, pierce” (l).

WCh *dum- “plunge a weapon (into a person)”: Hs *duma*.

744 *dumb- “ring”

WCh *dumb- “bracelet”: Hs *dumbā*.

LEC *dub- “ring”: Som *duub*.

*-b- seems to continue *-mb-.

745 *dun- “sing, murmur”

Sem *dun- “buzz”: Arab *dnn* [-u-].

Cf. also Arab *dndn* id.

Berb *dVn-dVn- “sing”: Snus *dəndən*.

Reduplication.

Related to *dün- “sound, voice”. A reduplication *dVn- dVn- may be reconstructed.

746 *dun- “be bent”

Sem *dVn- “be bent”: Arab *dnn*, *dn*².

Formations based on biliteral *dVn-

Berb *dun- “squat, be bent”: Ahg *dun-ət*.

747 *dur- “flow”

Sem *dir-/ *dur- “drip”¹, “flow abundantly”²: Hbr *dr*¹, Arab *dr* [-u-, -i-]².

Eg *dr* “prevent water from flowing down” (med).

WCh *duHwar- “pour”: Hs *ḏūra*, Tng *ḏer*, Pol *ḏurəw*.

Secondary laryngeal. Probably, *duHwar- < *Hwadur-.

Cf. nominal derivatives in WCh *dVHar- “river” (Gera *doora*, Bks *ḏara*, DB *ḏeer*, *ḏiyar*), CCh *nV-dwar- “rainy season” (Msm *ndor*) and SA *darur- “rain-cloud” (Saho *darur*, Afar *darur*).

748 *dur- “bird”

Sem *durr- “parrot”: Arab *durr-at*.

WCh *durwa- “quail”: Hs *durwā*.

ECh *dur- “hen”: Smr *durē*.

749 *düVč- “grass”

Sem *dič- “grass, new grass”²: Akk *daš³u*, *diš³u*, *dišu*, Hbr *deše³*, Aram *dičā*, SAr *dīč*.

Metathesis.

WCh *duVč- “thatching grass”: Hs *ḏūsā*.

750 *düm- “vessel”

Eg *dmy* “vessel” (n).

-y stands for a vowel.

WCh “bottle-gourd”: Hs *dumā*.

751 *düm- “feline”

Sem *dimm- “cheetah”¹, “cat”²: Akk *dumāmu*¹, Arab *dimm-at*², Gz *dəmm-at*², Tgr *dəmmu*², Tgy *dəmmu*², Amh *dəmm-ät*².

Secondary formation in Akk.

WCh *dum- “hyaena”: Sura *ndumu*, Grk *domu*, Ank *tumu*.

Agaw *dam-Vy- “cat”: Kwr *danyaa*, Kem *daməya*.

*a in the root is not quite clear. Maybe *dumay- > *damay-?

SA *dumm- “cat”: Saho *dummu*, Afar *dumoo*.

Rift *du³um- “leopard”: Irq *du³uma*, Bur *du³uma*, Alg *du³uma*, Kwz *du³umayi*, Asa *du³umok*.

The original root structure is modified in Rift with an innovative inlaut laryngeal.

752 *dün- “sound, voice”

Sem *dinn- “reverberation”¹, “bang, noise”²: Mhr *den*¹, Hss *dennēl*².

Berb *dun- “rough voice”: Ahg *a-dün-a*.

Eg *dny.w.t* “howl” (n.) (MK).

Related to *dun- “sing, murmur”.

753 *düp- “push”

Sem *dVp- “push”: Hbr *dpy*, Hss *dōfa*, Mhr *dōfa*, Shh *defa*^c.
 Cf. also Sem *dVhVp- “push away” (Akk *daʿapu*, Hbr *dhp*) and
 *nVdVp- “push”: Hbr *ndp*, Arab *ndf*.
 WCh *dup- “push”: Sura *tup*.
 Rift *dif- “beat, fight”: Alg *dif*-, Bur *dif*-.
 Omot *dup- “throw”: Kaf *dup*-.

754 *dV³V₃- “bow” (n.)

Eg *dʒz* “bow-string” (sarc).
 ECh *dV³V₃- < *dV³V₃- “bow”: Smr *dese*, Kbl *dəsə*.
 Smr and Kbl -s- may also reflect ECh *-ʒ-.

755 *dVbVh- “pot”

Eg *dbh.w* “crocery” (OK).
 CCh *dVhVb- “pot”: Gul *dəbey*.
 Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *dVhVb-.

756 *dVg-dVg- “trample, press”

Sem *dVg-dVg- “trample down”¹, “press, squeeze”², “tap”³:
 Tgr *dägdägä*¹, Tgy *dägdägä*¹, Amh *dagäddägä*¹, Gur *dägdägä*²,
 Jib *edəgdəg*³, Shh *adagdeg*³.
 Berb *dVg-dVg- “break”: Ghat *dəgdəg*, Ahg *dəgdəg*, Twl *dagdag*, Kby
ddegdeg.
 Eg *dgdg* “press, squeeze, trample” (XX).

Reduplication in most HS branches. The root vowel may have
 been *i. Cf. *dog- “forge, beat”?

757 *dVgol- “look, see”

Sem *dVgVl- “look”: Akk *dagālu*.
 Cf. Aram (Syr) *dəgil-ūt*.
 Eg *dəʒ* “see” (gr).
 May be identical with *dgy* “see, look” < *deg- or represent
 *dVgVl- with *-l- > -ʒ.

CCh *dVgwal- “look”: Msg *dəgʷələ*.

Derived from *dag- “see, know”.

758 *dVgVy- “hide”

Sem *dVgVy- “cover”: Arab *dgy*.
 Eg *dgy* “hide” (MK).

759 *dVcVc- “pound, grind”

Sem *dVcVc- “grind”: Arab *dʿs*, Amh *dasä*.
 Berb *dVc- “pound”: Ahg *əddəh*, Twl *əddəz*, Zng *əddəž*, Sgr *əddəz*,
 Kby *əddəz*.

760 *dVhar- “hunt” (v.)

Sem *dVhVr- “hunt”: Hbr *dhr*.
 CCh *dar- < *dVHar- “hunting”: Masa *dara*.

761 *dVm- “utter”

Sem *dVm- “moan” (v.): Ug *dmm*.
 Eg *dm* “announce, pronounce” (OK).
 WCh *dVm- “swear”: Ngz *dəma*.

762 *dVn- “cut off”

Sem *dVn- “cut off”: Tgr *dnn*.
 Eg *dn* “cut off (head), kill” (XVIII).

763 *dVpir- “squeeze, push”

Sem *dVpVr- “squeeze”¹, “push away”²: Akk *dpr*¹, Arab *dfr*²,
 Shh *dəfōr*².
 Berb *dVfir- “squeeze”: Zng *edfir*.

Derived from *düp- “push”?

764 *dVr-dVr- "turn, rotate"

Sem *dVr-dVr- "turn, rotate": Hbr *drdr*, Arab *drdr*.

Agaw *dVr-dVr- "turn, rotate": Aw *dərdər*.

Full reduplication.

765 *dVwVd-/*dVyVd- "worm, snake"

Sem *dud- < *dVwVd- "worms": Arab *dūd*.

Cf. also Arab *dwd* "swarm (of worms)" (v.).

Berb *dVy-dVy- "kind of worm": Izy *aδiuδiu*.

Eg *ddy* "snake".

-y stands for a front vowel.

CCh *dVd- "kind of snake": Mofu *dedew*.

-ew- is a suffix.

Reduplication. Cf. WCh *daw-day- "kind of snake" (Hs *daudai*). Derived from HS *da²- "worm, snake"?

766 *dVwVm- "drip, flow"

Sem *dūm- "moisten, rain continuously": Arab *dwm* [-u-, 1].

Berb *dVwVm- "ooze, flow": Izy *addum*, Sml *əddəm*, Rif *udum*, Kby *iδim*.

Derived from *dam- "cloud". Cf. CCh *ta-dam- "wet" (Kus *tadām*, Gul *tadam*).

767 *dVwVn- "register, count"

Sem *dūn- "register": Arab *dwn*.

Berb *dVwVn- "count" ¹, "compare, estimate" ²: Ahg *ədwən* ¹, Zng *uddən* ¹, Ayr *ədwən* ².

Eg *wdn* "register" (NK).

Metathesis.

768 *dVwVr- "turn"

Sem *dūr- "turn": Arab *dwr* [-u-], Hss *dawr*, Mhr *dawr*, Shh *debr*.

ECh *wVdVr- "turn": Kbl *wədəra*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *wVdVr-.

*f

769 *fa²VL- "foretell"

Sem *pV²VL- "foretell fortune": Arab *f²l*, Gz *fwl*.

Cf. Hbr *p²* "make miracles"

HEC *fa²VL- "deceive": Had *fa²l*.

Related to *fal-/fa²VL- "magic word, omen".

770 *fa^c- "hit, strike"

WCh *fay- < *faHya- "strike": Bks *fayi*.

Rift *fa²- "hit": Kwz *fa²-am*.

*-²- < *-^c- as in a number of other Rift words.

Dhl *faa^c* "smash"

771 *faḥat- "dig, pierce"

Sem *paḥat- "pierce": Aram (Syr) *fhṭ*, Arab *fhṭ* [-a-, 1].

Dhl *faat*- "dig".

772 *faḵ- "pierce, tear"

Sem *pVka²- "pierce, open, tear out (eye)" ¹, "break" ²: Arab *fq²* [-a-, 1] ¹, Gz *fq²* ².

Based on *pVḵ-.

Eg *fk*, *fkḵw* "of a lion tearing its prey" (XX).

-w may be a suffix.

Agaw *faḵ- "tear": Bil *faḵ*.

Dhl *pak'k'-eeδ*- "uncover".

Irregular *p*-.

Cf. SA *faḵ- "open" (Saho *fak*, Afar *fak*) and HEC *foḵ- "open" (Had *fookk*-).

773 *fal- "bone, leg"

WCh *falal- "middle bone of an animal's foreleg": Hs *fālālā*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh **fVl*- “foot”: Bud *fɛle*.

Bed *fīl-ik* “top of the shin-bone”.

The comparison is valid if the Bed word may be segmented as *fīl-ik*. The vowel of the first syllable is assimilated.

Rift **fala*²- “bone”: Kwz *fala²a-to*, pl. *falala*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Note the grammatical function of the partial reduplication in Rift in view of WCh.

774 **fal-/fa²Vl*- “magic word, omen”

Sem **fa²l*- “omen”: Shh *fōl*, Mhr *fōl*, Hss *fōl*.

Eg *fnn.wy* “magic words” (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

Agaw **fal*- “omen”: Bil *faal*.

SA **fal*- “omen”: Saho *faal*.

LEC **fal*- “omen”: Som *faal*.

Related to **fa²Vl*- “foretell”.

775 **fal-/ful*- “liver, lungs”

WCh **ful*- “lungs”: Mpn *ful-fuk*, *flok*, Ang *fwolok*, Sura *fəlok*, Ank *fələl*.

Partial reduplication in Ank.

CCh **fa-ful*- “lungs”: Bch *fəful-awey*.

Partial reduplication.

HEC **a-fal*- “liver”: Sid *affale*, Bmb *affala*, Kmb *afel-ita*.

Prefix **a*-.

Omot **a-fall*- “liver”: Mch *apaaro*, Anf *afaaro*, Bwo *afaara*.

Prefix **a*-. Note Mch -*p*-.

776 **faliy*- “insect”

Sem **pāliy*- “scarabeus”: Arab *fāliy-at*.

CCh **fili[y]*- “spider”: Hil *ma-fili*, Wmd *pəla-tagu*.

Assimilation of vowels. Prefix **ma*- in Hil.

777 **fan*- “look for, watch”

ECh **pan*- “seek, look for”: Mubi *fān*, *hu-bān*.

LEC **fan*- “watch, follow”: Or *fana*.

778 **far*- “bone, leg”

WCh **far-/fuwar*- “leg”: Klr *far-aw*, Bks *a-foor*, Fyer *furu*, DB *fuur*.

As it may be concluded from Klr, **fuwar*- is a metathesis from **fur-aw*-.

Rift **far*- “bone”: Irq *fara*, Ala *fara*, Bur *fara*.

779 **far*- “clay, earth”

WCh **far*- “arid soil”: Hs *farā-farā*.

Reduplication.

HEC **far*- “clay”: Gel *faara*.

780 **far*- “equid”

Sem **para*²- “onager”: Akk *parū*, Ug *pri*, Hbr *pere²*, Arab *fara²*-.

SA **farar*- “horse”: Saho *farar*, Afar *farar*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC **faraw*- “zebra”: Som *faraw*, Arb *faraw*.

Omot **far*- “horse”: Ome *faraa*.

781 **far*- “climb”

Sem **pVrVr*^c- “climb”: Arab *fr^c* [-*a*-, 1].

Sem *-^c- finds no support in other branches of HS.

Berb **fVr*- “fly”: Izy *aflu*.

Eg *fɔy* “raise high”.

May belong to **fay*-.

ECh **par*- “climb”: Mobu *pare* (pl.).

SA **far*- “climb”: Saho *for*, Afar *fär*.

Secondary -*o*- in Saho.

Partial reduplication in Berb **fVrir*- “be elevated” (Qbl *i-frir*).

782 *fat- “wish, desire”

Sem *pVtVw- “desire, seek”¹, “decide on a plan”²: Gz ftw¹, Hss aftō², Mhr heftō², Shh efte².

Based on biconsonantal *pVt-.

WCh *fat- “wish well to person, pray”: Hs fātā.

783 *fat-/fit- “move”

Sem *pūt- “pass, go (of time)”: Arab fwt [-u-, 1, 8].

Modification of the original biliteral structure *pat-.

Berb *fVt- “walk”¹, “pass (of time)”², “having passed”³: Sml i-ftu¹, Izy far², Mns i-fur-ən³.

Izy and Mns may be loanwords from Arab.

WCh *fat-/fit- “go out”¹, “come”²: Hs fita¹, Bol fat¹, Krk fat¹, Dera porī¹, Tng pod-¹, Ngm hata¹, Bele feti¹, Gera fid-¹, Glm paz-¹, Wnd fut-².

Agaw *fat-/fit- “go away”: Bil far, Xmt fit-, Aun fat-.

Bil -r- < *t- occurs in a number of Agaw forms.

Rift *fit- “drive, run after”: Irq fūt.

A reduplication of the original *fat-/fit- is, probably, also reflected in Eg fift “jump, spring” (med). Note the alternation *a ~ *i.

784 *fatVq- “pierce, split”

Sem *pVtVh- “pierce”: Akk patāhu.

CCh *patVk- “split”: Mofu pətkw-.

*-wa- may be reconstructed in the 2nd syllable.

785 *faṭ- “tear”

WCh *faṭ- “tear, rip”: Hs fatta, Diri fəta.

Omot *feṭ- “tear”¹, “rags”²: Omet peḍ-¹, Kaf heṭto².

Innovative Cush *-e- in verbs.

786 *faṭak- “tear”

Eg fdk “tear off” (MK).

-d- < *-t- is regular.

WCh *faṭak- “lacerate”: Hs fatattakā.

ECh *pVtVk- “pull by”: Dng peṭke.

Dng -e- is secondary.

787 *fay- “lift, go up”

Eg fyy “lift, carry” (OK).

-y- stands for *-a-.

ECh *pay- “fly, go up”: Kera fe.

788 *feṭ- “arrow”

WCh *nV-fyaṭ- “arrow”: Bks nvyā, DB nvyah.

Prefix *nV-.

LEC *fiṭ-/fuṭ- “arrow”: Or fia, fue.

Rift *fay- “arrow”: Alg fayū, Bur fayū.

Rift may continue a HS form *fey- as a variant of *feṭ-.

Cf. also Sem *piṭ-/paṭ- “edge”: Hbr pēṭā, Aram pāṭ-t-?

789 *feč- “blow”

Sem *(nV-)piṭ- “blow”: Akk pašū, Arab nft [-i-, -u-].

In Arab, a formation using prefix *nV-.

WCh *fyač- “blow”: Cagu fēs, Diri fəču, fuču.

Diri -u- in fuču results from an assimilation.

CCh *fič- “blow”: Mba pise.

790 *fed- “tear”

Eg fdy “pluck off” (pyr).

-y reflects a front vowel in the root.

HEC *fed- “tear (cloth)”: Bmb feedi-.

791 *fedik- “split”

Eg fdk “divide, split” (MK).

Bed fedig < *fedik- “split, separate”.

Related to *fed- “tear”?

792 *fer- “scratch, peel”

Sem *pVr- “scratch, cut wood, husk”: Amh *farä*.

WCh *fyar- “pare off outer surface of rind”¹, “scratch”²: Hs *fēra*¹, Ang *fir*².

ECh *pir- “peel” (v.): Bid *pir*, Mig *pir-aw*.

793 *feras- “fall”

ECh *par- < *pyar- “fall (from a tree)”: Mkk *parso*.

Bed *feraas* “fall”.

Agaw *firas-/ *firiš- “fall”: Bil *feras*, Xmr *feriš*.

794 *ferik- “dig, divide”

Sem *pVrik- “split”¹, “divide”², “break”³: Akk *parāqu*¹, Ug *prq*³, Aram (Syr) *prq*², Arab *frq* [-i-, -u-]^{1 2}, Gz *frq*².

Secondary *u as a variant of *i in Arab.

ECh *pVrVg- “dig”: Kera *fərgi*.

-g- may continue *-k- in the intervocalic position.

Bed *ferik* “dig”.

Cf. *fedik- “split”.

795 *fet- “break, cut”

Sem *pVt- “break”¹, “destroy”²: Hbr *ptt*¹, Arab *ftt* [-u-]², Gz *ftt*¹.

WCh *fyat- “slaughter”: Sura *fet*.

CCh *fVt- “cut”: Mofu *fət-aq*.

796 *fet- “sweep”

WCh *fyat- “sweep”: Sura *fet*, Ang *fet*.

CCh *fyat- “sweep”: Gudu *mi-fida*, Mwu *ufedō*.

HEC *fiṭ- “sweep”: Sid *fiṭ*.

Omot *fiṭ- “sweep”: Ome (Koyra) *fit*.

Dhl *fiṭ'a* “plaster wall with mud and dung”.

797 *fi²- “blow”

Sem *pV²Vy- “blow off”: Hbr *p²y*.

Based on *pV²-.

WCh *fi²- “blow”: Sura *fī*, Ang *fī*.

CCh *fa²-/*fi²- “blow”: Bura *fia*, Mrg *fī*, Gis *fe*, Bud *pha*, ZBt *fo²o*.

Gis may go back to CCh *fay- < *fa²Vy- identical with Sem *pV²Vy-.

Rift *fi²-/*fu²- “catch one’s breath, rest”¹, “sniff, snuff up”²:

Asa *fu²-it*¹, Kwz *fi²-*².

Secondary *-u-.

798 *fič- “be wet”

CCh *fič- “wet, soak”: Mrg *fiču*.

LEC *finč- “flow”: Or *finčaa^{wa}*.

*-n- may be an infix.

HEC *fač-/ *fič- “sprinkle”: Dar *fiṭ*, Bmb *fac*.

Traces of the *a*-grade in Bmb.

799 *fidaḥ- “break, cut”

Sem *pVdaḥ- “break (skull)”: Arab *fdḥ* [-a-, 1].

WCh *fidaH- “cut open, wound”: Tng *pide*, Pero *peddo*.

*-a- of the second syllable explains -e- in Pero.

CCh *fidaH- “cut, carve”: Mafa *fid*-, Bch *fyedō*, Dgh *piḍa*.

800 *fi^c- “speak, shout”

Sem *pV^cVy- “cry, shout”: Hbr *p^cy*.

Based on *pV^c-.

WCh *fi^c- “speak”: Sha *fī*.

CCh *fVy- “call”: Bud *fe*.

From *fVHVy- or *fVHi-.

Agaw *fiw- “cry”: Kw *few*-, Dmb *fuw*-.

Continuation of *fiHw-?

801 *fil- “skin, rub”

Sem *wVpVl-/ *yVpVl- “skin, peel” (v.): Arab *wfl*, *yfl*.

Prefix *wV-/ *yV-.

WCh **fyal-* < **fila-* “skin” (v.)¹, “rub”²: Sura *fēl*, Ang *fil*, Bks *fyal*².

CCh **fil-* “rub”: Dgh *fila*.

ECh **pil-* “skin” (v.): Bid *pil*, Smr *pəl*.

802 *fin- “nose; smell”

Berb **fun-fan-* “muzzle, nose”¹, “nostrils”²: Ahg *a-fun-fan*¹, Twl *i-fūfan-ən*².

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

Bed *fin* “scent, smell” (v.).

Agaw **fin-* “scent, smell” (v.): Bil *fin*.

803 *finaḥ- “opening”

WCh **finaḥ-* “hole”¹, “mouth”²: Sura *fuj*¹, Ang *fuj*¹, Wrj *vinahə-na*², Kry *vinahə*², Diri *vəna*², Paa *vingi*², Mbu *vəghu*², Miya *vun*², Cagu *vehe*², Siri *vengi*², Jmb *vina*², Fyer *fuj*¹.

CCh **fun-H-* “mouth”: HG *fuge*, Bnn *funa*, LPe *vun*, Masa *funano*.

Partial reduplication in Masa.

Omot **pin-H-* “opening, hole”: Ome *pinge*.

Related to **finaḥ-* “break”. Thus, “opening” ← * “breach” as ON *rauf* “hole” ~ *rjūfa* “break”.

804 *finaḥ- “break”

Sem **pVnaḥ-* “damage (of a bone)” (v.): Arab *fnḥ* [-a-, 1].

Berb **fVnVḥ-* “beat”: Kby *s-funneh*.

WCh **fin-H-* “break”: Klr *fūny-*.

805 *fir- “monkey”

Eg *nfry* “monkey” (gr).

Is *n-* a prefix? *-y* stands for a front vowel.

WCh **fir-* “red monkey”: Fyer *fūr*.

CCh **fir-* “monkey”: Mba *fre*, Masa *fira*, Gis *uri*, Lame *vir*, Masa *fira*.

Cf. also Msg *afri*, *afri* id.

806 *fir- “be good”

Sem **purr-* “best ones, elite”: Arab *furr-*.

Deverbativ formation with a secondary vowel.

Berb **fVrVr-* “be good”: Ahg *i-frar*.

Partial reduplication based on **fVr-*.

Eg *nfri* “good, beautiful”.

Prefix **nV-*.

Agaw **fir-* “best”: Bil *feraa*.

SA **fer-* “best”: Saho *feer*.

807 *fir-ūt- “insect”

WCh **mV-firut-* “mosquito”: Jmb *avirvir*, Kry *aviltu*, Paa *vituwī*, Sura *mfut*, Ang *fut*.

CCh **ff[i]r-ūt-* “mosquito”: Daba *vərrut*.

Vocalism and segmentation are indicated by CCh **fir-/fur-* “mosquito”: Gaa *fir-da*, Gbn *gər-diča*, Boka *fir-daʔa*, Bnn *furu-na*, Masa *furu-tna*, Msm *vursu*.

Agaw **firrut-* “insect(s)”: Bil *filuta*, Xmr *felta*, Kem *felät*.

808 *firVt- “tear off, pluck”

Sem **pVrVt-* “pluck (fruit)”¹, “knock fruit down from the tree”²: Akk *parāṭu*¹, Aram (Syr, Jud) *prṭ*¹, Arab *frṭ* [-u-, 26]².

CCh **firVt-* “tear”: Bud *firte*.

809 *fit- “land”

Sem **pitt-* “area, region”: Akk *pittu*.

CCh **fVt-* “earth”: Msg *futi*, *fate*, *feti*.

810 *fit-/fut- “jump”

Eg *ftft* “jump, spring” (med).

Reduplication.

WCh **pit-* “jump”: Bgh *pit*.

Irregular **p-*.

LEC **fut-* “spring back”: Or *futtaʔa*.

Alternation **i* ~ **u*.

811 *fita²- “forget”

Sem *pVta²- “forget”: Arab ft² [-a-, 1].

CCh *fit[a]H- “forget”: Gudu filei.

*-aHi- > -ei in the auslaut.

812 *fiṭa²-/*fiṭay- “destroy”

Sem *pVta²- “break”: Arab ft² [-a-, 1].

Berb *fVtVy- “be pierced”: Ahg fəḍəi.

Bed fədi(y) “split, separate”.

LEC *fiṭ- “destroy”: Or fiṭa.

Consonantal alternation *-ṭ- ~ *-y-.

813 *fiwah- “smell, blow” (v.)

Sem *pūh- “spread (of smell)”: Arab fwh.

Berb *fVwVh- “stink, smell”: Kby fuh.

WCh *ff[i]w[a]h- “blow”: Bks fu², Sha fyah, DB fu².

-ya- in Sha results from *-i²a- < *-iwa-.

CCh *fiyaH- “smell”: Mnd ʔifiya²a.

*-iya- < *-iwa-.

ECh *pwaH- < *pVwaH- “blow”: Tum po.

Rift *fah- “blow”: Alg fah-.

Contraction of *-iwa- > *-a- or a more archaic form of the original root?

Cf. *fiwaq- “blow”.

814 *fiwaq- “blow”

Sem *pūh- “blow”: Hbr pwh, Aram pwh, Arab fwh.

WCh *fiqu- “blow”: Paa fuki, Siri fiku, Sha fuk, Fyer vivik.

Partial reduplication in Fyer.

CCh *fuqu(w)- “blow”: Mafa fukuw, Lame fuku, Msm fok.

Secondary vocalism after a labial.

ECh *pu[w]uk- “breathing”: Mkk puukiyo.

-uu- results from assimilation (and contraction?).

Agaw *fiḫw- “blow, breathe, rest”: Bil fiḫ^w, Kem fiḫ^w, Aun fiḫ-uw.

Dhl fook- “catch one’s breath, rest”.

Contraction of *-iwa- yielding to -oo-.

Cf. *fiwah- “smell, blow”. The alternative reconstruction is *fiqaw-.

815 *fiyal- “cook, boil”

Berb *fVl-fVl- “boil”: Izy flufell.

Reduplication.

WCh *fiyal-/*fuwVl- “boil”: Ang fil, Chip fiyal, Ank fial, Bol pūlō,

Pol fula, Geji huluwi, Brm fule, Buli fulu.

*fuwVl- goes back to a co-variant *fiwal-.

LEC *ʔa-fēl- “cook” (v.): Or affeela.

Contraction of the original cluster *-iya- > *ē. Prefix *ʔa-.

816 *fo²- “sand, dust”

Eg fɔ.t “dust (?)” (pyr).

The meaning is not certain.

WCh *fwa²- “sand”: Dera pwa.

817 *fo(ʔ)- “mouth”

Sem *pa(ʔ)-/*pi(ʔ)- “mouth”¹, “forehead”², “face”³: Akk pa²u, pū¹, Ug p¹, Hbr pe¹, Aram (Syr) pa-t², Arab fi²-at-², fūw-, fūh-at-¹, Amh fi-t^{2 3}, Soq fio^{2 3}.

*-a- < *-u- after a labial. The stem has an irregular structure in which -ʔ- of Arab may be a result of a late analogical modification.

WCh *fwa(H)- “mouth”: Fyer fo, Bks fo, DB fo, foh.

Related to *fi²- “blow”?

818 *foc- “roast, cook”

Eg fs “cook” (a), Copt *fisi id.: Boh fisi, Shd pise.

Copt may reflect HS *-e-.

WCh *fwac- “burn”¹, “cook”², “roast”³: Fyer fwaš¹, Bks fos², Sha fos², DB faš³.

DB -a- < *-wa- after a labial.

819 *foh- “fire; burn”

Eg *wfh* “burn” (l).

w- stands for a rounded vowel.

CCh **a-ffwa*- “fire”: Log *fo*, Msg *afu*, Gid *afa*, Mba *fē*.

Irregular vowels in individual languages may continue
-yaHu*-/-waHu*-.

820 *fosah- “be bad”

Sem **pašah*- “be bad, be spoilt”: Arab *faḥ* [-a-, 4].

**-a-* of the first syllable is a regular reflex of Sem **-u-* < HS **-o-* after a labial.

WCh **fwas*- “bad”: DB *fwaš*.

Related to **fus*- “be angry”.

821 *fos[i]ʔ- “breathe”

Sem **pVšVʔ*- “breathe, blow”: Akk *pašū*.

HEC **fošē*ʔ- “breathe”: Kmb *fošēē*ʔ-.

From **foš*ʔ-?

822 *fot- “wipe, scrape”

Sem **pVt*- “wipe oneself with small stones after excreting”: Jib *fett*.

An isolated archaism?

Eg *ft* “erase (inscriptions)”.

WCh **fwat*- “scratch ground”: Ang *fwot*.

Omot **fut*- “oil” (v.): Kaf *hut*.

h- < **f-*, cf. Kaf *futo* “ointment”.

823 *foy- “cloth”

Eg *fy* “cloth” (NK).

CCh **fway*- “loincloth”: Mwu *fwoyi*.

824 *foya3- “mouse, rat”

Sem **pVyaz*- “mouse”: Akk *piazu*.

WCh **fwayaz*- “rat”: DB *fwyaš*.

An archaic separate isogloss replaced in the majority of languages with such innovations as **antu*ʔ-/**antaw*- and **ber*-/**per*- “mouse, rat”.

825 *fuʔon- “meat, flesh”

LEC **foHon*- “meat, flesh”: Or *fon*, *foon*.

Rift **fuʔun*- “meat”: Irq *fuʔuni*, Bur *fuʔunai*.

Note Arab *ʕn* [-i-] “make meat rot”.

826 *fuf- “lung, breast”

Berb **fVf*- “breast”: Ghd *i-fef*, Siwa *i-fiff-an*, Ghat *i-fef*, Ahg *e-fef*, Twl *ā-faf*, Zng *i-faffi*, Sml *t-iffi-t*, Ntf *i-ff*, Izy *i-ff*, Mzab *i-f*, Wrg *i-f*, *i-ff*, Fgg *i-f*, Snus *i-fef*, Kby *i-f*.

WCh **fuf*- “lung”¹, “breast”²: Hs *fūfū*¹, Mpn *fufu*², Fyer *fuf*², Bks *fof*², Klr *fuf*².

CCh **fif*-/**fuf*- “lung”: Tera *fufuf*, Gaa *pipifa*, Hwn *pufə*, Bura *fufu*.

Tera and Gaa reflect a “double” reduplication by adding one more syllable in the anlaut.

ECh **pupi*- “breast”: Brg *fīfo*, Mig *pūpu*, Bid *pūpa*.

Any connection with Sem **pawp*- “bull’s bladder” (Arab *fawf*-)? Reduplication of **ffūp*- “lungs, belly”.

827 *fuḡVr- “open” (v.)

Sem **pVḡVr*- “open wide”: Hbr *pʕr*, Aram (Syr) *pʕr*, Arab *fḡr*.

LEC **fur*- “open, free, untie”: Som *fur*-, Or *fur*-, Rnd *fur*-, Boni *fur*-, Kon *fur*-, Gid *fur-iyi*-.

Inlaut **-ḡ-* lost without leaving any traces.

828 *fu^cun- “thigh, leg”

Sem **pV^cVn*- “thigh, leg”: Akk *pēnu*, Ug *p^cn*.

WCh **fun-H*- “knee”: Fyer *fuḡ*.

Metathesis.

CCh **pun*- “thigh”: FK *punu*ʔ.

Metathesis. Irregular **p-*.

An alternative reconstruction is *funu⁶-. Cf. also Akk *pēmu* ‘‘thigh’’, Hbr *pa⁶am* ‘‘foot’’, Shh *fa⁶m*, Hss *fām*, Mhr *fēm* (< *pV⁶m-) and Kwz *pa⁶am-uko* ‘‘foot’’ (< Rift *paHam-), eventually pointing out to HS *pa⁶am- with initial *p-!

829 *ful- ‘‘go up, mount’’

CCh *ful- ‘‘mount’’: Chb *fāl-ti*, Klb *afül-tü*.

Prefix *a- in Klb.

HEC *ful- ‘‘go up, go out’’: Sid *ful*, Dar *ful*, Kmb *ful*.

830 *ful- ‘‘bore a hole’’

ECh *pul- ‘‘big hole’’: Tum *pül*.

Deverbative.

LEC *ful- ‘‘break through, pierce through’’: Or *full-a²a*.

Rift *ful- ‘‘bore a hole’’: Irq *ful*-.

831 *ful- ‘‘hide, husk’’

ECh *pulVl- ‘‘shell’’: Tum *puləl*.

Partial reduplication.

Rift *fal-/ful- ‘‘hide’’: Bur *fala*, Asa *fulo*.

a-vocalism may be a Rift innovation or an assimilation in Bur.

832 *funVg- ‘‘nose’’

Eg *fnḏ* ‘‘nose’’ (pyr).

Eg ḏ < *g palatalized before a middle vowel (*o or *e).

LEC *fung- ‘‘nose’’: Or *fuññ-aan*.

Cf. *finaḡ- ‘‘opening’’ (and also ‘‘mouth’’) and, on the other hand, *fin- ‘‘nose; smell’’. *-Vg- may be a suffix.

833 *furVh- ‘‘fear’’ (v.)

Sem *pVrVh- ‘‘fear’’: Gz *frh*, Amh *färra*.

An Ethio-Sem archaism?

LEC *fūr- < *fuHVr- ‘‘fear’’: Kon *fūr*, Gid *hūr*.

Metathesis.

834 *furVk- ‘‘skin, bark’’

Berb *fVrVk- ‘‘bark’’: Ahg *ta-fər-k-it*, Twl *ti-frāk-āwin*, Sml *ti-fər-k-it*, Ntf *ti-fər-k-it*.

ECh *purVk- ‘‘bark’’: Sok *furkia*.

Derived from *fuwar- ‘‘skin, bark’’.

835 *fus- ‘‘be angry’’

Sem *pūš- ‘‘be angry’’: Akk *puāšu*.

Based on the original HS *fus-.

WCh *fus- ‘‘anger’’: Hs *fuši*, Gwn *huši*, puši.

836 *fut- ‘‘hole, vulva’’

Sem *put- ‘‘vulva’’: Hbr *pot*.

WCh *fut- ‘‘hole’’: Ang *fut*.

LEC *fut- ‘‘vulva’’¹, ‘‘anus’’²: Som *futo*¹, Or *futee*².

Cf. Eg *wft* ‘‘pierce’’.

837 *fut- ‘‘vomit’’

WCh *fut- ‘‘vomit’’: Sura *fūt*, Ang *fut*, Ank *fūt*, Mpn *fūt*.

Wrz *fat- ‘‘vomit’’: Gaw *fač-fat*.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

838 *fuwar- ‘‘skin, bark’’

Sem *parw- ‘‘skin’’¹, ‘‘fur’’², ‘‘shell, husk’’³: Akk *pāru*, *parru*¹, Hbr *parwā*, Arab *farw*-¹, Gz *farra*³.

Metathesis. Regular Sem *-a- < *-u- after a labial.

Berb *fVwVr- ‘‘skin disease’’¹, ‘‘bark’’²: Ahg *tafure*¹, Zng *ta-ffrāh*¹, Sml *ta-fāri*¹, Ntf *ta-fura*¹, Ghd *ti-fra*².

WCh *fuwar- ‘‘skin of monkey-nuts’’¹, ‘‘peel’’², ‘‘bark’’³: Hs *fūrū*¹, Tng *paara*², Diri *fu-fur*³.

Reduplication in Diri.

ECh *pVr- ‘‘shell’’: Kera *ke-fre*.

Prefix *kV-.

839 *fuwaṭ- "cloth"

Sem *puwaṭ- "table-cloth": Arab *fūṭ-at-*, pl. *fuwaṭ-*.

WCh *fVwaṭ- "cloth" ¹, "loin-cloth" ²: Sura *fwat* ¹, Ang *fwet* ²,

Mpn *fwāt* ².

Cf. DB *fata'u* "cloth".

840 *fuy- "chaff, shell"

Sem *puy- "chaff": Akk *pū*.

WCh *fwaf- "shell": Ang *fwop*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh *puy- "bark": Bch *puyey*.

Suffix *-ay- > Bch -ey.

841 *f[ü]ṭ- "lungs, belly"

Eg *wfṭ* "lungs" (BD).

Initial *w-* reflects a labial root vowel.

Bed *fiṭ* "belly".

LEC *fiṭ- "belly": Som *fiṭ*.

Unexpected *-ṭ- < *-ṭ-.

Related to *fiṭ- "blow". Note the semantic evolution in Cush.

842 *füč- "sweep, clean"

WCh *füč- "clean, wash": Tng *puče*.

CCh *füč- "sweep": Mofu *fəč*, Gis *fuča*.

Rift *fič- "sweep": Irq *fič*, Alg *fič*, Bur *fič*.

Cf. *feṭ- "sweep".

843 *fVḥVḶ- "scrape, scratch"

Sem *pVḥVḶ- "scrape, scrub": Gz *fḥq*, Tgy *fāḥaq*^{wā}, Hrr *fēḥaqa*.

WCh *fuk- "scrape, polish": Ang *vuk*.

Agaw *fak- "scrape": Xmr *faq*, Aun *faki*.

SA *fik- "scratch": Saho *fik*.

LEC *fik- "scratch": Som *fiṭq*.

Various contractions in Chadic and Cush.

844 *fVḶir-/fVḶur- "pierce, tear"

Sem *pVḶir-/pVḶur- "pierce, dig, tear out (eye)": Arab *fqr* [-i-, -u-].

Eg *fḵṣ* "tear off" (n).

-ṣ goes back to *-r-.

Derived from *faḵ- "pierce, tear".

845 *fVl- "divide, pierce"

Sem *pVl- "divide" ¹, "(be) split" ²: Hbr *ply* ¹, Aram (Jud) *ply* ¹, Gz *fly* ^{1,2}, Tgr *fāla* ², Tgy *fly* ², Amh *fälläl* ².

The original biliteral stem *pVl- is represented either as

*pVlVy- or as *pVlVl-.

Berb *fVlVw- "pierce": Kby *flu*.

846 *fVr- "boil"

Sem *pūr- "boil": Arab *fur* [-u-].

Eg *ṣfr* "boil" (gr).

Both in Sem and Eg derivatives of *fVr- are presented. Probably, the original root should be reconstructed as *fVwVr-/fVṽVr- or *ṽVfVr-/wVfVr-.

847 *fVt- "feel aversion, ignore"

Sem *pūt- "go round, avoid": Arab *fwṭ*.

Eg *ft* "feel aversion, boredom".

Connected with *fut- "vomit"?

848 *fVṭ- "pull out, take (out)"

WCh *faṭ- "pull out": Bol *foḍu*, Gera *faḍ*, Ngz *fəta*.

LEC *fuṭ- "take": Or *fuḍa*.

Irregular vocalism. If -o- in Bol is a reflex of *-wa-, HS should be *foṭ-. Cf. Dhl *fīr* "take out"?

*g

849 *ga²- “rise”

Sem *gV²Vy- “rise”¹, “be high”²: Hbr g²y¹, Aram g^{e2}ā².

Trilateral formation based on *gV²-.

ECh *ga²ay- “increase”: Bid gāya, Mig gāyo.

Derivative from *ga²- similar to the Sem formation in *-y-.

Agaw *gwi²- “be high”: Bil gwe, Xmr gwe, Kwr gwe, Dmb gwe, Kem gwee.

Unexpected vocalism reflecting HS *ū.

850 *ga²ab- “dwelling”

Eg gb² “side of a room” (Westc.).

Metathesis.

WCh *ga²ab- “room”: Bol gabi, Dera gawi, gaḫi, Tng kaabi, Krf kaafi, Gera gawa, Glm gaabu.

Connected with *gab- “wall, dwelling”.

851 *ga²id- “face”

WCh *ga²id- “face”: Bol gaido.

Bed gedi “face, eye”.

Composite of prefix *ga- and *id- “eye”. For a similar semantic development cf. Goth *and-augi* “face” ← *augo* “eye”.

852 *ga²ur- “wall, yard”

Sem *igār- “wall”¹, “roof”²: Akk igāru¹, Aram gr¹, Arab iggār-².

Metathesis.

WCh *gar-gar- “low wall or mount”: Hs gargarī.

Reduplication.

CCh *ga²ur- “shed”: Log gaura.

ECh *ga²Vr- “pricky fence”: Mkk gāra.

Bed ga²ra, gaar²a “yard”.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift *garV²- “wall of the verandah”: Irq gar²ai.

Metathesis.

853 *ga²u³-/*gawu³- “calabash, basket”

Berb *ga²Vw- “calabash”: Ghd *ta-gazu-l*.

Metathesis.

WCh *ga²u³- “calabash”: Hs gōžī.

ECh *gu²ž- “calabash”¹, “basket”²: Kbl gu²ž-e-gā¹, Tum gəž².

Contraction.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w-.

854 *gab- “wall, dwelling”

Sem *gabb- “entrance, vestibule”¹, “enclosure”²: Gz gabgab¹, Gur gəbbi².

Reduplication in Gz.

Eg gb.w “palace” (NK).

ECh *gab- “wall”: Tum gab, Ndam gaba.

855 *gab- “weapon”

Sem *gabāb- “sling”: Akk gabābu.

Partial reduplication. Cf. Akk *kapāpu* id.

HEC *gab- “bow and arrow”: Dar gabe.

856 *gab- “side, bank, beach”

WCh *gaḫ- < *gabV²- “bank”: Hs gāḫa.

Suffix *-V²-.

Bed gāb, geb “side”.

From *gabi-?

Agaw *gab(b)- “side”: Bil gaf, Xmr gəba.

LEC *geb- “bank”: Som gebi.

Secondary *e. Cf. Bed.

HEC *gab- “side”: Bmb gaba.

Cf. Sem *ganb- “side (particularly, of the body)” (Aram (Syr) *gabba*, Arab *ganb*-), presumably, a deverbative related to Arab *gnb* “be near smb.”. Cf. also Eg *wḏb* “bank” (pyr) that could be a reflex of *gob-.

857 *gab- ‘‘earth, clay’’

Sem *gabīb- ‘‘ground, earth’’: Akk *gabību*, Arab *gabīb-*, *gabūb-*.

Partial reduplication.

Eg *gbb* ‘‘earth, Earth-god’’ (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

CCh *gVb- ‘‘field’’: Gis *guva*.

Secondary -u- in Gis before a labial.

ECh *gab- ‘‘clay’’: Tum *gab*, Ndam *ga:b*.

858 *gab- ‘‘front’’

Sem *gabh- ‘‘forehead, front, brow’’: Arab *gabh-at-*, Jib *gəbh-et*, Hss *yabheh*, Shh *gebhat*.

Secondary derivative in *-h-? Cf. also *gabb- ‘‘part of the body, (?) brain’’: Akk *gabbu*.

WCh *gab- ‘‘physical front of a person’’¹, ‘‘breast, chest’’²: Hs *gabā*¹, Say *gəp*², Dwot *gup*², Ngz *bo-gaba*², Bade *bo-gawa*².

Prefix *bwa- in Ngz and Bade. Dwot -u- may be explained if WCh *gab- is reconstructed.

859 *gaba²- ‘‘hand, arm’’

Eg *gbj* ‘‘arm’’.

WCh *gaḅ- < *gaba²- ‘‘joint, limb’’: Hs *gaḅa*.

SA *gab- ‘‘hand’’: Saho *gabaa*, Afar *gaba*, *gabaa*.

860 *gabar- ‘‘male’’

Sem *gabr- ‘‘man’’: Phn *gbr*, Moab *gbrn*, Hbr *geber*, Aram (Mand) *gabra*.

WCh *gwar- < *gVbar- ‘‘man’’: Sura *gwar*, Bol *gwor-zo*, Krk *gworzo*, Ngm *gwor-zo*.

LEC *garVb- ‘‘slave’’: Or *garba*.

Metathesis.

HEC *gabar- ‘‘slave, farmer’’: Bmb *gabari*, Kmb *gabare*.

Dhl *gaḅara* ‘‘male lion’’.

Note the meaning, presumably, from *‘‘male’’.

861 *gabVḤ- ‘‘be weak’’

Sem *gVbVḤ- ‘‘be weak’’¹, ‘‘soften’’²: NSyr *gāwih*¹, Tgr *gābhā*², Tgy *gābhē*².

Eg *gby* ‘‘be weak’’ (n).

Late Eg loss of the laryngeal (substituted by -y?).

CCh *gaḅ- < *gabaH- ‘‘weakness’’: Lame *gaḅa*, LPe *gaḅ*, Msm *gab*.

LEC *ga-gab- ‘‘be exhausted’’: Or *gaggaba*.

Partial reduplication.

Cf. WCh *gāb- < *gaHab- ‘‘febrile cattle disease’’: Hs *gābu*.

862 *gac- ‘‘bank, side’’

Eg *gs* ‘‘side’’ (pyr).

WCh *gač- ‘‘bank’’: Hs *gači*.

Isolated parallel, probably, of archaic provenance.

863 *gac-/*gic- ‘‘face’’

Eg *ds* ‘‘person’’ (pyr).

d- < *g- before *e or *o. For the semantic development, cf. Lat *persōna*.

Agaw *gac- ‘‘face’’¹, ‘‘figure’’²: Bil *gaš*¹, Xmr *gač*¹, Kwr *gaš*¹, Dmb *gaš*¹, Kem *gaš*, *gāš*^{1 2}.

LEC *gos- ‘‘chin, beard’’: Arb *goos*.

Reflects one more HS variant *goc-?

Rift *gic- ‘‘face’’: Irq *gitsa‘a*.

Reconstruction of vocalism is very shaky. Note parallel forms *gač-/ *gawač- ‘‘cheek, chin’’, *gač-/ *guč- ‘‘cheek, chin’’. Note an alternative comparison for Eg *ds* ~ WCh *das- ‘‘man’’ (Sura *dās*, Ang *des*) implying a tentative phonological correspondence Eg *d* ~ WCh *d ‘see *pVud- ‘‘knee’’).

864 *gač- ‘‘spear’’

WCh *gač- ‘‘spear’’: Ang *gašī*, Krk *agači*, Dera *gai*, Gera *gossa*, Glm *gass*, Pol *gās*, Geji *gasi*, Buli *gās*, Ngz *ngas*.

Gera -o- may reflect a rounded vowel of the second syllable.

CCh *gač- ‘‘spear’’: Tera *gas*, Jara *gas*.

SA *gaš- ‘‘spear’’: Saho *gaša*.

865 *gač- ‘‘be wet’’

Eg *gʒʃ* ‘‘pour out’’ (n).

-ʒ- is a sign for *-a-.

WCh *gač- ‘‘wet’’: Ngz *gāša*, *gaža*

866 *gač- ‘‘cheek, chin’’

Berb */g/ač- ‘‘cheek’’: Ahg *ayaz*.

Irregular reflex of *g-.

WCh *gač-/guč- ‘‘cheek’’: DB *gaš-am*, Jmb *guša*.

CCh *gušwa- ‘‘cheek’’: Zime *ngušo*, Bnn *ngošo-no*.

Cf. Mofu *gwaš* ‘‘molar’’ ← ‘‘cheek tooth’’. *-u- seems to be secondary as well as in WCh.

ECh *gač- ‘‘cheek’’: Bir *gaḍayo*, Bid *gəḍe-ma*, Mig *gaḍu-mo*, Jegu *gede*.

HEC *gač- ‘‘chin, jaw’’: Sid *gaččo*, Bmb *gaččo*, Kab *geča*.

Omot *gač- ‘‘chin’’: Mch *gač-ano*.

Dhl *gač’a* ‘‘beard’’.

Confusion of two meanings, ‘‘chin’’ and ‘‘beard’’, is typical of IE *smek’ru-.

Cf. *gac-/gic- ‘‘face’’.

867 *gad- ‘‘be old; elder’’

Sem *gad- ‘‘be considerable, be respectable (of men)’’: Arab *gdd* [-a-].

Note a nominal derivative of this verb in Arab *gadd*- ‘‘grandfather, ancestor’’.

ECh *gad- ‘‘old’’: Kwn *gāḍ-atē*, Ngm *gaḍe*.

Originally, from *gad-VH-.

HEC *gad- ‘‘age group, generation’’: Bmb *gada*.

Rift *gad- ‘‘old man’’: Alg *gar-mo*, Bur *gad-uwa*.

If Alg reflects a different root *garVm- it might be compared with CCh *gurVm- ‘‘become old’’: Mofu *gurm*.

868 *gad- ‘‘cut, split’’

Sem *gVd- ‘‘cut off’’: Aram (Syr) *gdd*, SAr *gdd*.

ECh *gad- ‘‘split’’: Tum *gād*, Ndm *gada*.

869 *gad- ‘‘river’’

Sem *gad(y)- ‘‘river-bank’’: Hbr *gādā*, Aram (Mand) *gada*, *gida*, Arab *gady-at*-.

WCh *g[a]daw- ‘‘lake’’: Ngm *godo*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh *nV-gad- ‘‘river’’: Bud *ngada*.

Prefix *nV-.

Agaw *gad- ‘‘river-bed’’: Bil *gadi*.

SA *gad- ‘‘river, stream’’: Saho *gadee*.

870 *gadeb- ‘‘stomach’’

WCh *gadyab- ‘‘kidneys’’: Hs *gažēbā*.

CCh *gVdVb- ‘‘belly’’: Gdr *gəḍəf*.

Unvoiced -f in the auslaut.

HEC *godeb- ‘‘belly’’: Sid *godoba*, Ala *gōḍḍeba*, Kmb *gʷōḍḍeba*, *godaba*, Dar *godaba*, Had *godabo*.

Irregular *-o- of the first syllable.

871 *gadel- ‘‘fertile soil’’

Sem *gadil- ‘‘land, beach’’: Arab *gadil*-.

Secondary formation?

Eg *ddʒ* ‘‘fertilize (field)’’ (gr).

Denominative verb reflecting *godVI- with *-l- > Eg -ʒ.

ECh *gVdyaI- ‘‘(clay) earth’’: Kera *gedel*.

Assimilation of vowels.

872 *gadum- ‘‘cut; axe, hoe’’

Sem *gVdVm- ‘‘cut off’’: Akk *gadāmu*, Aram *gdm*, Arab *gdm*.

Bed *gaduum* ‘‘axe’’.

SA *godum- ‘‘axe’’: Saho *gōḍumaa*.

*o < *a is influenced by *u of the second syllable.

LEC *gudum- ‘‘axe’’: Som *guddum*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from *gad- ‘‘cut, split’’. *gadum- as a nominal stem appears to be a common Cush innovation.

873 *gag- “roof”

Sem *gag- “flat roof”: Akk *gaggu*, Ug *gg*, Hbr *gāg*.

Berb *gVg- “arch supporting a tent”: Ayr *a-gəgu*, Twl *a-gəgu*.

Reduplication?

874 *ga^c- “be empty”

Eg *ḡ* “be deserted” (XIX).

Irregular *ḡ* < *g- implies the influence of *e or *o in the original HS verb.

WCh *gay- “empty”: Tng *gayε*.

From *gaHi-.

ECh *gay- “desert”: Tum *gay*.

A deverbative formation.

875 *ga^c-/*gi^c- “dig, bury”

WCh *giH- “dig”: Zaar *gi*.

CCh *gaH- “bury”: Bud *gau*.

ECh *gay- “bury”: Kera *ge* (ti *tiŋ*).

From *gaHi-.

SA *ga^c- “bury”: Afar *ga^c*.

Cf. Eg *ḡt* “tomb” (NK)?

876 *ga^cad- “dog, wolf”

Sem *ga^cd- “wolf”: Arab *ga^cd-at-*, *ga^cād-at-*.

Berb *gVd- “dog”: Kby *agdi*.

CCh *gVd- “dog”: Mofu *gədey*.

Suffix *-ay- > Mofu *-ey*.

ECh *gad- “dog”: Mkk *gede* (masc.), *gada* ((fem.)), Smr *do-gədi*.

Prefix *dwa- in Smr.

Cf. a derivative in LEC *ged-al- “jackal” (Or *gedallo*).

877 *gaḥun- “stomach”

Sem *gaḥun- “belly”: Hbr *gāḥōn*.

CCh *guHan- “stomach”: Log *ḡgun*, Bud *ḡun*, Kus *nguen*, Glf *um-guen*.

Metathesis of vowels. Prefix *mV-/ *nV-.

ECh *gya-gVHVn- “stomach”: Tum *gegə:n*.

Partial reduplication.

878 *gal- “vessel”

Eg *gn.t* “vessel” (NK).

Note -n < *-l-.

WCh *gal- “calabash”: Wrj *galiya*, Kry *gali*, Geji *gale*, Brm *kal*, Buli *gal*, Wnd *gal*.

Suffix -iya in Wrj.

CCh *gal- “pot”: Bnn *gala*.

879 *gal- “go, enter”

Sem *gūl- “go, travel”: Arab *gwl* [-u-].

Secondary interfix -w-. Cf. Arab *glw* “migrate, resettle”.

Berb *gVl(Vw)- “go”: Kby *glu*.

WCh *gal-/ *gul- “run”¹, “follow”²: Sha *gal*¹, *gulay*².

Note WCh alternation *a ~ *u.

ECh *gal- “go out”: Ndam *gal-ḡoyo*, Mobu *gale*.

SA *gal-/ *gil- “run”¹, “go”²: Saho *gil*¹, Afar *gaḷ*².

SA reflects an alternation *a ~ *i.

LEC *gal- “enter”: Som *gal-*, Or *gala*, Arb *gal-*.

HEC *gal- “enter”: Bmb *gal-*.

Omot *gal- “enter”: Ome *gal-*, Anf *gal-*.

880 *gal- “throw”

Sem *gVla³- “throw, overturn”: Arab *gl³* [-a-].

Formation based on *gal-. Cf. also Arab *ngl* [-i-].

WCh *gal- < *giHal- “throw”: Klr *gyol*.

ECh *gVl- “throw”: Ndm *gəla*.

881 *gal-/ *ga³il- “egg”

CCh *gal-/ *ga³il- “egg”: Gaa *ge³ila*, Gbn *nge³ele*, Boka *ngala*, Hwn *ngala*, Tera *ngərli*.

Secondary laryngeal in some CCh forms. Note prefix *nV- in Boka, Hwn and Tera.

ECh **gr²il-* “lay eggs”: Jegu *giil*.

Denominative verb.

SA **gVIVl-* “egg”: Afar *gələlo*.

Partial reduplication.

882 *galab- “give”

Sem **gVIVb-* “procure”: Arab *glb* [-i-, -u-].

The vowels of the second syllable may be secondary.

WCh **galab-* “give”: Mnt *gallap*.

*-b- is unvoiced in the final position.

883 *galam- “ram”

Sem **galam-* “ram with long legs”: Arab *galam-*.

CCh **gamal-* “ram”: Lame *gəmla*, Bnn *gamala-na*.

Metathesis.

ECh **gamVI-* “ram”: Kera *gamla*.

Metathesis.

Dhl *ngolome* “buffalo”.

Secondary vocalism and prefix **nV-*.

884 *gal-an- “river, lake”

CCh **galan-H-* “swampy river-branch”: Mba *gologay*.

Secondary vocalism.

LEC **galan-* “sea”: Or *galaana*.

HEC **galan-* “river”: Dar *galaana*.

Cf. Sem **gal-* “wave” (Hbr *gal*) that may reflect HS **gal-* “river, wave” from which the present root is derived.

885 *gal-gal- “hunger”

Sem **gal-gal-* “hunger”: Akk *galgaltu*, *galgallatu*.

HEC **gar-gal-* “famine”: Bmb *gaargale*.

Dissimilation of liquids.

Reduplication?

886 *gal-gal-/gal-gil- “thunder”

Sem **gal-gāl-* “continuous thunder”: Arab *galgāl-*.

ECh **gal-gil-* “thunder”: Mig *galgilo*.

A descriptive reduplicated stem.

887 *gam- “vessel”

Sem **gām-* “bowl”: Arab *gām-*.

ECh **gVm-* “clay pot”: Tum *gami*.

Cf. HEC **gamb-* “jar” (Had *gambo'o*).

888 *gam- “be full”

Sem **gim-/gum-* “be full”: Arab *gmm* [-i-, -u-].

Secondary vocalism?

WCh **gamu-* “fill, be full”: Sura *gam*, *kum*, Ang *gam*, Mnt *gum*, Ank *gam*, Grk *kum-pan*, Bol *gom*, Krk *nžamū*, Pero *kem*, Ngm *ngama*.

Cf. Berb **gVm-/gVwVm-* “scoop, draw (water)” (Kby *ag^wem*)?

889 *gamah- “wait”

Eg *gmh* “wait” (MK).

ECh **gam-* “wait”: Smr *gam*, Sbn *gam-*.

No traces of the auslaut laryngeal.

890 *gan- “field”

Sem **gann-* “garden”: Hbr *gan*, Arab *gann-at-*.

Berb **gVn-* “plateau”: Kby *ag^wni*.

Note labialization, probably reflecting an earlier **gVwVn-* (cf. WCh!).

WCh **gaHwan-* “field”: Hs *gōnā*, Tng *kaŋ*, Fyer *haⁿgon*, Sha *goŋ*, DB *goŋ*.

Sha and DB reflect the secondary metathesis of laryngeal yielding to -ŋ- in contact with *-n-.

ECh **gaHan-/gan-H-* “field”: Mig *gaan*, Bid *gaŋ*.

Secondary laryngeal in WCh and ECh.

891 *gan- ‘leg’

CCh *gwan- < *ganu- ‘leg’: Bata *gwone*.

ECh *ganu- ‘leg’: Dor *de-ganu*, Nch *guan-ung*.

Prefix in Dor.

Omot *gan- ‘leg’: Mch *gano*.

An isolated archaic formation that may be somehow connected with *gonVh- ‘elbow, shoulder, wing’ as a word for ‘extremity, limb’.

892 *gan-/*gin- ‘go’

Sem *gVn- ‘come’ (imperative): Akk *gana*.

WCh *gan- ‘go’: Fyer *gan*.

ECh *gin- ‘go out’: Sok *ginē*.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

893 *ganaḥ- ‘bend’

Sem *gVnaḥ- ‘bend’: Arab *gnḥ* [-a-].

WCh *ma-gan- ‘bend’: Sha *magan*.

Prefix *ga-.

CCh *gan- ‘bend’: Zime *gan*.

894 *gar- ‘container, vessel’

Sem *garr- ‘box’¹, ‘jug’²: Akk *garra*¹, Arab *garr-at*².

Berb *gVr- ‘small wooden vase’: Izy *ta-gla*.

WCh *gar- ‘tin container’: Hs *garwa*.

CCh *gVr- ‘pot’: Gude *gəra*, Nza *gəra*.

895 *gar- ‘boat, ship’

Sem *gāriy- ‘ship’: Arab *gāriy-at*.

WCh *gVr- ‘boat’: Krf *gerre*.

The vocalism of the first syllable in Krf is induced by the final -e.

ECh *gar- ‘boat’: Kwn *ga.r*.

Etymologically identical with *gar- ‘container, vessel’?

896 *gar- ‘calf, bull’

Eg *ḡr* ‘calf’ (MK).

ḡ < *g- usually before *e or *o.

CCh *gar- ‘bull’: Msg *gari*.

897 *gar- ‘be angry’

Sem *gūr- ‘be unjust’¹, ‘be audacious’²: Arab *gwr* [-u-]¹, Tgr *gawārā*².

Secondary *-w-?

Berb *gVr- ‘be enraged’: Kby *egru*.

CCh *gar- ‘angry, anger’¹, ‘evil’²: Mnd *gar-ha*¹, Lame *ngar*².

Prefix *nV- in Lame.

898 *gar-/*gawar- ‘antelope’

WCh *gar- ‘oryx’: Cagu *gāre*, Mbu *gāri*.

Cf. Paa *gur-maṣi* ‘antelope’, Siri *zəb-gəri* id.

CCh *gar- ‘antelope’: Log *garia*.

ECh *gawar- ‘antelope’: Tum *gəru*, Kwn *gowor-to*.

Bed *gar-uwa* ‘kind of antelope’.

Omot *gar- ‘kind of antelope’: Ome *gaaraa*.

Rift *gwar- ‘antelope’: Irq *gwaraay*.

Reflects HS *gVwVr-?

In ECh and Rift, a characteristic innovation: C² = -w-.

899 *garab- ‘disease’

Sem *garab- ‘lepra, scabies’: Akk *garābu*, Hbr *gārāb*, Aram (Syr) *garbō*, Arab *garab*.

ECh *gabyar- < *gabari- ‘syphilis’: Smr *gaber*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *gabar-.

900 *gara^c- ‘cut’

Sem *gVrV^c- ‘cut (hair)’: Hbr *gr^c*, Jib *gera^c*, Soq *gara^c*.

SA *gara^c- ‘cut, strike’: Saho *gara^c*-, Afar *gara^c*-.

LEC *gara^c- ‘cut’: Or gara^c-.

Cf. Som gur- id.

901 *gas- ‘container’

Eg gsɔ ‘sack’ (pyr).

Auslaut -ɔ reflects the root vowel.

CCh *mi-gis- ‘basket’: Suk migisa.

Prefix *mi-. Assimilated from *mi-gas-.

Cf., probably, a reduplicated stem in ECh *gV₃as- ‘bottle’ (Kera gəsasi).

902 *gas-/gus- ‘move’

WCh *gusya- ‘move’: Hs gusa, Sura gyes.

LEC *goš- ‘ply between two places’: Som goš-.

Rift *gus- ‘drive (away)’: Irq gus-, Alg gus-im-.

Cf. Omot *gaš- ‘drive’: Kaf gaš-.

903 *gaso³- ‘antelope’

Eg gsɔ ‘antelope’ (OK).

WCh *gas- ‘kind of antelope’: Ngz gas-ka.

ECh *gawas- ‘antelope’: Ndam gōs, Smr gawsa.

From *gaHwas-?

LEC *gu-guš- ‘antelope’: Or guguf-to.

Partial reduplication. Note Arb gasar ‘buffalo’. Note Or -f- continuing a sibilant.

Rift *ga-gV₃s- ‘antelope’: Irq gagəs.

Partial reduplication.

904 *gaṭ- ‘hunt’

WCh *gaṭ- ‘hunt’: Gera gaḏə, Sha gəḏ.

LEC *u-gaṭ- ‘hunt’: Som ugaad-s-.

Denominative formation. Prefix *u-.

HEC *u-gaṭ- ‘hunt’: Sid ugaat-.

Identical with LEC.

905 *gaw- ‘bull, buffalo’

Berb *gaw- ‘bull’: Izy ayuḡu, pl. iyug^wawen.

Eg gw ‘bull’ (MK).

ECh *gVwV₃- ‘bull’: Tum guṽy.

Omot *gah- ‘buffalo’: Kaf gahoo.

As in some other cases, it is not clear whether -h- is a part of the root.

906 *gaw- ‘man, people’

Sem *gaw- ‘people’: Akk ga²-, gaw-, Hbr gōy, SAr gw.

WCh *nV-gaw- ‘man’: Sura ngo, Ang go, Krk ngā, Ngm ngo.

Prefix *nV-.

ECh *ga- ‘friend’: Bid gee- (masc.), gaa- (fem.).

Bed gaw ‘tribe, family’.

Wrz *i-kaw- ‘clan’: Hrs iko.

Prefix *i-.

907 *gaway- ‘body’

Sem *gVwy- ‘body, belly’: Hbr g^wiyā, Aram (Palest) giwy^etā.

Cf. reduplicated *gu²- in Arab gu²gu²- ‘chest’.

WCh *gaw- ‘corpse’: Hs gāwā.

Probably, reflects original HS *gaw-.

ECh *gway- < *gaway- ‘corpse’: Sok goy.

Related to *gaw- ‘man, people’?

908 *gawa₃- ‘go, walk’

Sem *gū₃- ‘pass, go’: Hbr gwz, Aram (Syr) gāz, Arab gwz [-u-],

SAr gz.

Berb *ga₃- ‘go away’: Kby ggaj.

Agaw *ga^cV₃- ‘depart’: Bil ga^cd-.

Unexpected *-^c-. A reflection of *-w-?

The original form of the root could be *ga₃-.

909 *gawVF- ‘interior’

Sem *gawp- ‘body’¹, ‘heart, middle, interior’²: Hbr gūp¹, Arab gawf-², Tgr gof².

CCh **gu-guf-* ‘heart’¹, ‘lungs’²: Klb *guguvi*¹, HNk *gugufe*¹,
FKi *gugufi*², Gude *guguf-in*², FM *gugufi*², FBw *guguf-in*¹.

Partial reduplication. Contraction of the inlaut cluster
**-awV-* > **u*.

910 **gay-* ‘move’

Sem **gi²-* ‘come’: Arab *gy³* [-i-].

Cf. Gz *giwayya* ‘run’. Based on **gVy-*.

WCh **gay-/guy-* ‘ride, run away’: Bol *gay*, Krk *guy*.

CCh **gway-* ‘enter’¹, ‘return’², ‘follow’³: Klb *gwa*¹, Mrg
*gwa*¹, Glv *gwi*², Bud *gya*³, Masa *gwo*¹.

The original form of the root was **gaywa-*.

ECh **giy-* ‘come’: Kbl *giyø*.

Secondary **i* before **y*.

SA **gay-* ‘arrive’: Afar *gay-*.

LEC **gay-* ‘arrive’: Or *gaya*.

HEC **ge⁽²⁾-* < **gay-* ‘arrive’: Dar *ge-*.

Cf. Rift **gow-* ‘run away’: Irq *gow-*.

911 **gay-* ‘say’

Eg *dwy* ‘call, say’ (pyr).

Causes of palatalization are not clear.

WCh **gay-* ‘tell’: Hs *gaya*.

CCh **ga-* ‘speak’: Tera *ga*.

Omot **gay-* ‘say’: Shk *ge*, Dime *gee-mu*, Gll *gay*, Ari *gai-*.

Cf. Sem **gV^cVy-* ‘shout’: Hbr *g^cy*.

912 **gayV^c-* ‘work’

Sem **yVgV^c-* ‘be tired’¹, ‘work’²: Akk *egū*¹, Hbr *ygc*^{1 2}.

Metathesis.

Berb **gVH-* ‘make, put’: Izy *iga*, Kby *agg*.

CCh **gaH-/gay-* ‘do, make’¹, ‘build’²: Gis *ge*¹, Mwl *ugo*¹,
Log *ga²e*².

ECh **giy-* ‘work’ (n.): Smr *giya*.

Deverbative. Cf. Kera *geye* ‘be tired’ < **g[a]y-*.

913 **ga3aw-* ‘tumor, paunch’

Sem **gVzVw-* ‘tumor’: Tgr *gəzwa*, Tgy *gəzwa*.

Berb **ga3aw-* ‘paunch, offal’: Ayr *ši-gəza*, Twl *te-gazaw-t*.

914 **gaž-/gawaž-* ‘cheek, chin’

ECh **gaž-/gawaž-* ‘cheek’: Smr *gažə*, Kbl *kwaži*.

**gwaž-* < **gawaž-*.

Bed **gaž* ‘face’.

Phonetic development similar to ECh.

SA **gaž-* ‘face’: Saho *gazaa*, *gadaa*.

LEC **gaž-* ‘chin’: Som *gaž*, *gaḍ*.

A typical CVC- ~ CVwVC- root pattern.

915 **gelal-* ‘be weak’

Eg *gnn* ‘be weak’ (OK).

Note -n- < *-l-.

ECh *gyalal-* ‘weak’: Gbr *gelāle*.

Partial reduplication?

916 **gena^c-* ‘hand’

ECh **gyan-* ‘hand’: Tum *geny-*.

LEC **gen-* ‘hand’: Som *žini*, Bay *gene*.

Som *ž-* < *g-* before -i-.

Bed *gana²a*, *gan²a* ‘hand’.

Assimilation of vowels.

SA **gena^c-* ‘hand, palm’: Saho *gina^c*, Afar *genaa^c*.

Note *-^c- < *-h-.

LEC **ga^can-* ‘hand, arm’: Som *ga^can*, Or *gana*, Boni *ka^can*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels.

Wrz **kana^c-* ‘hand’¹, ‘palm’²: War *kanεε²e*¹, Gaw *kan^cate*²,
Hrs *kana^ce*².

Assimilation of vowels.

Mgg *kinne²-* ‘hand’.

917 **ger-* ‘dog, cub’

Sem **gVrw-* ‘wild animal’s cub’¹, ‘cub, puppy’²: Akk *gerru*¹,

Hbr *gūr*², Aram (Syr) *guryō*², Arab *garw-*, *girw-*, *gurw-*², Hss *yeru*².

ECh **gyara-* “dog”: Nch *gera*, Lele *gira*, Kbl *gara*.

Cf., probably, HEC **giraw-* “cat” (Bmb *giraa²wee*).

918 *gi²- “see, look”

Eg *gɔgɔw* “look” (XVIII).

Reduplication.

WCh **giy-* < **giH-* “look”: Bol *giy*.

919 *gid-/gud- “be big, be numerous”

Sem **gidd-* “many, much”: Arab *gidd-*.

Berb **gVwVd-* “be numerous”: Izy *egguḍ*.

Based on **gud-*.

WCh **gVd-* “many”: Bol *godo*.

Secondary vocalism influenced by the auslaut vowel.

LEC **gud(d)-* “large”: Or *guddaa*.

Alternation **i* ~ **u*.

920 *gidol- “be big”

Sem **gVdVl-* “big”¹, “be big”², “become big, strong”³: Ug *gdl*¹, Hbr *gdl*², *gādōl*¹, Aram *g^cdal*², Arab *gādil-*¹, *gdl*³.

CCh **digwal-* “big”: Klb *dūgōlu*, Mrg *digal*.

Consonantal metathesis.

Derived from **gid-/gud-* “be big, be many”.

921 *gif- “strike, pierce”

Sem **nVgVp-* “strike, push, shake”: Hbr *ngp*, Gz *ngf*.

Prefix **nV-*.

ECh **gif-* “strike (with a sword)”: Sok *gifē*.

922 *gi^c- “beer”

Sem **gi^c-* “beer”: Arab *gi^c-at-*.

WCh **giy-* < **giHya-* “beer”: Hs *giya*.

923 *gi^car-/gi^cur- “seek”

Eg *ḡr* “seek” (MK).

CCh **giHar-* “seek”: Daba *gir*, Mus *gər*, Masa *gar*, *gāra*.

SA **gVHur-* “seek”: Saho *guur*.

924 *giHad-/giyad- “neck”

Sem **gīd-* “tendon”¹, “muscle”², “nerve”³, “neck”⁴: Akk *gīdu*^{1 2}, Hbr *gīd*^{1 3}, Aram *g^cyādā*^{1 3}, Arab *gīd-*⁴, Soq *žid*³.

Contraction of **giyVd-*.

WCh **nV-gīd-* < **nV-giHVd-* “neck”: Krf *ngido*, Glm *ngirya*.

Prefix **nV-*.

ECh **giHad-* “neck”: Dng *gaadya*, Tum *geer*, Ngam *ger-*, Sok *get-im*, *gere*.

Contraction in individual languages.

Consonantal alternation of a laryngeal (presumably, **-ʔ-*) and **-y-*. Cf. also another possible cognate in LEC **gaHad-* “breast”: Som *gaaddo*. The semantic variety of Sem makes the whole comparison dubious.

925 *gil- “cloud, dew”

Sem **ḡVl-* “drops (of dew)”: Hbr *ḡgel*.

Prefix **ḡ-*.

WCh **nV-gil-* “cloud”¹, “sky”²: Krf *ngilla*¹, Glm *ngəla*².

Prefix **nV-*.

Forms with prefixes in both Sem and WCh.

926 *gim- “receive”

Eg *gmy* “receive, find” (NK), Copt **ṭimi* id.: Boh *ṭ’imi*, Shd *ṭime*.

Copt **-i-* reflects HS **-i-*.

WCh **gVm-* “get”: Cagu *gəm-*.

927 *gin- “grind, pound”

Eg *ḡn* “grind” (med).

Palatalization of **g-* before a front vowel.

ECh **gin-* “pound”: Smr *gine*, Tum *gən*, Ndm *gəna*, Dng *igina*.

928 *gin- “fire”

Eg *ḏndn.t* “fire” (sarc).

Reduplication.

CCh *gin- “roast”: Mafa *gin-*.

Denominative formation.

929 *gin-/gun- “build”

Berb **gVn-* “set up (house), lay off (garden)”: Ghd *ə-gnu*.

WCh *gin- “build”: Hs *gina*.

CCh *gun- “build”: Log *gun-*.

Alternation *i ~ *u.

930 *gir- “fire”

Sem **gir-* “fire, deity of fire”: Akk *giṛu*, *giṛru*.

Eg *ḏr* “fire” (gr).

Palatalization of *g- before a front vowel.

SA *gir- “fire”: Saho *gira*, Afar *giraa*.

HEC *gir- “fire”: Sid *giira*, Dar *giira*, Had *giira*, Kmb *giira*.

Cf. Rift **gi²ir-* “embers” (Irq *gi²i*, Bur *gi²iru*, Alg *gi²iru*).

931 *gir- “be hot”

WCh **gir-gir-* “hot”: Maha *giṛgiṛ*, Dera *gərgət*.

Reduplication. Dera < **gərgər*. Cf. Hs *gūra* “set fire”.

CCh **gVr-gVr-* “hot”: Tera *gərgər*, Bura *gərgər*.

Reduplication.

HEC *gir- “burn”: Sid *giir-*, Had *giir-*.

Related to *gir- “fire”.

932 *gir- “live”

Sem **gūr-* “live”¹, “be close by”²: Hbr *gwr*¹, Arab *gwr*².

Based on **gVr-*.

LEC *gir- “be, exist”: Som *gir-*, Or *gir-*, Rnd *gir-*, Bay *gir-*.

933 *gir-/gi²ur- “corn”

Sem **gir-* “bean, corn”: Hbr *gērā*.

WCh **gi²ur-* “millet”: Hs *gērō*, Sura *gor*, Diri *agyura*, Say *gyoro*.

Secondary laryngeal in the inlaut.

CCh **-gur-* “bean”: Mnd *gire*, Zgh *ḡgure*, Glv *ḡagura*, Gvo *ḡgəre*,

Log *māgurē*.

Various prefixes in individual languages.

ECh **gir-* “bean”: Smr *giri*, žiri, Jegu *giri*, *giri-k*.

A root pattern including a morphonological variant with C² = -ḡ-.

934 *gir-/gur- “go, run”

Sem **gVrVy-* “run, flow”¹, “pass”: Arab *gry* [-i-]¹, Hss *gerō*¹, Mhr *gerō*².

Derived from biconsonantal **gVr-*.

Berb **gVwVr-* “go, walk”: Rif *uḡur*, Izn *uyur*.

Based on **gVr-*.

WCh **gura²-* “come”¹, “go around”²: Dera *gur-*¹, Bks *gara²*².

Suffix *-a²-.

CCh **gwar-* < **gura-* “go (into)”¹, “return”², “follow”³: Tera *gəri*², Hil *gwər*¹, Log *gər*¹, Bnn *gwəra*³.

ECh **gVr-* “come”: Sbn *gər*.

Bed *agir* “return”.

Metathesis of **gira²-*, cf. WCh.

HEC **geHer-* “run”: Had *geer-*.

Metathesis from **gi²ar-*, cf. WCh.

Alternation *i ~ *u. In WCh and Cush, similar derivatives in *-a²- are worth notice.

935 *go- “stone, mountain”

Eg *ḏw* “mountain” (pyr), Copt **[t]ōw*: Boh *tōou*, Shd *toou*.

There are no traces of a laryngeal in Eg.

CCh **gwa²-* “stone”: Lame *ngwai*, LPe *gwoi²*, Zime *gwo²*.

Secondary *-ḡ-. **gwa²-* may go back to **gwa-i²-*.

936 *go²- “sing”

Eg *gɔ* “sing” (n).

The palatalization of **g* is unmarked in late Eg.

CCh **gwa*²- “sing”: Bata *goo*.

LEC **go*²- “moan”: Or *go*²*a*.

Note a reduplication in WCh deverbative **gwag*- “song, dance”: Mpn *kook*.

937 *go²Vy- “carry”

Eg *dɔy* “bring” (gr).

Regular palatalization of **g*-.

WCh **gwa*²Vy- “carry (on one’s back)”: Hs *gōyā*.

938 *gob- “bend”

Eg *gb* “stoop” (gr).

No traces of palatalization in late Eg.

CCh **gwaḥ*- “bend”: Gis *goḥ*-, Mofu *gəḥ*.

Unexpected emphatic **ḥ*. A trace of a laryngeal, also indicated by the vowel length in SA?

ECh **gwab*- “bend”: Kera *gobe*.

SA **gub*- “be bent”: Afar *guub*.

Cf. LEC **gop*- “hunchback” (Or *goopḥo*)?

939 *gočal- “ant”

Sem **gašl*- “ant”: Arab *gašl-at*-.

From HS **gočal*- with assimilation of vowels.

WCh **gwačal*- “ant”: Wrj *gwašala-na*.

940 *goda^c- “injure, damage”

Sem **gVda*^c- “mutilate (of nose or lips)”¹, “cut”², “beat”³, “damage”⁴: Hbr *gd*^c², Aram (Syr) *gd*^c^{1 2}, Arab *gd*^c [-a-]¹, Gz *g^wd*³, Tgr *gd*³, Tgy *g^wd*^{3 4}, Amh *g^wdd*⁴, Arg *g^wdd*⁴.

Labiovelars in Ethio-Sem may reflect an earlier rounded vowel of the first syllable. Note Ethio-Sem -²-.

Agaw **gwad*- “injure”: Bil *g^wɔt*-, Kwr *g^wad*-, Kem *gäd y*-, Aun *g^wəd*-.

Omot **gond*- “injure”¹, “be bad”²: Kaf *gond*-¹, Mch *gondo*², Bwo *gondo*².

Nasal infix?

941 *godVn- “ant”

ECh **gwadVn*- “ant”: Kera *godnoy*.

LEC **gonVd*- “ant”: Or *gondaa*.

Metathesis.

Cf. HEC **goṭan*- “termite” (Sid *goṭan-čoo*) and Omot **gutun*- “worm” (Ome *gutune*).

942 *go-go- “skin”

CCh **gwa-gwa*- “skin”: Mnd *gwogwa*.

LEC **gog*- “skin”: Or *googa*.

HEC **gog*- “skin”: Sid *googa*, Bmb *goga*, *gogaa*, Dar *goga*, Kmb *goga*.

Omot **gog*- “skin”¹, “bark”²: Yam *goṇa*¹, Kaf *goggo*¹, Bwo *gooka*, *gookaa*¹, Nao *gogo*².

Reduplication?

943 *go-gor- “bird”

CCh **gwa-gwar*- “hen”: Mofu *gwagwar*.

ECh **gu-gur*- “hen”: Kera *guugur*.

LEC **go-gor*- “guinea fowl”: Or *gogorrii*.

Partial reduplication. A descriptive stem. Cf. **guray*- “hen”.

944 *go^cad- “stick”

Eg *ḡdd* “stick” (n).

Note the palatalization of **g*-.

WCh **gwaHad*- “stick”: Paa *dan-gwaḍi*, Mbu *gwada*.

Prefix in Paa.

CCh **gad*- “stick”: Mafa *gada*.

945 *goḥ-goḥ- “monkey”

Eg *ḡḡḡ* “monkey” (reg).

WCh **gwagu-* < **gwaH-gwaH-* ‘baboon’¹, ‘monkey’²: Hs *gōgo*¹, Sha *gugwa*², Klr *guga*².
Reduplication.

946 *gohas- ‘scratch’

Sem **gVhaš-* ‘skin’ (v.): Arab *ghs* [-a-].
WCh **nV-gwas-* < **nV-gwaHV-* ‘scratch’: Sha *ngos*.
CCh **nV-gas-* < **nV-gVHas* ‘mark, make scratches on pottery’:
Mafa *ngas*.

Prefix **nV-* in Chadic.

947 *gol- ‘cloud, water’

Berb **gVl-gVl-* ‘quiet water’: Izy *iglugel*.
Reduplication.
Eg *wgɔ* ‘waters’ (n).
w- stands for a rounded root vowel. No traces of palatalization in a late Eg form.

WCh **gwal-* ‘cloud’: Ang *gwal*.

Related to **gil-* ‘cloud, dew’.

948 *gol- ‘be round, go around’

Sem **gVl-* ‘go around’¹, ‘roll’²: Akk *galālu*², Arab *gwl*¹, Amh *gʷll*².

Infix **-w-* in Arab and a labiovelar in Amh may reflect an original back (rounded) vowel of the first syllable.

Berb **gVlVl-* ‘be round’: Tua *gelellet*.
Partial reduplication.

CCh **gwal-* ‘round’: Log *ngolō*.

Prefix **nV-*.

949 *gol- ‘vagina’

CCh **gwal-* ‘vagina’: Glv *rwala*, Nak *rwala*, Bch *gwuley*.

LEC **gul-* ‘genitals’: Or *gula*.

Cf. Rnd *gel* ‘vagina’, Arb *gel* id.

Rift **gwal-* ‘vagina’: Irq *gwalay*, Gor *golay*, Kwz *gulaʔ-iko*.

950 *golah- ‘be bald’

Sem **gVlah-* ‘make bald’¹, ‘become bald’²: Hbr *glh*¹, Arab *glh* [-a-]².

Bed *gʷɔPa* ‘baldness’.

Agaw **gwalVh-* ‘be bald’: Bil *gʷalh-ay*.

LEC **golah-* ‘bald spot, baldness’: Som *golah*, *galaḥi*.

951 *golan- ‘soup, sauce’

Eg *gnn* ‘kind of food’ (n).

Note **-l-* > Eg *-n-*.

ECh **gwalan-* ‘soup’: Jegu *golon*.

Secondary vocalism of the second syllable.

Cf. CCh **[g]unan-* ‘soup’ (Log *runan*) with assimilation of sonants and irregular anlaut.

952 *goma^c- ‘gather, meet’

Sem **gVma^c-* ‘gather’: Arab *gm^c* [-a-], Hss *egtōma*, Mhr *gatma³*, Shh *gotma^c*.

T stirpes in Hss, Mhr and Shh.

WCh **gwama-* < **gwamaH-* ‘meet together’: Hs *gamu*, Ang *gwom*, Mnt *kwam*, Bol *gom*, Krk *gam*, Tng *komb-*, Bade *gam-*.

Secondary *-mb-* < **-m-* in Tng.

953 *gon- ‘poultry’

Eg *dnɔn* ‘poultry’ (MK).

Reduplication.

WCh **gwan-* ‘rooster’: Fyer *gwene*.

954 *gonVh- ‘elbow, shoulder, wing’

Eg *dnh* ‘wing’ (pyr).

WCh **hVgwan-* ‘shoulder, wing’¹, ‘arm’²: Sura *kəgən*¹, Ang *gwon*, *gwong*¹, Dwot *kuyun*¹, Bks *koŋ*², Sha *gaan*².

Metathesis of the laryngeal.

CCh **gwan-* ‘elbow’: Msg *gono-gone*.

Reduplication.

HEC **gon(n)*- ‘wing’: Kmb *gonna-ta*.

Rift **gon(g)oh*- ‘elbow’: Irq *gongohi*.

Unexpected inlaut -g-.

Cf. a secondary deverbative formation in Sem **gināḥ*- ‘arm’¹, ‘wing’²: Arab *gināḥ*-, *ganāḥ*-¹, Mhr *ginaḥ*². The root is, probably derived from **ganaḥ*- ‘bend’, cf. Lat *ulna* ‘forearm’, OIr *uilind* ‘elbow’ derived from **elə*- ‘bend’.

955 *gor- ‘back’

Sem **gur*- ‘back of the house’: Tgr *gəray*, Tgy *g^waro*, Amh *g^waro*, Gur *g^waro*.

HEC **gor*- ‘back’: Bmb *gooroo*.

956 *gor- ‘wall, house, dwelling’

Eg *dry.t* ‘dwelling’ (gr), *drw* ‘part of house’ (MK), *dry* ‘wall’,

Copt **doye* id.: Boh *doi*, Shd *doie*.

According to Copt, -y reflects a suffix while *g- > Eg *d*- before HS *o.

LEC **gor*- ‘house’¹, ‘wall’²: Som *guri*, *guuri*¹, Or *gooroo*².

HEC **gor*- ‘shed’: Bmb *goore*, Dar *goo²re*.

Omot **gorr*- ‘house’: Ome *guolle*.

957 *gor- ‘catch’

Eg *ndry* ‘catch’ (a), *ndr* ‘seize’ (XVIII).

n- is a prefix.

ECh **gwar*- ‘catch’: Ndam *gōre*, Sok *gəurē*.

958 *gor-gor- ‘plant, leaf’

Sem **gur-gur*- ‘plant’: Akk *gurgurru*.

Eg *drdr* ‘leaf’ (Amar).

WCh **gwar-gwar*- ‘kind of grass’: Hs *gōragōra*.

Reduplication. HS *o is corroborated by the palatalization in Eg. Cf. LEC **gor*- ‘fruit found in the forest’ (Or *goraa*).

959 *goraf- ‘friend, servant’

WCh **ma-gwaraf*- ‘friend’: Bol *gworavi*, Krk *nžarafu*, Ngm *ngerfo*, Ngz *magiraf*, Bade *magərav-an*.

Unexpected -i- in Ngz.

Agaw **gwirrVf*- ‘servant’: Bil *g^wəlf-aaraa*.

960 *gora^c- ‘throat, neck’

Sem **gVr^c*- ‘throat’: Gz *g^wər^cē*, Tgy *g^wärära*.

The vowel of the first syllable may be reconstructed as *-u- causing labialization of the initial velar.

WCh **gwar(VH)*- ‘throat’: Hs *-gwarō*.

In a compound.

CCh **gwar*- ‘neck’: Tera *gura*, Pad *guara*, Mba *gur- dōy*.

SA **gara^c*- ‘throat’: Saho *gara^c*, Afar *gara^c*.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC **g[o]ra^c*- ‘throat’: Som *gawra^c*.

Is -aw- a reflex of *o?

Cf. compounds with the same element in Agaw **gwir-gum*- ‘throat, neck’ (Bil *gurgumaa*, Aun *g^wergum*, Dmt *g^wergem*) and SA **gur-dum*- ‘throat’ (Saho *durgumaa*, Afar *gurdumee*).

961 *gorum- ‘young man’

Eg *d³m* ‘young man’ (MK).

Palatalization of *g-.

WCh **gwarum*- ‘slave’: Sura *kurom*, Mpn *krom*, Ang *kwarm*, Bol *ngaru*, Krk *nčarum*.

Prefix **nV*- in Bol and Krk.

LEC **gorom*- ‘young man’: Som *gorom-saa*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift **garVm*- ‘boy’: Irq *garma*.

Unexpected *-a-.

962 *gorun-gorun- ‘knee’

ECh **gwarun-gwarun*- ‘knee’: Sok *gorungorun-du*.

Rift **gurun-gu(n)d*- ‘knee’: Irq *gurungura*, Alg *gurunguda*, Bur *gurugunda*.

Haplology and dissimilation from **gurun-gurun-*.

Reduplication.

963 *gos- “fish”

Eg *ḡs* “kind of fish” (n).

Palatalization of **g-*.

WCh **gwas-* “fish”: Zem *giši*, Say *gwusi*, Bks *guše*, Sha *gwaše*.

Cf. ECh **gwas-* id. (pl.): Sib *gose* (sg. is *dose!*).

964 *gos- “be small”

Eg *ḡs* “small” (pyr).

Prefix **nV-*. Note the palatalization of **g-*.

CCh **gwas-* “short”: HF *gusi*, FK *gwusu*, Gude *gwus*, Nza *gus*, FJ *gwus*.

965 *goy- “bird”

Eg *ḡwy.t* “kind of bird” (sarc).

-*w-* stands for a rounded vowel.

CCh **gya-* < **gVya-* “hen”¹, “bird”²: Gude *gyagya*¹, Mnd *giye*².

Reduplication in Gude. Secondary -*i-* under the influence of -*y-* in Mnd.

966 *goʒ- “woman”

Sem **agūz-* “old woman”: Arab *‘agūz-*.

Cf. Arab *‘gz [-u-]* “become old (of a woman)”. Prefix **a-*.

CCh **nV-gwaʒ-* “woman”: Gis *ḡgos*, Bld *ḡgas*, Mtk *ḡgwaz*.

Prefix **nV-*. Unvoicing of final **ʒ* in Gis and Bld.

Prefixes both in Sem and CCh.

967 *gu²- “container”

Eg *ḡwʒ.t* “box” (MK).

-*w-* stands for a rounded vowel.

WCh **gu²-ga²-* “pail”: Sura *guugaa*.

Reduplication.

CCh **gu²-* “pot”: Gul *guā*.

ECh **gu²-* “basket”: Kwn *gu*.

Cf. reduplication in Tob *ḡḡū*.

968 *gub- “fish”

Eg *gb.t* “kind of fish” (OK).

ECh **gub-* “fish”: Tob *gubū*.

969 *gub- “clothes”

Sem **gubb-* “jubba, kind of clothes”: Arab *gubb-at-*, Tgr *ḡabbāt*.

CCh **gVb-* “man’s clothes”: Gava *ḡəbəya*.

Suffix -*əya*.

970 *gub- “hole, well”

Sem **gubb-* “well” (n.)¹, “moat”²: Akk *gubbu*¹, Hbr *ḡēb*², Aram *gubbā*², Arab *gubb-*¹, Gz *ḡəbb*², Tgr *ḡəbb*².

ECh **gub-* “hole”: Smr *gubu*.

971 *gub- “burn”

Sem **gVb-* “roast”: Akk *gubbubu*.

D stirpes in Akk.

LEC **gub-* “burn”: Som *gub-*, Or *gub-*, Rnd *gub-*, Boni *kub-*.

Dhl *guß-* “burn” (trans.).

972 *guĉ- “fingernail”

CCh **nV-giṣ-* “fingernail”: Gude *ḡāša*, Zime *ḡiṣē*.

Prefix **nV-*. The above form may go back to **niguṣ-*.

Omot **guṣ-* “fingernail, claw”: Dime *guṣ*, Ari *ḡāšaa*, Karo *gušo*.

Cf. ECh **gus-* id.: Kbl *guse-man*.

973 *gud- “house”

Sem **gudd-* “djedda, town”: Arab *gudd-at-*.

CCh **gud-* “house”: Glv *guda*.

LEC **god-* ‘hut’: Or *godoo*.

HEC **god-* ‘place, cattle-pen’: Bmb *godoo*, Dar *goode*.

Wrz **kot-* ‘house’: Hrs *koto*, Dob *koto*.

Tgy *g^wada*, Amh *g^wada* are borrowed from Cush.

974 **gud-* ‘find, seek’

Sem **wVgVd-* ‘find, meet’: Arab *wgd*.

Prefix **wV-*.

CCh **gud-* ‘seek anxiously’: Mafa *gud-*.

975 **gud-* ‘soil’

Sem **gad-* ‘soil, ground’: Arab *gadad-*.

Secondary formation based on the otherwise unattested root.

Innovative vocalism.

ECh **gVd-* ‘fertile soil’: Sok *gede*.

Assimilation of vowels in Sok.

Dhl *gudde* ‘land’.

976 **gudin-* ‘axe, hoe’

ECh **gidin-H-* < **gudin-H-* ‘hoe’: Kera *gidij-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC **gudin-* ‘axe’: Som *gudin*.

Cf. HS **gadum-* ‘cut; axe, hoe’.

977 **gu^cal-* ‘divide’

Sem **gV^cVL-* ‘divide’: Arab *g^cl*.

ECh **gal-* < **gVHal-* ‘part, side’: Kera *gal*.

Nominal derivative of the original HS verb.

Agaw **guHal-* ‘divide’: Kwr *golee*, Dmb *golee*, Kem *gualay*.

Contraction in Kwr and Dmb.

978 **gu^cal-* ‘insect’

Sem **gu^cal-* ‘scarabeus’: Arab *gu^cal-*.

WCh **nV-gal-* ‘termite’: Bks *gal*.

Prefix **nV-*.

CCh **nV-gVL-* ‘termite’: Nz *ngale*.

Prefix **nV-*.

Contraction of **-uHa-* > **-a-* in Chadic.

979 **gulul-* ‘vessel’

Sem **gull-* ‘bowl’: Akk *gullu*, *gullatu*, Hbr *gullā*.

CCh **gulVL-* ‘straw bottle’: Msg *gullai*.

Rift **gudul-* ‘water jug’: Irq *gudulia*.

Dissimilation of liquids?

Etymologically identical with **gulul-* ‘ball’?

980 **gulul-* ‘ball’

Sem **gull-* ‘round object’: Arab *gull-at-*.

WCh **gulul-* ‘ball’: Hs *gulūlu*.

Derived from **gol-* ‘be round, go around’.

981 **gum-* ‘cut’

CCh **gum-* ‘cut off’¹, ‘carve’²: Mofu *ngəm*¹, Gis *ngom*¹, Mtk *gum*², Hld *gum-na*².

Prefix **nV-* in Mofu.

Rift **go^oim-* ‘carve’: Irq *go^oim*.

Secondary inlaut **-j-*. The original form could be **gom-*.

982 **gun-* ‘occiput’

CCh **gun-* ‘occiput, neck’: ZBt *guno*, Bud *nguni*, FG *gona*.

Prefix **nV-* in Bud.

ECh **gun-* ‘occiput’: Smr *gəgəne*, Lele *tu-gna*, Ndam *da-gən*, Tum *gun kumu*, Kera *kənə-g*, Kwn *ku-kīn*.

Partial reduplication in Smr and Kwn. Prefixes in Lele and Ndam.

Omot **gon-* ‘nape’: Ome *gonno*.

983 *gup-/gump- “knee”

ECh *gupi- “knee”: Smr *gube*, Tum *gub*, Ndam *gub*, Dng *gipi*, Mig *gippi*, Br *gifi*, Jegu *gifo*, Mubi *gip*.

Bed *gumba* “knee”.

Omot *gumb- “knee”: Sezo *gubbi*, Nao *gum-ta*.

It seems that ECh lost the nasal element of *-mp- cluster. On the other hand, *-mb- cannot be reconstructed in order to explain Cush because of the unvoiced in ECh. A very difficult case. Cf. also HEC *gub- “thigh” (Bmb *gub-eedi*)?

984 *gur- “house, place”

Berb *gVrur- “enclosure”¹, “wall”², “place, yard”³: Nfs *a-grur*^{1 2}, Ahg *a-gror*¹, Ish *a-grur*², Tzr *a-grur*³, Gua *ta-goror*³, Sus *a-grur*^{1 2}, Kby *agrur*¹.

Partial reduplication.

WCh *gur- “place”: Hs *gure*.

CCh *gur- “enclosure”: Mba *guru*.

985 *gur- “pull”

Sem *gur- “pull”: Hbr *grr*, Arab *grr* [-u-], Jib *gerr*, Hss *ger*.

CCh *gur- “pull”: Mofu *-gur-*.

986 *gur- “ash”

Sem *gurār- “hot ash”: Akk *gurāru*.

Cf. Akk *kirāru* id. A secondary formation.

WCh *gur- “ash”: Sura *kuur*, Ang *kur*.

ECh *gur- “coal”: Ndm *gurē*.

Related to *gir- “fire”.

987 *gur- “hole”

Sem *gūr- “cavity”: Hbr *gōr*, Arab *gūr-at*.

ECh *gur- “hole”: Smr *gurō*.

-ō goes back to *-aw-.

988 *guray- “hen”

Eg *gry* “poultry” (n).

The final -y may be a suffix, cf. ECh (Sbn).

CCh *yVgur- “hen”: Mnj *yugur*, Msg *yugur*, *igur*.

Metathesis of *gurVy-. Assimilation of vowels in Msg.

ECh *gur(Vy)- “hen, rooster”: Sbn *garay*.

989 *gut- “container”

Eg *gt* “box” (n).

CCh *guta- “calabash”: Bnn *gwata*, BM *nguta*.

Prefix *nV-.

990 *guy- “chin”

Eg *wgy.t* “lower jaw” (pyr).

w- is a vocalic sign.

CCh *guyi- “chin, beard”: Lmn *goyo*, Zgh *gwiye*, Glv *g^wiya*, Gava *g^wuya*, Nak *g^wiya*.

991 *guž- “stomach”

WCh *guž- “internal organ (of a bird)”: Hs *gužiyā*.

ECh *giž-/guž- “belly”: Ndm *gūž*, Kera *giida*.

Agaw *gwiz-uk- “stomach”: Xmr *gizuu*, pl. *gizuk*, Xmt *gizuu*, Kwr *gwazgu*, Dmb *gozgw*, Kem *gwazguu*, Aun *gwezguū*.

Generalized pl. in *-uk-?

SA *guž- “belly”: Afar *gudee*.

LEC *guž- “intestines”: Som *guudo*.

992 *güba^c- “mountain”

Sem *gab^c-/*gib^c- “hill, height”: Akk *gab^u*, Ug *gb^c*, Hbr *gib^cā*, Amh *guba*.

a-vocalism seems to be secondary.

CCh *guḅa- < *gubaH- “mountain”: Glv *roba*, Gava *ruḅa*, Msm *gəbəy*.

LEC *gubb- “summit”: Or *gubba*.

HEC *gubb- “highland”: Bmb *gubba*.

Dhl *guḅa* “plains”.

993 *gül-/*gül-ib- “knee”

ECh *gVl- “knee”: Sok *der-gel-*, *bo-golo*.

der- and *bo-* are prefixes.

CCh *gVl- “thigh”: Mofu *gəl-aw*.

Msg *gurfa* “knee” may be connected with a different Chadric root for “knee”, *gVr-.

Agaw *gwillib- “knee”: Bil *girib*, Xmr *girb*, Xmt *gərab*, Kwr *gerb*,

Dmb *gulvis*, Kem *gərbii*, Dmt *gereb*, Aun *gerbii*.

SA *gulub- “knee”: Saho *gulub*, Afar *gulub*.

LEC *gilib- “knee”: Som *žilib*, Or *žilba*, Rnd *žəlab*, Bay *gilib*.

HEC *gilub-/*gulub- “knee”: Sid *guluppo*, Dar *gulubo*, Had *gurubbo*,

Kab *gulubi-ta*, Bmb *gilba*, Kmb *gulubi-ta*, Tmb *gulubi-ta*.

Wrz *kilVp- “knee”: Gaw *kilpayho*, Hrs *kilpayo*, Dob *kilpayo*.

Omot *gul(l)Vb- “knee”: Ome *gulg-ata*, Bwo *guubra*.

Metathesis in Bwo.

Dhl *gilli* “knee”.

The dominating Cush form is derived from *gül- with suffix *-ib-.

994 *gün- “bend”

Sem *hVgin- “become curved”: Arab *hgn* [-i-].

Prefix *hV-.

WCh *nV-gun- “bend”: Bol *ngün*, Krk *ngun*, Wrj *ngunai*, Kry *ngun*.

Prefix *nV-.

Prefixes in both branches of HS. Related to *ganaḥ- “bend”?

995 *güri²- “stomach”

Sem *giri²- “stomach (of a bird)”: Arab *giri²-at-*, *giriyy- at-*.

ECh *gur- “stomach”: Lele *gür-mu*, Mig *gur-mūdu*.

Agaw *gir(r)- “stomach”¹, “intestines”²: Bil *gir*, *žir*¹, Xmr *zillaa*¹, Xmt *ziilaa*¹, Kwr *žir*¹, Kem *žər*².

Palatalization of *g- in most Agaw forms.

LEC *gere²- “belly”: Arb *gere²*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift *gurV²- “belly”: Irq *gura*, Alg *gura²a*, Bur *gura²a*.

Secondary *-a- of the second syllable.

996 *gVbVL- “edge”

Sem *gVbul- “edge”: Phn *gbl*, Hbr *g^ebūl*, Aram *gbl*.

Eg *gb²* “side of a room” (westc.)

WCh *gVlVb- “edge”: Dera *gəlba*.

Metathesis.

997 *gVsVy- “go, move”

Sem *gĩš- “go (home)”: Akk *gāšu*.

Metathesis.

Eg *gsy* “run” (XVIII).

Derived from *gas- “move”.

998 *gVwVb-/*gVyVb- “call, answer”

Sem *gūb- “answer”: Aram *gawwēb*, Arab *gwb*, Hss *yewāb*.

ECh *gyab- < *gVyVb- “call”: Nch *geba*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

999 *gVwun- “be black”

Sem *gūn- “be black”: Arab *gwn* [-u-].

If not related to Aram *gawnā* “color” borrowed from Iranian.

WCh *[wV]gun- “dirty”: Ang *gun*.

An alternative reconstruction is *wVgun-.

1000 *gVzim- “cut”

Sem *gVzim- “cut”: Hbr *gzm*, Arab *gzm* [-i-].

Cf. Arab *gdm* id.

Berb *gVzVm- “cut”: Izy *gezzem*, Kby *egzem*.

*g

1001 *ga²-/*go²- “stone”

Eg *ḡ.t* “stone” (OK).

WCh *gay- < *ga²i- “rock, stone”: Gera *giwi*, Glm *gigai*, Grm *gi*,

Sha *wa-ḥay*, DB *hayi*.

Partial reduplication in Glm. Prefix in Sha.

CCh **ɣwa*²- ‘‘mountain’’: Ngw *ɣwa*, Lmn *ɣwa*, Zgh *ɣwa*²*a*, Glv *ɣwa*.

Alternation **a* ~ **o*?

1002 **ġabur*- ‘‘dust’’

Sem **ġabar*- ‘‘dust’’: Arab *ġabar-at*-, *ġubār*-, *ġubr-at*-, Hss *ġebār*.

Secondary vocalism in *ġubār*-, *ġubr-at*-. *-*u*- > *-*a*- after a labial is regular.

WCh **ġabVr*- ‘‘dust’’: Hs *habrā*.

CCh **ɣurVb*- ‘‘sand’’: Mofu *ma-hurḥay*.

Metathesis. Secondary emphatization of -*b*- > -*ḥ*- influenced by the initial **ɣ*.

Derived from **bur*- ‘‘earth, sand’’?

1003 **ġak*- ‘‘crow’’

Sem **ġāk*- ‘‘raven’’: Arab *ġāq*-.

WCh **ġag*- < **ġak*- ‘‘crow’’: Paa *gāga*.

Assimilation.

CCh **ɣak*- ‘‘crow’’: Dgh *ɣaga*, Gis *mu-ghak*, *ma-gaga*, Mofu *man-gahak*, Log *ɣake*, Bud *ngage*.

Mofu reflects **ɣaHak*-, cf. ECh. Prefix **ma(n)*- in Gis and Mofu.

ECh **gak*- ‘‘crow’’: Mubi *gak*, Bid *gaaga*, Kwn *gāga*.

Bid may reflect **gaHak*-.

Dhl ²*aak*²*ak*²*o* ‘‘crow’’.

Partial reduplication.

A descriptive stem, possibly, of reduplicative nature (**ġak*- < **ġag*-, cf. WCh).

1004 **ġal*- ‘‘kill’’

Sem **ġāl*- ‘‘make smb. perish quickly’’: Arab *ġwl* [-*u*-].

Based on the original **ġVl*-.

CCh **ɣal*- ‘‘kill’’: Log *ɣəla*, Bud *hala*.

1005 **ġaluč*-/ **ġiluč*- ‘‘be heavy, be thick’’

Sem **ġalič*-/ **ġaluč*- ‘‘be fat, be bulky’’: Arab *ġlč* [-*i*-, -*u*-], Hss *ġeleč*, Mhr *ġelayč*.

SA **ilVs*- ‘‘heavy’’: Afar *ils*.

LEC **iluč*-/ **uluč*- ‘‘heavy’’: Som *ulus*, Or *ulf-ata*, Kon *uls*, Arb *ilč-iyda*.

**uluč*- from **iluč*- as a result of the assimilation of vowels.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*. Cush forms reflect HS **ġiluc*- with an irregular correspondence of **c* to HS **č* > **č*.

1006 **ġar*- ‘‘army, raid’’

Sem **ġār*- ‘‘army’’: Arab *ġār*-.

WCh **ġar*- ‘‘raid’’: Hs *harā*.

1007 **ġar*- ‘‘skin’’

Sem **ġar*- ‘‘skin, hide, fur’’: Ug *gr*, Hbr *or*.

Cf. Hss *gereret* ‘‘bag, sack’’?

CCh **ɣar*- ‘‘skin’’: Gis *gar-ak*.

Suffix -*ak* in Gis.

ECh **gar*- ‘‘skin’’: Smr *gare*, Ndam *gari*.

1008 **ġarub*- ‘‘darkness’’

Sem **ġarb*- ‘‘sunset, evening’’: Akk *erbu*, Hbr *ereb*, Gz *arab*, Hss *garb*.

Cf. **ġVrVb*- ‘‘be dark’’: Arab *grb*, Gz *rb*.

WCh **rubah*- ‘‘darkness’’: Sura *rap*, Ang *rāp*, Say *rub-gir*, Dwot *rup-žur*.

Metathesis.

CCh **rub*- < **rubVH*- ‘‘darkness’’: Mtk *ruva*.

Metathesis.

Note that **ġurab*- ‘‘raven, crow’’ and **ġarub*- ‘‘darkness’’ may be etymologically connected. Cf. Slav **vorǫbъ* ‘‘raven, crow’’ = **vorǫbъ* ‘‘black’’.

1009 *ġawa³- “deceive”

Sem *ġū³- “deceive, tempt”: Arab *ġw*³ [-a-].

CCh **raw*- “lie” (n.): Chb *ḫawi*.

Deverbative formation.

1010 *ġawaġ- “locust”

Sem *ġawġ-a²- “locust (beginning to fly)”: Arab *ġawġā*²-.

WCh **nV-ġwaġ*- < **nV-ġVwaġ*- “locust”: Ang *gwo*k, Ank *ngok*.

Prefix **nV*-.

Reduplication?

1011 *ġa3-/ *ġu3- “keep, gather”

Sem *ġuz- “keep, cling to”: Arab *ġzz* [-u-].

CCh **ra3*- “collect, gather (in big amounts)”: Mafa *haz*-.

Alternation **a* ~ **u*.

1012 *ġer- “town”

Sem *ġīr- “town”: Hbr *‘īr*.

ECh **gyar*- “house”¹, “village”²; Dng *ger*¹, Mig *ger*¹, Jegu *gēr*²,

Mubi *gir*¹, Bid *geeru*¹, Jegu *geer*².

Cf. partial reduplication in Mig *gēger* “village”.

1013 *ġiċ- “be bad”

Sem **ġat*-/**ġiġ*- “be thin, be bad”: Arab *ġtt* [-a-, -i-].

Traces of *a*-grade?

CCh **riċ*- “be insufficient”: Mafa *hiċ*-.

1014 *ġor- “punish”

WCh **gwar*- “discipline (a person), break in (a horse)”: Hs *hōrā*.

Rift **hwar*- “beat hard”¹, punish”²: Irq *hwar*-¹, Asa *har*-².

1015 *ġor- “crow”

WCh **gwar*- “crow”: Sura *gōwōw*.

CCh **γVr*- “crow”: Glv (*γaya*-)*ḫəra*.

ECh **gVr*- “crow”: Ndam *ṽagra*.

Agaw **ḫur*- “crow”: Kem *ḫorai*.

Rift **hwa³ar*- “crow”: Irq *hwa³ari*, Bur - *ḫwarariya*, Asa *ḥohora³i*.

Secondary inlaut laryngeal.

Descriptive root.

1016 *ġuf- “grain, flour”

Sem **ġVpVγ*- “clean, hull (grain)”: Arab *ġfy*.

Denominative verb.

CCh **γup*- “flour”: FK *uyupu*, FG *ḫupwu*, Glv *ṽaxupiya*, Zgh *kufe*,

Gava *ḫupiya*, Nak *ḫaxpiya*, Mtk *gwufa*, Log *mu-ḫbī*.

Partial reduplication in Nak.

1017 *ġufir- “antelope”

Sem **ġupr*- “young gazelle”¹, “young of deer”²: Hbr *‘ōper*¹,

Arab *ġufr*-².

WCh **fir*- < **ġVfir*- “antelope”: Ang *fīr*.

Any connection with MMs **ṽafor*- “antelope” (Asa *ṽofor-ok*, Kwz *aful-atu*)?

1018 *ġulum- “young man”

Sem **ġulām*- “young man, young slave”: Hbr *‘elem*, Aram (Syr)

‘elaymō, Arab *ġulām*-.

**u* > **a* in contact with a labial. Arab *ġlm* “be lascivious” may be a secondary derivative from the present noun.

ECh **hulum*- < **ġulum*- “man”: Kera *hulum*.

Note the irregular development of the initial **ġ*-.

Cf. HS **ġol*- > CCh **γwal*- “child”: Log *γ’oli*, Bud *ūli*?

1019 *ġum- “cover, shut”

Sem **ġum*- “cover”: Arab *ġmm* [-u-].

WCh **ġum*- “shut”: Mnt *gwum*.

1020 *ġurab- “raven, crow”

Sem *ġurāb- “raven”¹, “Egyptian vulture”²: Arab *ġurāb*-¹, Hss *ye-ġereb*¹, Mhr *yeġerayb*¹, Shh *ēġereb*¹, Soq *a^creb*².

Different vocalism is represented in Akk *ārību*, Hbr *ōreb*.

ECh **gurVb*- “crow”: Jegu *gurb-aak*.

HEC **gurub*- “crow”: Bmb *gurruba*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. CCh **γVrVb*- “dove” (HGh *xərbe*)[?] The root is derived from **gor*- “crow”.

1021 *ġural- “genitals”

Sem **ġurl*- “foreskin”: Akk *urulla*, Hbr *‘orlā*, Aram (Syr) *‘urlūtō*, Arab *ġurl-at*.

Assimilation of vowels.

ECh **gural*- “testicles”: Mubi *gurli*, Brg *gulaali*, Jegu *gulle*, Dng *gulla*, Bid *gula*, Mig *golile*.

Assimilation to **gula*- in most languages.

Rift **gula*- “testicles” (Kwz *gulala*, Asa *gulala*) was borrowed from ECh.

1022 *ġuwut- “dig”

Sem **ġūt*- “dig”: Arab *ġwt* [-u-].

WCh **ġu[w]ut*- “dig, scratch”: Ngz *guutu*.

CCh **nV-yut*- “dig”: Gude *ngud*-, Mwl *uḡḡḡḡḡ*, Gudu *guḡḡḡ*.

Prefix **nV*-. Note that in Gudu the root is preserved without a prefix.

1023 *ġVpar- “clothes”

Sem **ġVpar*- “kind of clothes”: Akk *epartu*.

Cf. Akk *apāru*, *epēru* “cover the head”, Arab *ġfr* “cover”.

Eg *‘pr* “clothes” (gr).

A cultural *Wanderwort*?

1024 *ġūr- “raid, plunder”

Sem **ġVwVr*- “raid, attack” (v.): Arab *ġwr*, Hss *šew-ġōr*.

Eg *‘wɣy* “plunder”.

*-r- > Eg -ɣ-

CCh **γVr*- “kill”: Mofu *hər*.

Related to **ġar*- “army, raid”.

*C

1025 *‘ab- “be big”

Sem **‘VbVy*- “be thick”¹, “be big”²: Akk *ebū*¹, Hbr *‘ābe*¹, Aram (Syr) *‘bī*², Arab *‘by*¹, Gz *‘abiy*².

Formation based on **‘Vb*-.

HEC **‘abb*- “be big”: Kmb *abba*.

1026 *‘ab- “tree”

Eg *‘ɣb* “tree” (pyr).

-ɣ- stands for a vowel.

ECh **‘ab*- “tree”: Brg *‘abi*.

1027 *‘ab- “drink”

Sem **‘Vb*- “gulp, swallow in one draught”: Arab *‘bb*.

SA **‘ab*-/**‘ub*- “drink”: Afar -*a^cab*-, -*a^cub*-, Saho -*ō^cob*-.

LEC **‘abb*- “drink”: Som *‘abb*-.

Cf. CCh **Hub-wak*- “drink”: Nak *xuboka*?

1028 *‘abal- “be big, be thick”

Sem **‘Vbal*-/**‘Vbul*- “be thick”: Arab *‘bl* [-a-, -u-].

Secondary *-u-.

WCh **baHal*- “big”¹, “be abundant”²: Bks *ḡal*¹, DB *ḡal*².

Metathesis.

ECh **bVHVl*- “big”: Smr *ḡallē*, Ndm *ḡə:l*.

Metathesis.

Cf. also partial reduplications in CCh **ba-bal-* ‘big’ (Msg *bobolo*) and ECh **bwa-bVl-* ‘big’ (Kera *boblo*).

1029 *‘abod- ‘slave’

Sem *‘*abd-* ‘slave’: Hbr ‘*ebed*, Aram (Syr) ‘*abdō*, Arab ‘*abd-*, SAR ‘*bd*.

*‘*VbVd-* ‘work’ (v.) seems to be a denominative.

WCh *‘*bawad-* < *‘*baHwad-* ‘slave’: Zar *bad-am*, Say *bawəd-n*.

Zar -*a-* is a result of contraction. Metathesis.

CCh *‘*bud-* < *‘*buHVd-* ‘slave’: Lmn *vəda*, Dgh *vəda*, Zgh *vuda*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *‘*ba‘od-*.

1030 *‘abül- ‘leaf’

Sem *‘*Vbil-* ‘fall (of leaves)’: Arab ‘*bl* [-i-].

Denominative verb.

CCh *‘*bV‘ul-* ‘grass, leaf’: Zgh *ħule*.

LEC *‘*baHal-* ‘leaf’: Or *baala*, Arb *baal*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels.

Cf. also WCh *‘*bVl-* ‘flower’ (Dera *bəlei*) and ECh *‘*bil-* ‘flower, grass, leaf’ (Kwn *bə:le*, Mubi *bil-bil-ič*, Mkk -*bile*).

1031 *‘acem- ‘leg’

Eg *sm* ‘leg (of falcon)’ (pyr).

Metathesis.

WCh *‘*acVm-* ‘leg’: Kry *cuma-kə*, Diri *ašəma*, Paa *cim-un*, Siri *cuma*, Mbu *cəma*, Pol *asəm*, *ašən*, Zem *asəm*, Kir *wasəm*.

CCh *‘*cyam-* ‘leg’: LPe *šem*, Zime *sam*, Msm *sem*, Bnn *siyema*.

First syllable lost.

Phonetic variant of *‘*ačem-* ‘bone’?

1032 *‘acib- ‘pile up’

WCh *‘(*HV*)*cib-* ‘pile up’: Hs *çiba*.

Agaw *‘*acib-* ‘pile up’: Bil *ašib-*.

Note *‘- as one of two reflexes of HS *‘- in Agaw.

SA *‘*asab-* ‘add’: Saho ‘*asab-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

1033 *‘açar- ‘year’

Sem *‘*ašr-* ‘time, age’: Arab ‘*ašr-*.

WCh *‘*çar-* ‘year’: Tng *sər*.

CCh *‘*car-* ‘time’: Glv *sar-ta*, Mnd *sar-te*.

*‘*a-* may be a prefix.

1034 *‘ačuč- ‘insect’

Sem *‘*att-* ‘moth’: Akk *ašāšu*, Hbr ‘*āš*, Aram ‘*aššā*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh *‘*učač-* ‘ant’: DB ‘*ušaas*.

CCh *‘*čiči-* ‘louse’: Mnd *čāča*, Glv *čāča*, Zgh *čiči*, Glv *cica*.

Loss of the initial laryngeal.

ECh *‘*ačuč-* ‘ant’: Kera *ačuči*.

Metathesis of vowels in WCh and CCh.

1035 *‘ačab- ‘container’

Sem *‘*ačab-* ‘vessel’: Hbr ‘*ašab*, Arab ‘*ažab-*.

WCh *‘*čab-* ‘bag’: Ang *čep*.

LEC *‘*čaHab-* ‘bowl’: Or *čaabii*.

Metathesis.

1036 *‘ačem- ‘bone’

Sem *‘*ačm-* ‘spine’¹, ‘bone’², ‘back’³: Akk *ešem-sēru*¹, Ug ‘*zm*², Hbr ‘*ešem*², Aram (Jud) ‘*itmā*², Arab ‘*ažm-*², Gz ‘*āšm*², Hss ‘*ažemet*³, Mhr ‘*āžemēt*³.

WCh *‘*čyam-* ‘bone’¹, ‘shin-bone’²: Brw *cem*¹, Fyer *sem*².

No traces of the anlaut laryngeal.

*‘*a-* may be a prefix.

1037 *‘aĉ- “bird”

Eg ʕʕ “kind of bird” (MK).

-ʕ stands for a vowel.

WCh *yaĉi- “bird”: Say yaʃi, Buli iʃ, Geji yaʃi.

*y- < *H-.

CCh *ʔaʃ- “turtle dove”: Chb ʔaʃa.

1038 *‘aĉer- “clan, member of the clan”

Sem *‘ašir- “clan”¹, “friend”², “family”³: Arab ʕašir-^{1 2 3}, SAR ʕšr-t¹.

WCh *HVĉ(y)ar- “person of the same age”¹, “friend”²: Hs ɕārā¹, Sura šār², Ang šēr², Mnt ɕai-na², Dera šer², Tng ser², Glm ɕor².

Cf. Eg šr, šry “friend” (pyr) reflecting no laryngeal in the anlaut.

1039 *‘aĉ- “bite”

Sem *‘aʕ- “bite”: Arab ʕa [-a-].

WCh *‘aĉwa- “bite”¹, “eat”²: Hs gāĉā¹, Sura at¹, Ang at¹, Krk haĉu-², Dera aʕe², Tng ʔeĉ-², Ngm haĉ-², Bele oĉu-², Krk aĉu-², Gera haĉ-², Glm ary-², Grm aĉ-², Fyer ʔet-², Klr wod¹.

Cf. Eg wšĉ “eat, chew” (med)?

1040 *‘aĉed- “hand, arm”

Sem *‘aʕid-/‘aʕud- “arm”: Arab ʕaʕid-, ʕaʕud-.

CCh *ʕyaĉa- “hand, arm”: Log ʕaĉe, Gul ʕede, Kus sedē.

From *(HV)ĉed-, with a shift of emphatization.

1041 *‘aĉib- “sharp weapon”

Sem *‘aʕb- “sabre”: Arab ʕaʕb-.

ECh *cib- “knife”: Lele sibi, Kwn sibi.

Initial *HV- is lost.

*‘a- may be a prefix.

1042 *‘ad- “go”

Sem *‘adaw- “run”¹, “cross over, pass by”²: Arab ʕdw [-u-]¹, Gz ʕdw².

Based on *‘ad-.

ECh *ʔad- “follow”¹, “go out”²: Dng āde¹, Mkk ʔuĉde².

Emphatization caused by the anlaut laryngeal *‘- > *‘-.

LEC *ʔad- “go”: Som aad-.

HEC *had- “go”: Sid haadi.

Note *h- < *‘-.

Omot *ʔaĉ- “go”: Ome aad-, Ari ada.

Emphatic *d may reflect an old *‘ > *ʔ.

Rift *‘ad- “go, tread”: Irq ada-ha, Asa adi.

Verb *Vd- “pass” (Kby ʕeddi) may be borrowed from Arab.

1043 *‘adas- “bean, seed”

Sem *‘adaš- “lentil”: Hbr ʕadāšā, Arab ʕadas-.

CCh *HVda[s]- “seed”: Bch ɕas-ito.

If not *daʒ-, cf. Mwl dazo id.

1044 *‘adaw- “fish”

Eg ʕdw, ʕdw “kind of fish” (XVIII).

ECh *daw- “fish”: Tum doo, Kwn do.

From *HVdaw-?

*‘a- may be a prefix.

1045 *‘adil- “be true, be just”

Sem *‘Vdil- “be just”: Arab ʕdl [-i-].

CCh *diyal- < *diHal- “truth”: Bch diyalo, Daba ma-delele.

Metathesis. Partial reduplication and prefix *ma- in Daba.

An alternative reconstruction is *diʕal-.

1046 *‘af- “grass, plant”

Sem *‘aḫ- “rush, reed”: Akk aḫu.

Eg ʕf.t “kind of plant” (med).

CCh *ʔaf- “grass”: Mba ʔaf.

1047 *°af- “health”

Sem *°āpiy- “health”: Arab °āfiy-at-, Hss °āfyet, Mhr °āfyēt, Shh °āfyet.

ECh *°af- “health”: Mubi aḥi.

Both Sem and ECh may be deverbative formations going back to HS *°uf- “be healthy”.

1048 *°afur- “dust, sand”

Sem *°apar- “dust, earth”: Akk eperu, Ug °pr, Hbr °āpār, Aram (Syr) °aprō, Arab °afar-, °afr-, Har aḥār.

*-u- > *-a- after a labial.

CCh *°Hafur- “ground”: Boka fur-ta, Gaa fār-ta, Mafa vara.

In Mafa v- < *H(V)f-.

Derived from *°far- “clay, earth”.

1049 *°afaw-/°afay- “leaf, plant”

Sem *°upVy- “twig, foliage”: Hbr °opī.

Secondary *-u-.

Eg fzy.t “kind of plant” (med).

-j- stands for *-a-.

WCh *°af-°afaw- “leaf”: Klr °afafaw.

Partial reduplication.

Derived from *°af- “grass, plant”. Consonantal alternation

*-w- ~ *-y-.

1050 *°afüç- “be bitter”

Sem *°apiš- “bitter”: Arab °afiš-.

CCh *°fuc- “salt”: Ngw fəca.

Hwn reflects a CCh word for ash.

*°a- may be a prefix.

1051 *°ag- “strike”

Eg °g “strike” (MK).

-j- reflects HS *-a-.

ECh *°ag- “drum” (v.)¹, “beat”²: Ndm age¹, Mkk °igg-².

1052 *°agom- “tree”

Sem *°agm- “palm tree”: Arab °agm-at-.

WCh *°agwam- “mahogany”¹, “Balantes egypt.”²: Miya agam²,

Jmb agwama¹, Ngz aguma-k¹.

LEC *°agam- “kind of bush”: Or agam-sa.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. CCh *°gwagwam- < *°agwam- “bread tree” (Msg gogom) with assimilation ° - g > g - g.

1053 *°agor- “bird”

Sem *°agūr- “crane”: Hbr °āgūr.

ECh *°gwar- “heron”: Smr gwara.

No traces of the anlaut laryngeal.

1054 *°aḥ- “earth, field”

Eg °ḥ.t “field” (OK).

CCh *°ḥax- “earth”¹, “clay”²: Gbn ḥaxa¹, FKl ḥaxəy¹, Gis hahay².

Assimilation of laryngeals.

1055 *°ak- “be hot; fire”

Sem *°ik-/°uk- “be hot”: Arab °kk [-i-, -u-].

Secondary vocalism?

WCh *°akwa- “fire”: Diri akuwa, Miya aku, Cagu ākwe, Jmb akwa, Ngz aka.

CCh *°Vkk- “hot”: Log kku.

ECh *°ak(k)wa- “fire”: Mig okko, Jegu °ook. Bid ako, Brg °aku, Sok oko.

Nominal formation.

1056 *°ak- “know, see”

Eg °k “learn” (a).

Agaw *°ak- “see, know”: Kwr ax-, Dmb ax-, Kem ax-, Aun -aq-, Dmt -ak-.

LEC *°Hak- “know”¹, “see”²: Gel ok-¹, Kon -ak-, -yak-², Bus haake², Gdl -ak-, -aki².

Irregular laryngeal reflexes as well as unexpected non-emphatic *-k-. Is this really a continuation of *ʕak-?

1057 *ʕakab- ‘hill, stone’

Sem *ʕakab- ‘hill’: Arab ʕaqab-at-.

WCh *kaḥ- < *kab- ‘polishing stone’: DB kaḥu.

Shift of emphatization.

*ʕa- may be a prefix. Semantically dubious.

1058 *ʕakid- ‘bind, spin’

Sem *ʕakid- ‘bind’¹, ‘knot’²: Hbr ʕqd¹, Arab ʕqd [-i-]².

CCh *kiyad- < *kiHad- ‘plait’: Bnn kiyedu.

Metathesis.

ECh *kVd- ‘untie’: Ndam kəḏə.

From *kVHVd- as in CCH?

An alternative reconstruction is *kiʕad-.

1059 *ʕal- ‘leaf’

Sem *ʕal- ‘leaf, foliage’: Hbr ʕāle, Aram ʕelw- (Syr).

WCh *ʕal- ‘leaf’: Pero alaw, Jmb alu-hu.

1060 *ʕal- ‘rise’

Sem *ʕVVy- ‘rise, climb’: Hbr ʕly.

Based on biconsonantal *ʕVl-.

Berb *ʕal- ‘be suspended’: Ahg ali.

CCh *ʕal- ‘jump’: Masa halla.

Irregular Masa h-.

ECh *ʕal- ‘climb’: Kwn ale, Kera li.

Related to *ʕal- ‘top’.

1061 *ʕal- ‘top’

Sem *ʕal- ‘top, height, upper part’: Hbr ʕāl, Arab ʕal-.

SA *ʕal- ‘mountain’: Saho ʕal.

LEC *ʕal- ‘mountain’: Som ʕal-, Rnd ḥal-.

Note Rnd ḥ-.

1062 *ʕalak- ‘tie, untie’

Sem *ʕalak- ‘be attached’¹, ‘hang, be suspended’: Arab ʕlq [-a-]¹, Hss ʕayleq².

WCh *lak- ‘untie’: Dera lake.

*ʕa- may be a prefix.

1063 *ʕalal- ‘drink, chew’

Sem *ʕVVI- ‘drink for the second time’: Arab ʕll.

LEC 2*ʕalal- ‘chew’: Som ʕalaal-, Kns alal-, Gid alal-.

Reduplication?

1064 *ʕam- ‘eat’

Eg ʕm ‘swallow’ (n).

Rift *ʕam- ‘chew’: Kwz am-.

Cf. Irq ayim id.

Descriptive stem.

1065 *ʕam- ‘relative, friend’

Sem *ʕamm- ‘relative’¹, ‘uncle’², ‘ancestor’³: Hbr ʕam¹, Arab ʕamm-², Hss ʕōm³, Mhr ʕōm³, Shh ʕom³.

CCh *ʕwam- < *ʕamu- ‘guest’: Bch ʕomey, Nz womε.

Dhl ʕame ‘uncle’.

1066 *ʕam- ‘people’

Sem *ʕamm- ‘people’¹, ‘crowd’²: Akk ummānu¹, Hbr ʕam¹, Arab ʕamm-².

Derivative in Akk.

Rift *ʕVm- ‘people, crowd’: Irq imi, Alg imi.

Assimilation of vowels.

Connected with *ʕam- ‘relative, friend’?

1067 *^camVw- “plant”

Sem *^camVw- “kind of plant”: Akk *amû*.

Cf. Arab ^cam-at- id.

Eg ^cmw.t “field plant” (XVIII).

-j- stands for *-a-.

1068 *^can- “be tired, be ill”

Sem *^cVna³-/*^cVnay- “be tired”: Arab ^cn³, ^cny [-a-].

Based on *^can-.

WCh *^can- “ache” (v.): Bks *han*.

ECh *³ani- “illness”: Mkk ³eni.

Mkk -e- < *-a- under the influence of -i.

Related to *^cVnaw-/*^cVnay- “work, make”?

1069 *^can-/*^cin- “exist”

Sem *^cin-/*^cun- “appear”: Arab ^cnn [-i-, -u-].

Agaw *³an-/*³in- “be”: Bil *en-*, *in-*, Xmr *an-*, Kwr *en-*.

Bed ³an- “be”.

SA *³an-/*³in- “be”: Saho *-in(n)-*, *-an-*.

HEC *³on- “be”: Had *yon-*, Kmb *yon-*.

Phonetically not quite clear. Probably, from *³i-³on-?

1070 *^cana3- “goat, ram”

Sem *^canz- “she-goat”: Akk *enzu*, Ug ^cz, Hbr ^cēz, Aram (Syr) ^cezzā,

Arab ^canz-.

WCh *^ca3an- “ram”: Bks ³azan.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *^ca3an-.

1071 *^canduk- “navel, nipple”

WCh *^cHVnduk- “heart”: Fyer *nduk*.

CCh *^cbu-³induk- “heart, chest”: Lame *vəinduku*, *vunduku*.

Prefix *^cbu-. The root vowel *-i- is not clear.

SA *^chondub- “navel”: Saho *hondub*, Afar *hondub*.

Unexpected *-b and irregular h-. A loanword?

HEC *^cmudukk- < *^cmu-³Vdu(n)k-, *^chandur- “navel”: Sid *mudukko*, Bmb *handura*.

Prefix *^cmu- in Sid. Bmb looks like a loanword (from SA?).

Wrz *^cadunk- “nipple, breast”: War *aadunku*, Gaw ^cadunko, Cam *adunku*.

*d > ḏ is influenced by *^c-.

Rift *^cmudung- < *^cmu-³Vdung- “navel”: Gor *murungu*, Alg *murungu*.

In Cush the prototype is reconstructed as *^cadunk- which may be also an alternative HS reconstruction. At least, some of the Cush forms were borrowed and reborrowed. A very irregular and problematic root.

1072 *^canon- “breast, chest”

Eg ^cnn.t “part of the body” (pyr).

The meaning is not definite.

WCh *^cnwan- “breast”: Hs *nōno*.

From *^cHVnwan-.

HEC *³anon- “breast”: Sid *ununa*, *unuuna*, Dar *unuuna*, Had *anoona*, Ala *onoona*, Bmb *ununa*, Kmb *anuuna*.

Various assimilations of vowels in individual languages.

1073 *^car- “stone, rock”

Eg ^cr “small stone” (n).

Cf. also ^c3.t “precious stone” (a).

ECh *³ar- “rock”: Kbl *arra*.

1074 *^carek- “see, understand”

Eg ^cr_k “understand” (XVIII).

Agaw *³arik- “understand, know”: Xmr *arek-*, Xmt *arek*, *aarq^w*.

LEC *³are[k]- “see”: Som *ark-*, *areg-*, Or *arga*, Boni *ark-*, Gel *argiyē*.

Unexpected reflexes of *_k.

1075 *³ariw- “tree”

Eg ^crw “tree” (med).

WCh *^cariway- “tree”: Bol *rewe*, Tng *riya*, Ngm *roya*, Siri *aruwai*, Kry *riwai*.

Derivative in -ay-.

CCh *^ʔariway- ‘‘tamarind’’: Gava *riwe*, Zgh *arwe*, Nak *iriwey*.

Derivative in -ay-. Assimilation of vowels in Nak.

1076 *a^ʔuw- ‘‘give, pay’’

Sem *^ʔV₁Vw- ‘‘give (a present)’’: Arab *ʕw*.

ECh *^ʔatuw- ‘‘pay’’: Ndm *atuwe*.

1077 *^ʔaw- ‘‘goat, bull’’

Eg *ʕw.t* ‘‘sheep and goats’’ (OK).

CCh *^ʔaw- ‘‘she-goat’’: Gis ^ʔ*aw*, Bld ^ʔ*awa*.

Rift *^ʔaw- ‘‘bull’’: Irq *aw*, Alg *aw*, Bur *aw*.

1078 *^ʔawag- ‘‘roast’’

Eg *ʕw* ‘‘roast’’ (BD).

ECh **waHag*- ‘‘roast, burn’’: Ndam *woga*, Kwn *wage*, Ndam *wuga*,

Dng *ogiye*, Tum *waag*.

Metathesis.

*^ʔV- may be a prefix. Cf. also Dhl *hag^w*- ‘‘boil’’ < **HagVw*-.

1079 *^ʔawan- ‘‘palm tree’’

Sem *^ʔawān- ‘‘big palm’’: Arab *ʕawān-at*.

CCh **hawan-H*- ‘‘date palm’’: Gis *huway*, Mafa *hawan*.

Unexpected initial **h*-. Probably, the original form contained a prefix: **ha-ʕawan*-. Secondary -*u*- in Gis.

1080 *^ʔawar- ‘‘give back, return’’

Sem *^ʔūr- ‘‘pay debts’’: Arab *ʕwr* [-*u*].

WCh **waHar*- ‘‘give back, lend’’: Tng *ware*, DB *weer*, Bol ^ʔ*ar*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **waʕar*-.

1081 *^ʔawar-/*^ʔayar- ‘‘donkey’’

Sem *^ʔayr- ‘‘donkey’’ ¹, ‘‘young donkey’’ ²: Ug ^ʔ*r* ¹, Hbr *ʕayir* ²,
Aram *ʕēr* ¹, Arab *ʕayr* ¹.

Eg ^ʔ*ʔ* ‘‘donkey’’ (OK).

Sem loanword? In any case, the inlaut sonant is not graphically expressed. -^ʔ- < *-*r*-.

Omot *^ʔawar- ‘‘horse’’: Kaf *awaroo*, Mao *wōore*.

Consonantal alternation *-*w*- ~ *-*y*-.

1082 *^ʔawil- ‘‘genitals’’

WCh *^ʔyawil- < *^ʔawil- ‘‘testicles’’ ¹, ‘‘vulva’’ ²: Krk ^ʔ*ilaa* ¹, Dera
jiwulu ¹, Say *wəla* ¹, Fyer *wul* ².

Secondary vocalism in Dera.

Bed ^ʔ*awil* ‘‘vagina’’.

Agaw *^ʔawil- ‘‘vagina’’: Bil *ʕawil-too*.

1083 *^ʔawur- ‘‘hole’’

Sem *^ʔawr- ‘‘cleft’’: Arab *ʕawr-at*.

CCh **wur*- ‘‘hole’’: HNk *wuře*.

**HV*- lost.

*^ʔa- may be a prefix. Cf. WCh **wur*- ‘‘dig (a hole)’’: Tng *wure*.

1084 *^ʔayVn- ‘‘eye’’

Sem *^ʔayn- ‘‘eye’’: Akk *īnu*, Ug ^ʔ*n*, Hbr *ʕayin*, Aram (Syr) *ʕaynō*,
Arab *ʕayn*-, Gz *ʕayn*.

Eg ^ʔ*n*, ^ʔ*yn* ‘‘eye’’ (a).

Borrowing from Sem?

Omot *^ʔan- ‘‘eye’’: Gim *an*.

Regular development from *^ʔayn-?

1085 *^ʔaž- ‘‘fish’’

Eg ^ʔ*d*, ^ʔ*dw* ‘‘kind of fish’’ (BD).

ECh *^ʔač- < *^ʔaž- ‘‘sardine’’: Kera *ačō*.

Irregular unvoicing of the affricate.

Agaw *ʿaǰ- ‘fish’: Bil ʿaǰaa, Xmr ʿazaa, Kwr azaa, Kem azaa, asaa,
Aun asi, Dmt asii.

SA *ʿaǰ- ‘fish’: Saho ʿaazaa.

Note SA *ǰ- < HS *ǰ-.

1086 *ʿaǰ- ‘sun’

Eg ʿd ‘sun’ (gr).

CCh *ǰaǰ- ‘sun’: Bud āǰi.

LEC *ǰaǰ- ‘sun’: Or aduu.

Note LEC *ǰ- < HS *ǰ-.

Dhl ʿado ‘sun’.

1087 *ʿaǰ-/ʿiǰ- ‘river’

Eg ʿd ‘waters’ (BD).

WCh *ʿaǰ- ‘rivulet’: Klr ʿaǰi.

CCh *ǰiǰ- ‘river’: Lame iǰe.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

1088 *ʿeb- ‘bird’

Eg ʿbw ‘kind of bird’ (MK).

Suffix -w.

WCh *Hyabi- ‘hen’¹, ‘chicken’²: Bol yawi¹, Dera yāwe¹, Tng
yabe¹, Pero yabe¹, Ngm yabi¹, Krf yibbi², Gera yibi², Glm
yūwu², Grm ibbi².

1089 *ʿel- ‘see’

Berb *ʿVL- ‘see’: Izy aʿlu.

Unexpectedly preserved HS *ʿ-.

WCh *yal- ‘see’: Zar yel, Dwot yeliy, Wnd yele.

From *Hyal-.

ECh *Hyal- ‘look’: Brg heeli.

Brg h- < *ʿ- is not regular. The form may continue a prefixal
pattern *HV-ʿyal-.

LEC *ʿil- ‘look!’ (imper.): Or ilaa.

Dhl ʿeley- ‘know’.

1090 *ʿelal- ‘look’

ECh *ʿyalVL-/ʿwalVL- ‘look’: Mig ʿello, Mkk woll-.

Agaw *ʿalal- ‘look’: Bil ʿalāl.

Assimilation of vowels.

SA *ʿilal- ‘wait’¹, ‘look’²: Saho ilaal-¹, Afar ilal-².

LEC *ʿilal- ‘watch’¹, ‘look’²: Som ilaali-¹, Or ilaala-².

Partial reduplication of *ʿel- ‘see’. It is quite possible that
some of the Cush forms result from cross-borrowings.

1091 *ʿen- ‘vessel’

Berb *yVn- < *HVyVn- ‘plate’: Ghd ta-yyin-t.

Loss of *H-.

Eg ʿn ‘vessel’ (OK).

CCh *ʿyani- ‘pot’: Hwn ʿina, Daba yen.

1092 *ʿen-ʿen- ‘monkey’

Eg ʿnʿn ‘baboon’ (pyr).

WCh *ʿyamyān- ‘monkey’: Fyer yamēn, Sha amen, Klr rimen.

Probably, goes back to *ʿyan-ʿyan- with dissimilation of nasals.

Reduplication. A descriptive stem?

1093 *ʿeray- ‘river’

Eg ʿry ‘waters’ (gr).

CCh *ʿyaray- ‘river’: Mba re, Msg erē.

1094 *ʿib-/ʿub- ‘breast, bosom’

Berb *ʿab- ‘breast’: Ghat abbui.

Secondary *a before a labial?

CCh *ʿub- ‘breast’: Dgh uḥa, Mnd ube, Glv uba, Gdf uḥa.

LEC *ʿib- ‘nipple’: Som ʿib.

Alternation *i ~ *u. Descriptive stem?

1095 *‘i-çir- “bird”

Sem *‘içur- “bird”: Akk *içšuru*, Ug *çır*.

Secondary *-u-? Cf. *‘çepur-.

Rift *‘ciraç- “bird”: Irq *tsir^çi*, Alg *cira^ça*, Bur *cira^ça*, Asa *šira^aa*.

Metathesis.

Derived from *‘çir- “bird”.

1096 *‘içVd- “harvest” (v.)

Sem *‘VçVd- “harvest” (v.): Akk *ešēdu*, Gz *çd*.

ECh *‘siHVd- “harvest” (v.): Dng *siçde*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *‘çiVd-.

1097 *‘iç- “do, make”

Sem *‘VçVy- “do, make”: Ug *ç¹y*, Hbr *çy*, SAR *çy*.

ECh *‘iç- “do, work”: Mkk *içe*.

Agaw *‘iç- “do, make”: Bil *es-*, *is-*, Xmr *içš-*, Kwr *içš-*, Dmb *es-*.

SA *‘is- “do, make”: Saho *is-*, *içš-*, Afar *is-*.

HEC *‘is- “do”: Bmb *içš-*.

Rift *‘es-im- “do, act”: Alg *içsim-*, Bur *içsim-*.

Irregular *-s-. Rift may be borrowed from one of Cush branches.

1098 *‘idar-/‘yadar- “flock, herd”

Sem *‘Vdr- “flock, herd”: Hbr *ēder*.

Eg *idr* “flock, herd” (OK).

Borrowed from Sem?

SA *‘wadar- “cattle”: Afar *wadar*.

An ancient alternation *y- ~ *w- in the anlaut or an irregular development of *y- > *w- in SA?

All correspondences in the anlaut are irregular. Cf. also WCh

*‘nV-dur- “ram”: Sha *n^çdur*, DB *n^çduur*, Bks *n^adur*.

1099 *‘ig- “fat, grease”

Eg *çd* “fat, grease” (OK).

Progressive palatalization of *g.

CCh *‘ig- “fat”: Bud *ma-ige*.

Prefix *ma-*.

ECh *‘yag-ay- “fat, grease”: Mkk *yegey*.

From *‘ig-ay-.

1100 *‘igal- “cow, calf”

Sem *‘igl- “calf”¹, “young of animals”²: Ug *çgl¹*, Hbr *ēgel¹*,
Aram (Syr) *çgl¹*, Arab *çigl¹*, Gz *çag^wel²*, Tgr *çagal¹*.

CCh *‘gyal- “cow”: Bura *gyel*.

Probably, from *‘giçal-.

Agaw *‘gall- “calf”: Bil *gär*, Kwr *gär*, Kem *gär*, Aun *gara*.

Omot *‘gal- “calf”: Ome *gallua*.

*‘i- may be a prefix unattested in Cush. Cf. HEC *‘gal-
“camel” (Bmb *gaale*)?

1101 *‘il- “eye”

CCh *‘il- “eye”: Bud *yel*, *yil*, Gul *el*, Lmn *ili*.

Agaw *‘il- “eye”: Bil *çil*, *çel*, Xmr *el*, *iel*, Xmt *el*, Kwr *el*, *yel*, Dmb
il, *yil*, Kem *yil*, Aun *el*, *ell*, *ill*.

LEC *‘il- “eye”: Som *il*, Or *ila*, Bay *il*, *ili*, Arb *ille*, Gel *iil*, Kon *il-da*,
Bus *il-ça*, Gdl *il-ta*.

HEC *‘ill- “eye”: Sid *illee*, Dar *ille*, Had *illi*, Ala *ille*, Bmb *ille*, Kmb
ille.

Dhl *içila* “eye”.

Mgg *ila* “eyes”.

Rift *‘il- “eye”: Irq *ila*, Alg *ila*, Bur *ila*, Asa, *içilat*, Kwz *ilito*.

1102 *‘ilay- “rise”

Sem *‘Vlaw-/‘çVlay- “be high”¹, “rise”², “cross”³: Akk *elû¹*,
Ug *çlw*, *çly¹*, Hbr *çlw*, *çly¹*, Aram *çlw*, *çly¹*, Arab *çly* [-a-]^{1 2}, SAR
çly³, Gz *çlw²*.

Eg *içr* “ascend” (l).

Metathesis.

WCh *‘yriçal-/‘çilay- “stand up”: Sura *yayal*, Ang *yayal*, Tng *içil*, Geji
hilya.

Metathesis.

Derived from *^cal- ‘‘rise’’.

1103 *^cim- ‘‘know, see’’

Eg ^cm ‘‘know’’ (n), Copt *^ɔimi id.: Fym *imi*, Boh *emi*, Shd *eime*.

WCh *^cim- ‘‘think’’: Tng *yim-*, Pero *yim*.

CCh *^ɔum- ‘‘teach’’: LPe *wum*.

ECh *^ɔum- ‘‘see’’: Mubi ^ɔum.

Secondary **u* in CCh and ECh.

1104 *^ciw-/*^ciy- ‘‘cry’’

Sem *^ciy- ‘‘cry’’: Arab ^cwy, Jib ^cwy.

Based on *^cVw-.

LEC *^ciy- ‘‘cry’’: Som ^ciy-, Bay *iy-*, Or *iy-*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1105 *^ciʒ- ‘‘man, child’’

Berb *^ɔiʒ- ‘‘men’’ (pl.): Zng *iʒ*.

Eg ^cdd ‘‘young one’’ (n).

The cluster *dd* stands for an affricate *ʒ.

1106 *^cog- ‘‘dig, cut’’

Eg ^cd ‘‘hoe’’ (v.) (pyr).

Palatalization of *-g- after a middle vowel.

ECh **yuwag-* ‘‘hoe’’ (v.) ¹, ‘‘plough’’ (v.) ²: Smr *yīgə* ², Tum *yəg* ¹,

Ndm *yə:gə* ¹, Lele *yagi* ¹, Kbl *yuwege* ².

ECh **yuwag-* may go back to **ywag-* < **Hwag-*.

1107 *^cog- ‘‘shout, call’’

Sem *^cVg-^cVg- ‘‘shout’’: Arab ^cg^cg.

Reduplication.

ECh *^cwag-/*^cwak- ‘‘call’’: Smr ^ɔwōgo, Sbn ^ɔwaga, Tum *wəg*, Kwn ^ɔoge.

Irregular consonantism. Two different roots?

1108 *^cokab- ‘‘vulture’’

Sem *^cukāb- ‘‘vulture’’: Arab ^cuqāb-, Hss ^ɔaqāb, Mhr ^ɔāqāb, Shh ^ceqeb.

CCh **kwab-* < **kwab-* ‘‘kite’’: Boka *koḥi*.

Shift of emphatization. The original source was **Hu-ḵab-*.

Cf. ECh **kwamb-* ‘‘eagle’’: Kera *kombe*.

1109 *^col- ‘‘be ill’’

Sem *^cVl- ‘‘be ill’’: Arab ^cll.

CCh **wal-* < **Hwal-* ‘‘ache’’ (v.): Bud *wel*.

Cf. WCh **la-* ‘‘ache’’ (v. and n.): Sura *laa*, Ang *le*.

1110 *^col- ‘‘snake, leech’’

CCh *^ɔwal- ‘‘snake’’: Msg *wala*.

ECh *^ɔyala- ‘‘snake’’: Brg ^ɔeli, Jegu ^ɔillo, Dng ^ɔaalo, Bid ^ɔaalo.

From *^ɔwala-?

LEC *^cola-^col- ‘‘leech’’: Som ^colaa^col.

Reduplication.

Omot *^ɔul- ‘‘leech’’: Ome *ulo*.

1111 *^cor- ‘‘grain, corn’’

Eg ^cwɔɔ ‘‘bread’’ (NK).

Vocalic -w-.

ECh *^ɔwar- ‘‘corn’’: Mubi *wār*.

Mubi may also reflect **waHVr-*.

1112 *^cor- ‘‘goat’’

Eg ^cr ‘‘she-goat’’ (med).

WCh *^cwaru- ‘‘he-goat’’: Mnt *ur*, Grk *ur*, Klr *war*.

ECh *^ɔwar- ‘‘goats’’ (pl.): Lele *ōrē*.

1113 *^coreb- ‘‘mix’’

Sem *^cVrVb- ‘‘mix’’: Hbr ^crb.

WCh **ryab-* ‘‘mix’’: Fyer *rep*.

*-b- > -p in the auslaut.

ECh *HwarVb- "mix": Kera *horbe*.

Irregular h-, cf. ECh s.v. **el*- "see" and **oruk*- "rub".

*o and *e are generally incompatible within one root.

1114 **oruk*- "rub"

Sem **Vruk*- "rub": Arab *rk* [-u-].

ECh *HwarVk- "rub": Kera *horke*.

Irregular h-.

1115 **otis*- "sneeze"

Sem **Vtiš*- "sneeze": Hbr *ʿtš*, Arab *ʿtš* [-i-, -u-], Gz *ʿtš*, Jib *ʿtəš*.

WCh **aʿtus*-/**waʿtus*- "sneeze": Hs *atušāwa*, Ngz *waatəši*.

Unclear *-u-.

CCh **ʷaʿtis*- "sneeze": Dgh *wdisa*, Log *qisa*, Bud *wattisi*.

ECh *Hwaʿtis- "sneeze": Mig *haddiso*, Mubi *attaša*, Brg *waqḏase*,

Mkk *waddiso*.

Assimilation of vowels in Mubi and Brg.

LEC **haʿtis*- "sneezing": Or *haʿtissoo*.

Omot **haʿtis*- "sneeze": Mch *həttissi(ye)*.

Cush forms go back to **haʿtis*-. Dhl *haadiδ*- id. is a loanword from LEC or Omot.

1116 **ub*- "dirt"

Sem **Vb*- "dung": Gz *əbā*, Tgr *iba*, Amh *əbāt*.

Eg *bw* "dirt" (sarc).

-w reflects a rounded vowel of the root.

CCh **ubi*- "faeces": Mrg *ubi*, Klb *ibi*, Hld *ʷubī*, Kap *uwyē*.

1117 **ubub*- "fish"

Eg *wbbw* "kind of fish" (reg).

In both cases, w is a vocalic sign.

WCh **Vbub*- "fish": Ang *bup*.

Reduplication in Sura *pupwap* id. Fyer *pupwap* id. may be borrowed from Sura.

1118 **učan*- "burn"

Sem **Vtun*- "smoke (of fire)" (v.): Arab *ʿtn* [-u-].

WCh **čan*- "burn": Sura *čan*, Chip *šan*, Mpn *čan*.

No traces of the anlaut laryngeal.

A denominative verb in Sem?

1119 **ud*- "count"

Sem **ud*- "count": Arab *ʿdd* [-u-], Hss *ʿadōd*, Mhr *ʿed*, Shh *ʿed*.

ECh **Vd*- "count": Brg *ʿeddi*.

Brg -e- is secondary.

1120 **uf*- "heal, cure"

Sem **VpVw*- "heal, cure": Arab *ʿfw*.

Based on **Vp*-.

CCh **uf*- "heal, care": Gava *ʷufa*, Nak *wufa*.

1121 **ufan*- "vessel"

Sem **upun*- "vessel": Akk *uppunu*.

Secondary *u after a labial.

Eg *ʿfn* "vessel" (gr).

WCh **fVn*- "calabash": Ngz *funa*, *fəna*.

Ngz -u- < -ə-.

CCh **fan*- "pot, calabash": Mba *fanay*.

Suffix *-ay-.

1122 **um*-*am*- "animal"

Sem **umām*- "animals": Akk *umāmu*.

From **um*-*am*-?

Eg *ʿm.w* "animal" (med).

Reduplication.

1123 **upel*- "hill, stone"

Sem **up(V)l*- "bulge, hill": Hbr *ʿopel*.

Cf. Akk *pīlu* "limestone"?

CCh **pyal*- “hill”¹, “stone”²: Bura *pyela*¹, Mofu *pəlay*².
Suffix *-ay* in Mofu.

**Cu-* may be a prefix.

1124 **CupVl-* “insect”

Sem **Cupl-* “louse”: Akk *uplu*.

Eg *Cpnn.t* “worm” (med).

Cluster *-nn* seems to reflect **-l-*.

1125 **Curag-* “be lame”

Sem **Crag-* “be lame”: Arab *Crg* [-*a-*].

Assimilation of vowels

WCh **CurVg-* “lame person”: Hs *gurgu*.

Deverbative formation with different vocalism.

1126 **Cüç-* “tree”

Sem **Cüç-* “tree”: Akk *işu*, *işşu*, Ug *Cş*, Hbr *Cēš*, Gz *Cēd*.

Cf. Arab *Cid-at* “kind of acacia”.

ECh **Cüç-* “fig tree”: Sok *ussē*.

1127 **CVbar-/C**Vbir-*** “run, walk”

Sem **CVbur-* “cross over”: Akk *ebēru*, Hbr *Cbr*, Arab *Cbr* [-*u-*], SAr *Cbr*.

**-u-* < **-a-* after a labial.

CCh **Cbar-* “run”: FJ *varu*.

ECh **Cbir-* “go”: Dng *birē*.

Dhl *Cariy-* “go out, depart”.

Cb- < **Cb-* after a laryngeal?

**CV-* may be a prefix.

1128 **CVbo*- “light, shine”

Eg *Cb* “light” (gr).

WCh **Cḫway-* < **CḫwaH-* “sun, day”: Bks *Cḫwe*, DB *Cḫwe*.

CCh **Cḫiy-* < **CḫiH-* “shine”: Dgh *Cḫiya*.

Secondary *-i-* before **y*?

**CV-* may be a prefix.

1129 **CVf-* “give”

Sem **CṼpVw-* “give”: Arab *Cfw*.

Based on **CṼp-*.

WCh **Cfa-* “give”: Fyer *Cfa*, Bks *Cfa*.

CCh **Cfa-/CḤVfa-* “give”: Gul *Cfā-re*, Log *va*, Mafa *va*, Bud *we*.

1130 **CVga*- “be weak”

Sem **CVgaz-/CṼgiz-* “be unable, be weak”¹, “be lazy”²: Arab *Cgz* [-*a-*, *-i-*]¹, Hss *Cāgōz*², Mhr *Cāgōz*¹, Shh *Cagoz*².

WCh **Cga*- “be tired”: Hs *gaži*.

No traces of the original laryngeal.

1131 **CṼha*^C*ay-* “maid”

Eg *Cḫy.t* “maid” (MK).

WCh **Cḫayay-* < **Cḫa*^C*ay-* “maid”: Cagu *Cḫayai*, Mbu *Cḫaya*, Jmb *Cḫaya*.

**CV-* may be a prefix. Note an unusual morphonological structure of this word. Is it an old compound?

1132 **CṼkaw-/CṼkay-* “tie, bind”

Sem **CṼkVw-* “make a knot (on the horse tail)”: Arab *Ckw* [-*u-*].

ECh **Ckay-* “weave”: Kwn *Cke*, Kera *Ckē*.

**CV-* may be a prefix. Consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*.

1133 **CṼkü*- “turn”

Sem **CṼkiš-* “turn upside down”: Arab *Cks* [-*i-*].

ECh **Ckus-* “turn”: Kbl *Ckusu*.

**CV-* may be a prefix.

1134 *V_{KAL}-/*V_{KIL}- “teach, be clever”

Sem *V_{KIL}- “be clever”: Arab *ʕl* [-i-].

ECh *HV_{KAL}- “teach”: Smr *gəl*, Tum *kəl*, Kbl *gələ*, Kwn *gal*.
g- < **k* in the originally intervocalic position?

The root may be connected with or derived from *V_{KĒ}- “be right, be true”. *V- may be a prefix.

1135 *V_{KĒ}- “be right, be true”

Eg *ʕə* “right, true” (MK).

CCh *k_{ya}- “correct”: Boka *keʕkeʕ*, Gaa *keʕkeʕ*.

Reduplication.

*V- may be a prefix. The correspondence is valid only if Eg -*ʕ* continues HS **-ʕ*. Otherwise, if -*ʕ*- reflects HS **-l-*, Eg *ʕə* should be placed together with cognates grouped under *V_{KAL}-/*V_{KIL}- “teach, be clever”.

1136 *V_{KÜP}- “weave, sew”

Sem *V_{KIP}- “twist”: Arab *ʕf* [-i-].

WCh *k_{up}- “weave”: Zar *kup*.

CCh *k_{ap}- “sew”: Lame *kap*.

Secondary vocalism?

ECh *k_{up}- “sew”: Tum *kup*.

*V- may be a prefix.

1137 *V_{LAL}- “do, build”

Sem *V_{LVL}- “do, act (severely)”: Hbr *ʕl*.

WCh *l_{al}- “build”: Tng *lal*.

Reduplication of **al*-/**il*- preserved in CCh **ʔil*- “build” (Dgh *ʔila*) and ECh **ʔal*- “make” (Smr *ʔal*).

1138 *V_{LIČ}- “mix”

Sem *V_{LIT}- “mix”: Arab *ʕt* [-i-].

ECh *l_{ič}- “mix”: Kwn *lise*, Ngm *lise*.

*V- may be a prefix.

1139 *V_N- “turn”

Sem *V_N- “displace”: Akk *enū*, Arab *ʕn*.

Eg *ʕn* “turn” (MK).

1140 *V_{NAW}-/*V_{NAY}- “work, make”

Sem *V_{NVW}- “produce (of land)”: Arab *ʕnw* [-u-].

WCh **nVj*- “work”: Fyer *nyi*.

CCh **naH*- < **nay*- “do, make”: Tera *nna*, Bud *na*.

ECh **nay*- “work”: Lele *ne*.

*V- may be a prefix. May be derived from **an*- “be tired, be ill”, cf., from the semantic point of view, cf. the history of Fr *travail*.

1141 *V_{NVŽAW}- “day, sunshine”

Eg *ʕndw* “sunshine” (pyr).

CCh **nVžaH*- < **nVžaw*- “day”: Mba *nžā*.

ECh **nVžaH*- < **nVžaw*- “day”: Tum *nžā*, Ndm *žā*, Kbl *žē*.

*V- may be a prefix.

1142 *V_{RU}- “near”

Eg *ʕrw* “closeness” (MK).

WCh **ru-ru*- “near, close”: Krk *ruru*.

Reduplication.

*V- may be a prefix.

1143 *V_{TUK}- “go”

Sem *V_{IVK}- “cross”: Akk *etēqu*.

WCh **tuk*- “go away”: Hs *tuḳa*.

No traces of *HV-.

*V- may be a prefix.

1144 *V_{TUN}- “push”

Sem *V_{TUN}- “push”: Arab *ʕtn* [-u-].

WCh *tVHun- “push”: Mpn *tūn*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *tV^{un}-.

1145 *Vti²- “be dark”

Sem *VtV²- “be dark”: Akk *etū*.

LEC *ti²- “become evening”: Or *ḏi²a*.

*V- may be a prefix.

1146 *Vžimb- “be sweet”

Sem *Vdub- “be sweet”: Arab *ḏb* [-u].

*u < *i before a labial. *b seems to be a regular Sem reflex of HS cluster *-mb-.

ECh *Vžimb- “honey, bee”: Mig *žimbe*.

Deverbative noun. Note the cluster *-mb-.

*h

1147 *ha²-/*hay- “take”

Eg *h²y* “capture” (MK).

-²- stands for HS *-a-.

WCh *ha²- “catch”: Bks *ha²*.

ECh *hay- “take”: Kera *he*.

Consonantal alternation *²- ~ *-y-.

1148 *ha²-/*haw-/hay- “be, exist”

Sem *hūy- “be, become”: Akk *ewū*, Amor *hwy*, Hbr *hwy*, Aram *hwy*.

Based on *hVw-.

Berb *hV²- “be, stay”: Ahg *ihā*, Ayr *iha*.

CCh *hay- “live”: Bud *aiyu*.

ECh *hay- “be”: Mig *ay*.

Bed *haay*- “live”.

SA *hay- “live”: Saho *hay*, Afar *hay*.

LEC *²a-hay- “be”: Som *ahay*.

Consonantal alternation *²- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-.

1149 *ha²ad- “be weak”

Eg *ḥhd* “weak” (med).

Metathesis.

ECh *ha²ad-/*hawad- “weak”¹, “sick”²: Tum *hād*¹, Mubi *huwade*².

An alternative reconstruction is *²ahad-.

1150 *ha²em-/*ha²om- “tent, room”

WCh *²ahwam- “room”: Bks *ahom*-.

Metathesis.

Rift *hēm- < *ha²em- “tent”: Irq *heema*.

Assimilation of vowels.

An alternative reconstruction is *²ahem-/*²ahom-.

1151 *hab- “cut, split”

Sem *hub- “cut”: Arab *hbb* [-u].

Secondary *-u-?

Dhl *haβ*- “split firewood”.

1152 *habiṭ- “fall”

Sem *hVbiṭ-/*hVbuṭ- “fall”: Arab *hbt* [-i-, -u-].

WCh *habiṭ- “fall”: Hs *gabta*, Bol *biḏ*-, Krk *biḏ*-, Krf *bito*, Gera *bad*, Glm *bəz*-.

1153 *had- “take”

Sem *hīd- “rob, take by force”¹, “be taken away”²: Gz *hyd*¹, Amh *hedä*².

Secondary formation based on biconsonantal *hVd-.

Eg *hd* “grasp, seize” (MK).

WCh *had- “take”¹, “carry”²: Tng *adi*^{1 2}, Fyer *at*¹.

1154 *had- “thorn”

Eg *hd.t* “thorn” (med).

CCh *had- “thorn”: Gis *had-aw*.

Related to *had- “cut”.

1155 *had- “cut”

ECh *hVd- “cut with a sickle”: Kera *hedē*.

Secondary emphatization of *-d-.

Agaw *ʔad- “divide”: Xmr *ad-ey*.

LEC *had- “cut, shave”: Or *haada*.

HEC *had- “shave”: Bmb *haad-*, *haad-*.

1156 *ham- “water”

Sem *hVmVw-/hVmVy- “pour”: Arab *hmw*, *hmy* [-i-, -u-].

Denominative verb based on *hVm-.

WCh *ham- “water”: Sura *am*, Ang *am*, Mnt *ham*, Ank *ham*, Grk *yam*, Bol ʔamma, Krk *amo*, Ngm *ham*, Maha *amma*, Bele *amma*, Krf *amma*, Gera *hama*, Glm *ama*, Grm *amma*, Fyer *ham*, Bks *ham*, Sha *ham*, Klr ʔaam, Ngz *am*, Bade ʔam-.

ECh *ham- “water”¹, “rain”²: Dng *ammi*¹, Jegu ʔam¹, Mubi ʔaame², Brg *aame*¹.

1157 *ham- “eat”

Sem *nVham- “be insatiable”: Arab *nhm* [-a-].

Prefix *nV-.

WCh *hVm- “eat”: Paa ʔmma.

CCh *ham- “eat”¹, “chew”²: Bud *ham*¹, Daba *həmu*¹, Mus *ham*².

ECh *ham- “eat”: Kera *hamē*, Smr ʔəm-.

Dhl *ham*- “toss a portion of food in the mouth”.

Descriptive stem.

1158 *ham-/him- “go, walk”

WCh *yim- < *Him- “return”: Krk *yim*.

ECh *him- “go in”¹, “go out”²: Tum *him*¹, Mig ʔo:mo².

HEC *ham- “go, walk”: Sid *ham*-.

Omot *ham- “go, walk”: Ome *ham*-, *haam*-, Yam *ham*-, Kaf *ham*-, *hamm*-, Mch *hammi*, Anf *ham*-, Bwo *haam*-, *aam*-, Gim *hamu*, Shk *ham*, *am*.

Rift *hiʔim- “walk”: Irq *-hiʔim-it*-.

Secondary intervocalic laryngeal.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

1159 *har- “back”

Sem *harVw- “back”: Akk *erūtu*, *arūtu*.

WCh *har- “back”: Cagu *āri*.

ECh *har- “back”: Mubi *har*, Brg ʔara.

1160 *haram- “river”

Eg *hnm.t* “spring, source” (med), Copt *halme id.: Lyc *halme*.

According to Copt data, Eg -n- < *-l-.

WCh *haram- “river”: Klr *haram*.

Irregular correspondence of *liquida*.

1161 *haraw-/haray- “wild boar”

Berb *rVy- “wild boar”: Rif *a-ruy*.

From *HVrVy- or *HVrVwVy-?

Bed *harawya* “wild boar”.

Agaw *ʔarw- “wild animal”: Bil *arwee*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1162 *haw- “want”

Sem *hVw- “wish” (n.)¹, “want”²: Ug *hwt*¹, Arab *hwy*².

Represented as trilateral *hVwVy- in Arab.

LEC *haw- “wish” (n.)¹, “want”²: Som *hawo*¹, Or *haw*-².

1163 *haw-/hay- “fall”

Sem *hVw-/hVy- “fall (upon)”: Arab *hwy* [-i-], Jib *hē*, Hss *hewō*.

Berb *hVy- “fall (upon)”: Ahg *ihī*.

Eg *hɔy* “descend, fall, return” (OK), Copt **hey* id.: Boh *hey*, Shd *hey*.

Vocalic -ɔ-.

WCh **hay*- “fall”: DB *hay*.

CCh **hay*- “descend”: Bud *hai*.

Rift **hu*²- < **hVw*- “fall”: Irq *hu*-, Alg *hu*-, Bur *hu*-.

Consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*. If Eg *hɔy* “return” is a separate word (only homonymic with Eg *hɔy* “descend, fall”), it should be compared with CCh **hway*- “return” (Mba *hoy*), both Eg and CCh being reflexes of HS **hoy*- “return”.

1164 **hawag-/hayag*- “lift”

Sem **hīg*- “be lifted”: Arab *hyg* [-i-].

ECh **hawag*- “climb”¹, “lift”²: Smr *hagə*¹, Tum *ag*¹, Ndam *ɔga*¹, Tob *hoge*².

Consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*.

1165 **haway*- “blow”

Sem **hūy*- “blow”: Arab *hwy* [-i-].

CCh **haway*- “wind”: Bch *hawey*, Bata *haue*.

Deverbative noun.

1166 **hay*- “building, town”

Eg *thy* “building” (sait).

Orthographic representation of **hVy*-.

WCh **hay*- “town”: Bade *he*.

CCh **ha*²-/**hay*- “town, place”¹, “compound”²: Tera *he*¹, Gude *xa*¹, Gudu *hā-čū*¹, Bch *ha*¹, Gis *hay*².

Rift **ay*- “neighborhood”¹, “dwelling”²: Irq *aya*¹, Bur *aya*¹, Asa *ayo*², Kwz *ayo*².

Irregular **ɔ*-.

1167 **hay*- “cereal”

Eg *thy* “cereal” (OK).

Orthographic representation of **hVy*-.

WCh **hay*- “corn”¹, “kind of millet”²: Ang *he*¹, Fyer *hay*², Bks *hay*².

Cf. CCh **xay*- “corn, guinea corn” (Zgh *xīya*, Glv *xīya*, Gudu *xəi*, HNk *xa*, Kap *xa*, FK *xa*, Gdr *hay*) with a different laryngeal **h*-.

1168 **hay*- “give birth”

Eg *hɔy* “be born” (MK).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

CCh **hay*-/**hiy*- “give birth”: Klb *aya*, Mrg *iya*, HNk *yε*, HGh *iʔya*, FKl *ya*, Kap *ya*, Tera *hya*.

ECh **hVy*- “birth”: Mkk *ɔeʔyo*.

1169 **hay*- “speak”

Eg *thy* “shout” (pyr).

Orthographic representation of **hVy*-.

Bed *hay*- “say”.

LEC **hay*- “say”: Som *hay*-.

HEC **hay*-/**hiy*- “say”: Dar *hiyy*-, Bmb *hay-en*-.

Omot **hi*²- < **hVy*- “say”: Ome *hii*-.

Cf. also Dhl *haaw*- “name” (v.).

1170 **hazin*- “heart, intestine”

WCh **hanz*- < **hazin*- “guts”: Hs *hanžī*, Bol *azin*, Krk *azi*, Ngm *hazi*, Krf *ažžo*, Gera *haza*, Glm *ašī*ⁿ, Sha *ʔaži*.

Cf. the development of the root structure in HS **čakin*- “knife” and **čakin*- “net”.

Agaw **ɔVzin*- “heart”: Xmt *əəzen*.

1171 **her*- “feline”

Sem **hirr*- “cat”: Arab *hirr*-.

CCh **ɔa-hyar*- “leopard”: Msg *aharau*, *aɣerau*.

Prefix **ɔa*-.

1172 *her- “sheep, goat”

Berb *hVr- “ram”¹, “sheep”², “sheep and goats”³: Ayr *e-hərə*¹,

Ahg *e-hərə*³, Twl *e-hərə*¹, Sml *a- hru*¹, Gua *hara*².

Dhl *heeri* “goat, sheep”.

1173 *heraw-/*heray- “day”

Eg *hrw* “day” (pyr), Copt *hrew: Akh *hreu*.

CCh *hyaraw- “day”: Bud *yīrow*.

Bud -ow- < *-aw-.

ECh *hyariy- “noon”: Dng *’eriyo*.

Secondary *-i- before *y.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1174 *hey- “man”

Eg *hʒy* “husband, nobleman” (pyr), Copt *hay id.: Boh *hai*, Shd *hai*.

-ʒ- stands for a vowel.

Bed *hiyo* “man, husband”.

SA *hey- “man”: Saho *heyoo*, Afar *heyoo*.

Rift *he- “man”: Irq *hse*, Gor *hee*.

The root may be related to HS *hay- “give birth”.

1175 *hiʿir- “excrement”

Eg *hʿyr.t* “excrement”.

Vocalic -y-.

ECh *hiʿir- “faeces”: Mkk *ʿiiri* (pl.).

Cf. Rift *hor- “dung”: Bur *hori*.

1176 *hilal- “moon”

Sem *hilāl- “new moon”: Ug *hll*, Arab *hilāl*-, Gz *helāl*.

Berb *HalVl- “moon”: Ahg *t-alli-t*.

Assimilation of vowels.

1177 *himal- “tear” (n.)

Sem *hVmVl- “shed tears”: Arab *hml* [-i-, -u-].

Denominative verb with a new vocalic pattern.

CCh *himal- “tear” (n.): Bud *himālo*.

Cf. metathetic HEC *Hil(V)m- “tear” (Bmb *ilma*)?

1178 *himis- “go”

Sem *hVmīš- “walk day and night”: Arab *hms* [-i-].

CCh *yimVs- < *Himis- “enter”: Tera *ayimsi*, Boka *yimsi*.

Derived from *ham-/him- “go, walk”.

1179 *hin- “head”

Eg *hn* “head” (gr).

CCh *hin- “head”: Tera *yīn*, Gudu *yīn*, FJ *yīn*, Mwu *həne-gi*, Msm *yano*, Gbn *in-da*, Gaa *in-da*, Bch *nne*.

y- < *h- in individual languages.

1180 *hinVn-/*ḥinVn- “child”

Eg *ṇhn* “child” (pyr).

Metathesis.

WCh *hinVn- “child”: Cagu *ḥinən*.

Irregular correspondence of laryngeals.

1181 *hiw- “enclosure”

Eg *thw* “enclosure” (n), Copt *ʾohi id.: Fym *ahi*, Akh *ohe*, Boh *ohi*, Shd *ohe*.

ECh *hiw- “enclosure”: Kera *hiw*.

Eg and Copt may indicate a different prototype *ʾVhiw- (with a prefix?), also possible for ECh.

1182 *hiʒ-/huʒ- “child”

CCh *huʒ- “child”: Lmn *uza*, Zgh *uza*, Gis *za*.

HEC *hiʒ- “brother”: Kmb *hizo*, Tmb *izo*.

Alternation *i ~ *u.

1183 *hob- “give, send”

Sem *wVhVb- “give”: Aram yhb, Arab whb, SAr whb, Gz whb.

Prefix *wV-.

Eg h3b “send”.

The function of -j- is not clear.

WCh *hwab- “lend, borrow”: Sura hwəp.

Cf. Berb *hub- “drag, pull along” (Ahg hub-ət, Ayr hub-ət)?

1184 *hoh- “burn; heat”

Eg hh “heat” (med).

WCh *hwah- “burn”: Sha hwoh.

Possible reduplication of *haʔ-/*haw- “fry”, cf. in CCh: Msm haou, LPe hao.

1185 *hor- “rest” (n.)

Eg hr.t “rest, peace” (OK).

ECh *hwar- “rest”: Tum hōr, Sbn wara.

1186 *hos- “grind”

Sem *huš- “break into small fragments”: Arab hss [-u-].

WCh *Hyas-/*Hwos- “grind”: Sura ʔɛ:s, Chip ʔɛs, Ank es, Bol ʔoss, Krf ʔyasu, Gera yaso, Grm es-.

1187 *hot- “fire”

Eg hwt “fire” (sarc).

Vocalic -w-.

WCh *Hwatu- “fire”: Hs wutā, Tng wəti, Geji wutu, wuti, Brw wut, wutu, Brm wut, Say wut, Dwot ʔutu, Kir wut, Tala wudi.

CCh *hwat- “fire”: Gbn wəte, Boka xwəte, Gaa wəta, Tera wəti.

1188 *hoʔ- “fence, enclosure”

CCh *hwaʔ- < *hwaʔ- “compound”: Gudu hwod-očü, Nza hwaʔe, Bch wəʔiy.

HEC *huʔ- “fence, enclosure”: Sid huʔa.

1189 *hoʔaʔ- “go”

Sem *hVʔaʔ- “go ahead in awe”: Arab hʔʕ [-a-].

WCh *hwaʔa- “come”¹, “enter”², “go”³: Tng wato¹, Pero wat¹, Zem wutə¹, Say wət², Kir wad², DB hat³.

Connected with Rift *hVʔVʔ- “march, go” (Irq hiʔiit-, Alg haʔut-) and Dhl huʔ- “follow”?

1190 *hoʔar- “fortified site”

Berb *huʔ[ʔ]ar- “fortified site”: Gua a-xodar, a-jodar.

Is Gua d a reflex of Berb *ʔ?

HEC *hoʔor- < *hoʔar- “yard”: Had ootoo.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from *hoʔ- “fence, enclosure”.

1191 *ho3- “sleep”

Sem *hVʔ- “sleep”¹, “be delirious”²: Hbr hzy¹, Arab hdy [-i-]².

ECh *hwaʔ- “sleep”: Mig ʔōdyo, Bid ʔōdy, Brg ōdyi, Dng wedye, Ndam ʔəʒa.

Cf. Dhl haʔuura “sleep”?

1192 *hubag-/*hubig- “strike”

Sem *hVbag- “strike”: Arab hbg [-a-].

WCh *hubag- “beat”: Hs buga, Ang bak.

ECh *mV-big- “slap”: Tum mbig.

Prefix *mV-.

Bed bag- “slap”.

LEC *bog- “slap”: Som bog.

Secondary labialization of the vowel.

1193 *hud- ‘break’

Sem *hud- ‘break’: Arab *hdd* [-u-].

Eg *hd* ‘break’ (MK).

CCh *hVd- ‘break’: Msg *hada*.

WCh *hya[d]- ‘strike’ (Ank *het*) also may belong to this HS root. Berb *hVd- ‘destroy’ (Kby *hudd*) may be borrowed from Arab.

1194 *hu-dam- ‘utter’

CCh *hu-dVm- ‘swear’: Gis *hudom*, *hudum*.

Gis -o- < *-a- before a labial.

LEC *dam- < *HV-dam- ‘communicate’: Or *daam*.

*hu- is a prefix. The word is derived from *dVm- ‘utter’.

1195 *hulim- ‘child, man’

ECh *hulum- ‘man, person’: Kera *hulum*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift *holim- ‘child’: Alg *holimo*, Bur *xwaylimo*.

Unexpected -ay- in Bur.

1196 *hulüb- ‘soak’

Sem *hVlib- ‘soak, be wet’: Arab *hlb* [-i-].

WCh *luḅ- < *luHub- ‘sogginess’: Hs *luḅuluḅū*.

Reduplication.

CCh *luḅ- < *luHub- ‘wet’ (v.): Hld *lūḅu-ri*, Klb *ālub-tū*, Chb *lup-ti*, WM *lāb-di*, Wmd *lub-ta*, FGl *luḅwi-ti*, Kap *luḅi-ke*, Gava *luḅ-*, Daba *lub*.

ECh *lub- ‘soak’: Kera *lubi*.

The alternative reconstruction reflected by all Chadic branches is *luhub-.

1197 *humac- ‘grass, straw’

Sem *humṣ- ‘tough grass’: Akk *umṣatu*.

CCh *humac- ‘straw’: Mofu *humas*.

1198 *hunay- ‘(be) small’

Sem *hunay- ‘a little’: Arab *hunayy-at-*.

ECh *hVnay- ‘small’: Smr *hnye*.

1199 *hur- ‘pierce’

ECh *hVr- ‘pierce’: Tum *hər*.

LEC *hur- ‘pierce’: Or *hura*.

1200 *hur- ‘be pregnant’

Sem *hVrVy- ‘be pregnant’: Akk *arū*, Ug *hry*, Hbr *hry*.

Based on biconsonantal *hVr-.

ECh *hur- ‘be pregnant’: Ndam *ʔəra*, Tum *urər*.

Reduplication in Tum.

1201 hut- ‘dig’

Eg *htht* ‘dig’ (BD).

CCh *hwa-hut- ‘dig’: Mofu *hwuhut*.

Different types of reduplication.

1202 *hüw- ‘snake’

Eg *hyw* ‘snake’ (pyr).

Vocalic -y-.

CCh *hu[w]- ‘snake’: Zime *huu*.

1203 *hVban- ‘gazelle’

Eg *hbn* ‘gazelle’ (MK).

WCh *ban- ‘gazelle’: Dwot *bani*.

The anlaut laryngeal is lost.

*hV- may be a prefix.

1204 *hVbat-/hVbit- ‘throw down’

Sem *hVbit- ‘throw down, beat, destroy’: Akk *abātu*, Arab *hbt* [-i-].

WCh *HVbat- ‘push, throw down’: Ang *bat*, Sura *bet*.

Cf. LEC *HVbot-: Or *aboota* ‘give a blow’.

1205 *hVben- ‘vessel’

Eg *hbn.t* ‘big mug’ (OK).

WCh *HVbyan- ‘gourd, gourd bottle’: Sura *been*, Mpn *been*.

Voiced anlaut in Sura reflects the lost laryngeal.

ECh *byanu- ‘pumpkin’: Kbl *tə-bəni*, Gbr *ti-bini*, Kwn *bone*.

1206 *hVdag- ‘go’

Sem *hVdig- ‘go trembling’: Arab *hdg* [-i-].

The source of the vowel in the second syllable is not clear. The meaning is questionable.

WCh *dag- < *HVdag- ‘go away’¹, ‘follow’²: Hs *daga*¹, Ngz *dəgu*².

Derived from *dag-/dig- ‘go’. Cf. also ECh *HVdug- ‘enter’ (Ndm *duge*) with a metathesis of vowels.

1207 *hVlak- ‘go, drive’

Sem *hVlVk- ‘go’: Akk *alāku*, Hbr *hlk*.

CCh *lakwa- ‘enter’¹, ‘drive’²: Bura *lukwa*¹, Chb *lukwa*¹, Glv *lag^wa*², Gvo *lak^wə-la*².

*hV- may be a prefix.

*h

1208 *ha²- ‘head’

Eg *hṣ* ‘occiput’ (pyr).

WCh *ha(²)- ‘head’: Geji *ga*, Buli *ga*, Wrj *ga-may*, Kry *ga-m*, Diri *a-ma*, Paa *ha-ma*.

Forms in -m- may go back to possessives.

1209 *ha²-/haw- ‘vessel’

Eg *hw.t* ‘vessel’ (OK).

CCh *xa- < *xa²- ‘pot’: Mrg *xa*, Hld *xa*.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w-.

1210 *hab- ‘cereal’

Sem *habb- ‘grain, corn’: Arab *habb*.

CCh *ma-xab- ‘sorghum’: Mba *mahaḥ*.

Prefix *ma-. Note the emphatization of *-b-.

1211 *habu²- ‘fish’

Sem *habu²- ‘fish’: Akk *abūtu*.

Dialectal development of a vowel after *h- in Akk.

Eg *hbṣ* ‘fish’ (OK).

1212 *haça²-/haçay- ‘count’

Sem *haşy- ‘number’: Arab *haşy*.

Deverbative noun.

ECh *ʔasay- ‘count’: Smr *ʔāsē*, Sbn *ʔāsā*.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-y-.

1213 *haçir- ‘press, squeeze’

Sem *hVşir- ‘press, squeeze’: Arab *ḥşr* [-i-, -u-].

ECh *ʔasir- ‘press, squeeze’: Kbl *sər*, Dng *assire*.

1214 *haçar- ‘fence, enclosure’

Sem *haşar- ‘enclosure’¹, ‘camp’², ‘yard’³, ‘area’⁴: Akk *haşāru*¹, Phn *ḥşr*³, Hbr *ḥāšer*^{2,3}, Aram (Syr) *ḥəšārā*³, Arab *ḥaḍar*⁴, SAR *ḥşwr*⁴, Gz *ḥaşur*¹.

Irregular ḥ- in Akk.

WCh *ḥVr- ‘fence’: DB *siri*.

Assimilation of vowels. Cf. DB *saar* ‘fence’ (v.).

CCh *hažar- ‘fence’: Mofu *žazar*, Mafa *gəžar*.

Partial reduplication in Mofu.

Bed *eseer* ‘‘enclosure’’.

Assimilation of vowels. *-ee-* seems to reflect **-aHa-*.

Any connection with LEC **²araʒ-* ‘‘dwelling’’ (Or *areddaa*)?

1215 *ḥadur- ‘‘go down’’

Sem **ḥVdir-/ḥVdur-* ‘‘descend’’: Arab *ḥdr* [-i-, -u-].

WCh **dwar-* < **daHur-* ‘‘descend’’: DB *dor*, Bks *dōr*, Klṛ *doro*.
Metathesis.

1216 *ḥaf- ‘‘bank’’

Sem **ḥāpp-* ‘‘bank’’: Hbr *ḥōp*, Arab *ḥāff-at-*.

WCh **ḥa-ḥaf-* ‘‘bank’’: Hs *gaggāfā*.

Partial reduplication.

1217 *ḥafal-/ḥafil- ‘‘be full’’

Sem **ḥVpil-* ‘‘rise (of water)’’: Arab *ḥfl* [-i-].

WCh **fal-* < **HVfal-* ‘‘full (of vessel)’’: Hs *fal*.

*ḥa- may be a prefix.

1218 *ḥa^c- ‘‘child’’

Eg *ḥ^cʒ* ‘‘child, boy’’ (pyr).

Cf. *ḥ^cʒ* ‘‘child’’ (l). *-ʒ* is a vocalic sign.

CCh **ḥwa²-/*ḥway-* ‘‘boy, son’’: Boka *ḥweya*, Gbn *wa*, Gaa *wa*,
Tera *wi*.

Cf. **ḥway-* ‘‘give birth’’: Log *ɣwe*, Chb *ya*, Klḃ *aya*, Tera *hya*,
HNk *ye*, FKḃ *ya*, HGh *i²ya*.

Rift **ha²-/*haw-* ‘‘children’’: Alg *ha²ay*, Bur *ya²ay*, Asa *hawa*, Kwz
yawa.

1219 *ḥa^c-/*ḥu^c- ‘‘move upwards’’

Eg *ḥ^c* ‘‘stand up’’ (pyr).

^c- may be a prefix.

WCh **ḥa^c-* ‘‘raise’’: Bks *ha²*.

CCh **ḥu-* ‘‘lift’’: Klḃ *hū*, Mrg *ḥu*.

ECh **²u-* ‘‘lift’’: Smr *²u*.

Alternation **a* ~ **u*.

1220 *ḥak- ‘‘stone’’

Eg *ḥ²* ‘‘stone’’ (n).

**k* > *ṭ*, presumably, before **o*, cf. CCh **ḥakwa-*.

WCh **ḥVk-* ‘‘stone’’: Sura *ɣək*, Ang *ɣük*, *ɣk*.

CCh **ḥakwa-* ‘‘stone’’: FG *hakwu*.

1221 *ḥakam-/ḥakum- ‘‘rope’’

Sem **ḥakam-* ‘‘martingale’’: Arab *ḥakam-at-*.

Rift **ḥagum-* ‘‘trap’’¹, ‘‘rope’’²: Alg *hagumo*¹, Bur *ḥaguums*².

Unexpected **-g-*.

Irregular correspondence of vowels in the second syllable.

1222 *ḥakVI- ‘‘earth, field’’

Sem **ḥakl-* ‘‘field’’: Akk *eqlu*, Aram (Syr) *ḥaqlā*, Arab *ḥaql-*, Gz *ḥaql*.

ECh **kVI-* ‘‘earth’’: Tum *kələ*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

1223 *ḥakūr- ‘‘be angry’’

Sem **ḥVkir-* ‘‘despise’’: Arab *ḥqr* [-i-], Gz *ḥqr*.

WCh **Ḥakur-* ‘‘be angry’’: Paa *akwar*, Siri *aḵur*, Jmb *ḵwar*.

1224 *ḥakVw- ‘‘hip, thigh’’

Sem **ḥakw-* ‘‘loins, hip’’: Hbr *ḥeq*, Arab *ḥaqw-*, Gz *ḥaqw^e*.

LEC **ḥVwVg-* ‘‘hip, thigh’’: Som *hoog*.

Note HS **-ḵ-* > LEC **-g-*. Metathesis.

Omot **ḥakVw-* ‘‘hip’’: Kaf *hakkoo*.

Note HS **ḵ* > Omot **k*. Cluster **-aw-* > *-oo-* in Kaf.

1225 *ḥal- ‘‘be sweet’’

Sem **ḥVlaw-/ḥVlaw-* ‘‘be sweet’’: Arab *ḥlw* [-a-].

Based on biconsonantal *ḥal-.

WCh *ḥal- "sweet juice sucked from the abdomen of a hornet": Hs *galla*.

Deverbative noun.

CCh *ḥal- "sweet": Bud *alli*.

Rift *ḥal- "sweet": Kwz *hal-am*.

1226 *ḥal- "wash"

Sem *ḥVl- "clean (adj.)" ¹, "wash, clean" ²: Akk *ellu* ¹, Aram (Syr) *ḥll* ².

LEC *ḥal- "wash": Som *ḥal*.

1227 *ḥal- "spleen, liver"

ECh *ḥVl- "spleen": Mkk *ḥell-eso*.

Secondary root vowel influenced by -e- of the suffix.

LEC *ḥal- "liver": Rnd *ḥal-esi*.

1228 *ḥal-/*ḥil- "go"

Eg *ḥn* "go" (n).

Cf. also *ḥry* "move away" (pyr)? Note -n < *-l-.

CCh *ḥal-/*ḥil- "go": Mba *hili*, Msg *hala*.

SA *ḥal- "enter": Saho *hal*, Afar *hal*.

LEC *ḥil- "enter": Arb *hil*.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

1229 *ḥalak- "be smooth"

Sem *ḥalak- "smooth": Hbr *ḥālāq*.

WCh *ḥalak- "smooth": Tng *halak-halak*.

Reduplication.

1230 *ḥalib- "milk"

Sem *ḥalib- "milk" ¹, "fresh milk" ²: Akk *ḥilpu* ¹, Hbr *ḥālāb* ¹, Ug *ḥlb* ¹, Aram (Syr) *ḥalḥbā* ¹, Arab *ḥalīb* ¹, *ḥalab* ², Gz *ḥalīb* ¹.

Irregular ḥ in Akk.

Rift *ḥilb- "milk": Irq *ilwa*, Ala *iliba*, Bur *iliba*, Asa *liba*.

Assimilation of vowels. Unexpected *ḡ-, see Rift s.v. *ḥanVĈ- "tooth".

1231 *ḥam- "salt"

Eg *ḥmḡ.t* "salt" (med).

Vocalic -ḡ.

WCh *ḥam- "salt": Fyer *ḡama*.

CCh *ḥwam- < *ḥam- "salt": Msg *ḥom*.

Secondary vowel before a labial.

1232 *ḥam-/*ḥim- "be black"

Sem *ḥam- "become black": Arab *ḥmm* [-a-].

HEC *ḥem- "be black": Had *heem*.

Dhl *himm-ate* "black".

Alternation *a ~ *i.

1233 *ḥan- "tumor"

Eg *ḥnhn.t* "tumor" (med).

Reduplication.

ECh *ḡan- "tumor": Tum *ān*.

1234 *ḥankar- "throat"

Sem *ḥangar- "larynx": Arab *ḥangar-at*.

Is the development of HS *-nk- into *-ng- regular?

Bed *hankar* "throat".

SA *ḡanḥar- "throat": Saho *anḥar*, Afar *enḥaraa*.

Afar e- and emphatic *ḥ may be traces of the lost *ḥ.

Dhl *ḥank'ara* "hard palate".

As well as SA, Dhl reflects emphatic *-ḥ-.

1235 *ḥanVĈ- "tooth"

Eg *nhḏ* "tooth, fang" (OK).

Metathesis.

Rift *ḡanĈ- "tooth": Irq *anĈ-amo*, Bur *aaĈ-imo*.

Unexpected **h*- > **ʔ*-.

Related to Dhl *hunĉ*- “chew”.

1236 **hap*- “plant, grass”

Eg *hp* “kind of plant” (gr).

CCh **hap*- “grass”: Bud *hāpu*.

1237 **hap*- “close, cover”

Eg *hʔp* “cover” (MK).

Vocalic -*ʔ*-.

WCh **Hap*- “close”: Tng *opε*.

Tng *o* is a regular reflex of **a*.

ECh **ʔp*- “close, cover”: Mkk *ʔipp*-.

1238 **hapat*- “arm, wing”

Eg *hpt* “arm, wing” (MK).

WCh **hapVt*- “arm, wing”: Ngz *gapta*, Bade *gapt-on*.

CCh **pVt*- “wing”: Bud *fefeto*, Daba *pεtε*.

Partial reduplication in Bud. Assimilation of vowels.

ECh **pat*- “arm”: Sok *patu*, Jegu *poto*.

Secondary -*o*- in Jegu.

1239 **hapur*- “pit”

Sem **hapr*- “big well”¹, “hole, cavity”²: Arab *ħafr*-¹, Jib *ħfər-et*².

WCh **pur*- “tomb”: Tng *pure*, Pero *pure*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

1240 **hapüd*- “go”

Sem **hVpid*- “hurry, take pains”: Arab *ħfd* [-i-].

WCh **pVd*- < **pVHVd*- “go”: Dera *pođ-owu*, Ngm *pođ-owu*.

Metathesis.

CCh **paHud*- “go”¹, “return”²: Gaa *puđi*¹, Gbn *pədi*¹, Daba *pāđ*².

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **pahüd*-. Cf. **hupet*- “go”.

1241 **har*- “sky”

Eg *hr.t* “sky” (pyr).

WCh **har*- “sky”: Hs *gārī*, Sha *ʔare* id.

Irregular *ʔ*- in Sha.

Cf. LEC **haror*- “cloudy weather” (Or *haroor-essa*).

1242 **har*- “arm”

CCh **har*- “arm”: Tera *ħar*, Gaa *heřa*, Hwn *hara*, Gis *har*.

Cf. also Log *ʔar-zeni* “wrist”.

Bed *har-ka* “arm”.

SA **har*- “arm”: Saho *ħaraa*.

LEC **har-k*- “arm, hand”: Or *harkka*, Kns *harga*.

Wrz **ħar-k*- “hand”: War *ħarko*, Gaw *ħarko*.

1243 **har*- “intestines”

Sem **hVrr*- “gut”: Akk *erru*.

CCh **ħar(wa)*- “intestines”: Gis *hor*, HNk *ħəři*, Kap *ħəri*, FG *ħař*,

Bura *ħyel*, Klb *hali*, Mrg *yalı*, Hil *ħalı*.

-*l*- in Bura and other languages is regular.

Cf. Eg *ħrr* “part of the body” (NK)?

1244 **has*- “roast”

Sem **hVš-hVš*- “roast”: Arab *ħshs*.

Reduplication.

WCh **has*- “roast, bake”: Hs *gasa*.

1245 **has*- “seek, look for”

CCh **ħas*- “look for, search”: Mafa *has*.

HEC **has*- “seek, look for”: Sid *haas*-, Dar *has*-, Had *hass*-, Ala *has*-,

Kmb *has*-.

1246 *hasar- ‘hand, arm’

Eg *hsr* ‘arm’ (gr).

WCh **saHar*- ‘hand, arm’: Sura *sar*, Ang *sār*, Chip *saar*, Mnt *sai*, Ank *sar*, Bol *sara*, Krk *sara*, Ngm *sara*, Maha *sara*, Krf *šara*, Gera *šara*, Glm *šara*, Grm *sarap*.

Metathesis.

1247 *hasek- ‘cereal’

Sem **hasik*- ‘barley’: Arab *hasik-at*.

CCh **syak*- ‘millet’: Gaa *šek-ita*, Gbn *sek-ete*, Boka *šek-ta’a*.
Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

**ha*- may be a prefix.

1248 *haš-/*huš- ‘cut’

Sem **huš*- ‘cut’: Arab *ḥṣṣ* [-u-]

Rift **haš*- ‘carve wood’: Irq *haš*-.

Dhl *haš*- ‘butcher meat’.

1249 *hat-/*hut- ‘rub off, sweep’

Sem **hut*- ‘rub off’: Arab *ḥtt* [-u-].

LEC **haṭ*- ‘sweep’¹, ‘rub’²; Som *haad*-¹, Or *haad*-².

*-t- < *-i- under the influence of *h-.

1250 *haw-/*haway- ‘return, go’

Eg *hwy* ‘go’ (MK).

CCh **χway*- < **χaway*- ‘return’: HGh *χwe*, Mba *hoy*.

Dhl *ha*- ‘come, arrive’.

Irregular -^c-.

Rift **haw*- ‘come’: Irq *haw*-, Alg *haw*-, Bur *haw*-.

Irregular *h-.

No traces of *-ay- in Cush forms.

1251 *haw-/*hay- ‘stomach’

Sem **hawiy*- ‘intestines’: Arab *hawiy-at*.

WCh **haw*-/**hay*- ‘belly’: Bol *awo*, Ngm *hawo*, Gera *hawi*, Krf *awo*, Glm *awa*, Fyer *hye*, Bks *hihye*.

Partial reduplication in Bks.

CCh **χwa*-/**χay*- ‘stomach’: Wmd *χay*, Chb *ɣəy*, HF *χwi*, Kap *χwu*, Masa *haya*.

**χwa*- goes back to **χaw*-.

ECh **ʔy*- ‘breast’: Jegu *ʔoyo*.

Secondary vocalism.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1252 *haw-/*hay- ‘food’

Eg *hw* ‘food’ (pyr).

ECh **ay*- ‘food’: Smr *haye*, Ndam *a:y*.

Rift **hay*- ‘food’: Asa *hay-uk*.

Irregular laryngeal.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-. Cf. verbal derivative in ECh **ay*- ‘eat’ (Lele *ai*).

1253 *haw-/*hay- ‘man’

WCh **haw*- ‘chief’: Gera *hawi*.

CCh **χuy*- < **χawVy*- ‘husband’: Log *χūy*.

Dhl *haayo*, pl. *haa’i* ‘man, husband’.

-^c- in pl. is not clear.

Rift **haw*- ‘man, husband’: Irq *haw-ata*, Alg *haw-ata*, Bur *hawata*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-. Cf. also Rift **hiy*- ‘brother’ (Irq *hiya*).

1254 *hawar-/*hayar- ‘breed, multiply’

Sem **hayar*- ‘having many cattle and a big family’: Arab *hay-ar*, *hiyar*-.

LEC **hor*- < **hawar*- ‘multiply (domestic animals)’: Gid *hor*.

Cf. Or *horii* ‘cattle’, Kns *hor-eeta* ‘wealth, livestock’.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1255 *hawil- “year”

Sem *hawil- “year”: Arab *hawl*.

WCh *hawil- “year”: Fyr *wel*, Sha *wul*, Klr *ʔawul*, DB *wil*.

ECh *ʔaliy- < *hayil- “year”: Smr *ʔaliya*, Kwn *oleye*, Tum *əlay*,

Ndam *lowa*, Gbr *ille*, Mig *ʔila*.

Metathesis and change *-w- > *-y- before a front vowel.

1256 *hayaw- “family, people”

Eg *why* “family” (MK).

Metathesis.

SA *hayaw- “people”: Saho *heaw*.

Rift *hay- “kinsfolk, clan”: Irq *hay*.

The original biconsonantal root?

Derived from *haw-/hay- “man”.

1257 *hayaw- “animal”

Sem *hay(aw)- “animal”: Ug *hwt*, Hbr *hayyā*, Aram (Syr) *hayūtō*, Arab *hayaw-ān*.

CCh *xiw- < *χV_yVw- “animal”: Mnd *xiwa*.

Contraction in Mnd.

ECh *ʔayVw- “animal”: Jegu *ʔaiwo*, Bid *ʔawyo*.

Metathesis in Bid.

1258 *haʒar- “beast of prey”

Sem *haʒar- “swamp lynx”: Akk *azaru*.

Irregular Akk *a* of the first syllable.

Eg *hḏr* “hyaena” (OK).

1259 *he³- “seek, find”

Eg *hʒ* “seek” (pyr).

WCh *hya³- “find”: Paa *hya*.

ECh *yaw- “find”: Smr *ʔyo*.

Reflects *hew-, a morphonological variant of the original root.

1260 *hed- “fly” (v.)

Eg *hdy* “fly” (v.) (n).

Infinitive in -y.

WCh *hyad- “fly” (v.): Gwn *gede*.

1261 *hedV³- “bird”

Sem *hid³- “kite”: Arab *hid³-at*.

ECh *hyad-hyad- “ostrich”: Kera *hedhedī*.

Irregular *h-. Reduplication. Emphatic *d* < **d* under the influence of the laryngeal.

1262 *henin- “penis, testicles”

Eg *hnn* “penis” (pyr).

LEC *henin- “testicles”: Som *heeniin*.

1263 *henV^c- “fill”

Eg *hn^c* “fill” (gr).

WCh *hyan-H- “fill”: Wrj *yan*, Paa *hyangu*.

CCh *xyan- “fill”: Lame *yen*, Misme *hen*.

ECh *wan- < *inwa- “fill”: Smr *ʔon*, Ndam *ʔəna*, Tum *an*, Kbl *wəna*, Mig *ʔunaw*, Brg *ʔuni*, Bid *ween*, Mkk *ʔuune*.

1264 *her- “star”

Eg *hry.w* “stars” (pyr).

Vocalic -y.

ECh *hyar- “star”: Tum *heru*.

Irregular *h-. Tum *h-* may also go back to **s-*.

LEC *hir- “light of sun or moon”: Arb *hiiro*.

1265 *her- “be dry”

Sem *hVr- “be dried up”: Gz *hrr*.

ECh *yar- “dry” (v.): Tum *yə:r*.

1266 *herač-/heruč- "sow"

Sem *hVrut- "sow, till": Akk *erēšu*, Ug *hrt*, Hbr *hrs*, Arab *hrt* [-u-], Gz *hrs*.

WCh *rač- "sow": DB *ras*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal or contraction of *ryaHač-.

ECh *ryaHVš- "sow": Dng *rēse*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *rehač-.

1267 *hibVr- "harvest"

Sem *hibūr- "harvest": Akk *ebūru*.

Derived from *hVbVr- "gather".

WCh *hīrVb- "harvest, reap": Hs *gīrbā*.

Metathesis.

1268 *hical- "lizard"

Sem *hisl- "small lizard": Arab *hisl*.

CCh *cal- "lizard": Hwn *ta-sala*, Gis *me-selesele*.

Various prefixes in individual languages. Assimilation of vowels in Gis.

Any connection with Berb *asVl- "snake, viper" (Ayr *aššēl*, Ahg *āššēl*, Twl *aššōl*) or Berb *hažVr- "lizard" (Izy *hažžēl*)?

1269 *hidab- "bend"

Sem *hVdab- "be curved": Arab *hdb* [-a-].

Cf. also Hss *hedeb* "hunch-backed", Mhr *hedēb* id., Shh *hideb* id.

CCh *diHVb- "bend": Daba *dīb*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *dihab-.

1270 *hig- "plant"

Sem *hig- "thorny plant": Akk *egu*, *igu*.

LEC *hig- "kind of aloe": Som *hig*.

1271 *hin- "grow"

Berb *hVn- "be inflated": Kby *ehnneni*.

Eg *hn* "grow" (gr).

ECh *hin- "increase": Lele *hin*.

Irregular *h-.

1272 *hint- "cereal"

Sem *hint- "barley, grain": Akk *uṭṭutu*, Ug *htt*, Hbr *hittā*, Aram *hint-ot*, Arab *hint-at*, Soq *hinteh*.

HEC *hint-/hanṭ- "grass": Had *hiṭe*, Kmb *hiṭe*, Bmb *hanṭe*.

*-nt- > -t- in Had and Kmb.

Cf. *hund- "cereal".

1273 *hir- "snake"

Eg *hrr.t* "kind of snake, worm" (reg).

ECh *hir- "snake": Tum *hirə*.

Irregular ECh *h-.

1274 *hirba³- "chameleon"

Sem *hirbā³- "chameleon": Arab *hirbā³*.

ECh *hir(V)b- "chameleon": Mubi *hirbe*.

Irregular ECh *h-. Sem loanword?

Derived from *hir- "snake". An ancient composite?

1275 *his- "faeces"

Eg *hs* "faeces" (pyr).

WCh *hisa- "faeces": Sura *ʔes*, Chip *ees*, Ank *ʔes*, Geji *išī*, Say *nyis*, Buli *ʔiš*.

ECh *ʔis- "faeces": Smr *ʔišī-ny*, Ndam *ʔisi-n*, Jegu *ʔis*, Sok *iššī*.

1276 *hogil- "go, cross"

Sem *hVgil-/hVgul- "skip along": Arab *hgl* [-i-, -u-].

ECh *ʔwagil- "cross" ¹, "jump" ²: Mobu *ogole* ¹, Mkk *ʔigila* ².

1277 *ho^c- “medicine, poison”

Eg *wh^c.t* “poison” (n).

Vocalic *w-*.

CCh **χwaH-* > **χway-* “medicine”: HNk *wiye*, FKl *wey*, Kap *ɾwe*,
FGl *ɾwo³yi*.

Cf. Asa *ho^c-* “cure” (v.).

1278 *hok- “scratch”

Sem **huk-* “scratch, rub, scrape”: Akk *ekēku*, MHbr *hkk*, Aram
(Syr) *hkk*, Arab *hkk* [-u-], Gz *hkk*, Hss *hek*.

SA **hakuk-* “scratch”: Saho *hakuk*, Afar *hakuk*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC **hek-/hok-* “scratch”: Som *hoq-*, Or *hooq-*, Rnd *ox-*, Gid *heq-*,
Arb *heeq-*.

Any connection with **hak-* “stone” (“stone” as a scraping
tool)?

1279 *hol- “jump”

Sem **hul-* “jump (on horse back)”: Arab *hul* [-u-].

ECh **wal-* “jump”: Tum *wal*.

1280 *honbal- “bean”

Sem **hunbul-* “haricot”: Arab *hunbul-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh **mVbwaHal-* “beans”: Sura *mbwaalaa*.

Metathesis. Assimilation of *-nb- > -mb-.

**hon-* may be a prefix. Cf. CCh **bul-* < **HVbul-* “corn,
grain”: Mnd *hula*, Gvo *hula*.

1281 *hos- “cold” (n.)

Eg *hsy* “cold” (NK).

Vocalic *y* reflecting one of HS front vowels.

CCh **χVs-* “cold”: Gaa *həs*, Gbn *χəs*.

ECh **was-* “wind”: Mig *ussu*, Jegu *os*, Sok *oso*.

1282 *hoy- “break, strike”

Eg *hwy* “strike” (pyr).

Vocalic *-w-*.

WCh **hway-* “break”: Fyer *hoyo*.

1283 *hul- “bird”

Eg *hn* “kind of bird” (pyr).

Note Eg *-n* < HS **-l-*.

CCh **χuli-* “dove”: HNk *χwuli*, HGh *χwuli*, Kap *χwuli*.

Cf. Dhl *hille* “owl”.

1284 *hul- “untie”

Sem **hul-* “untie”: Arab *hll* [-u-].

WCh **hal-* < **hula-* “loosen”: Bol *all-*.

CCh **ul-* “untie”: Lame *ulee-*, LPe *olai*.

Irregular **ul-* < **h-*.

ECh **wul-* < **ul-* “loosen”: Ndam *wule*.

1285 *hum- “be hot”

Sem **hum-* “be hot”¹, “warm”²: Akk *emēmu*¹, Hbr *hām*², Aram
(Syr) *ham*¹, Arab *hmm* [-u-]¹.

Eg *hm* “be inflamed” (XVIII).

Secondary modification of the laryngeal?

Rift **ham-* “heat (v.)”: Irq *ham-esa*.

Cf. Irq *hame* “sweat”.

1286 *hum- “drive, move”

Eg *hmy* “move away” (pyr).

-y is a suffix.

CCh **χum-* “drive”: FG *əχam-ti*, Gudu *umsa*, Bch *omo*.

1287 *hun- “son, child”

Eg *hun* “boy” (pyr).

WCh **wun-* < **hun-* “son”: Dwot *wun*, Buli *uni*, Bade *wun*.

Related to **henin-* “penis, testicles”?

1288 *ḥunaḥ- “be afraid”

Eg *ḥnh* “fright” (l).

Deverbative noun.

CCh **ḥunaḥ*- “be afraid”: Msg *ḥunay*.

Partial reduplication?

1289 *ḥupet- “go”

Eg *ḥpt* “go” (XVIII).WCh **Hupyat*-/ **puHyat*- “go out”: Ank *pet*, Sura *put*, Ang *put*, Mpn *pūt*, Bol *pete*.CCh **put*- “enter”: Gudu *pət*, Bch *puṛo*, Mwl *uputo*, Mus *put*.Cf. Mofu *pat*, *pet* “go out”. From **puHVt*-, cf. WCh.Cf. also Akk *ḥabātu* “wander”.

1290 *ḥusam- “weapon”

Sem **ḥušām*- “sabre”: Arab *ḥusām*-.Related to Arab *ḥsm* [-i-] “cut”.ECh **sVm*- “axe”: Smr *suma*, Sok *som*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

**ḥu*- may be a prefix.

1291 *ḥusem- “mouse”

Sem */*ḥuṣum*- “reed-mouse”: Akk *uṣummu*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh **ḥuṣyam*- “rat”: Log *uḥsemī*.Initial Log *u*- reflects the vowel of the first syllable.

1292 *ḥVbüs- “bind, sew”

Sem **ḥVbiš*- “bind” ¹, “envelop” ²: Hbr *ḥbš* ¹, Arab *ḥbs* [-i-] ².ECh **bVHus*- “sew”: Smr *buse*.

Metathesis.

1293 *ḥVčuk- “knife”

Eg *ḥsk.t* “knife” (BD).WCh **čuk*- “knife”: Ang *čuk*, Mpn *čuka*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

**ḥV*- may be a prefix.

1294 *ḥVdog- “arrow”

Sem **ḥVdig*- “shoot (of an arrow)”: Arab *ḥdg* [-i-].

Denominative verb with a modified vocalism.

WCh **dVg*- “arrow”: Ngz *dəga*.HEC **dog*- “arrow”: Sid *doga*.**ḥV*- may be a prefix.

1295 *ḥVkay- “call”

Sem **ḥVkVy*- “tell, inform”: Arab *ḥky* [-i-, -u-].ECh **Vwak*-/ **Vyak*- “call”: Sbn *ʿwag-a*, Tum *wəg*, Ndam *wuga*,Kwn *e:ke*; Mkk *wiike*.

Metathesis.

1296 *ḥVmač- “be sour”

Sem **ḥVmaš*- “be sour”: Akk *emēšu*, Hbr *ḥmš*, Arab *ḥmd* [-a-, -u-],Hss *ḥāmez*.

Secondary *-u- after a labial.

Eg *ḥmd* “vinegar” (n).Derived from **ḥam*- “salt”. For this type of semantic evolution cf. OEng *sūr*, Eng *sour* ~ Lith *sūrus* “salt” (adj.).

1297 *ḥVMus- “roast”

Sem **ḥVMuš*- “roast”: Arab *ḥms* [-u-].CCh **mVs*- “roast”: Daba *məsa*.Loss of **HV*-.**ḥV*- may be a prefix. On the other hand, cf. HS **ḥam*- “be hot”.

1298 *hVmVr- “be red”

Sem *hVmVr- “be red”: Akk *emēru*, Arab *hmr*.

Eg *imṣw* “red color” (NK).

Irregular laryngeal. Sem loanword?

1299 *hVrabib- “cold, wind”

Eg *hnb̄b* “wind” (gr).

Note -n- < HS *-r-.

WCh **raḥib̄*- < **HVrabib*- “coldness”: Wrj *raḥibya*.

Emphatic -ḥ- < *-b- under the influence of *ḥ-.

1300 *hVsaw-/hVsay- “drink”

Sem *hVšVw- “drink”: Arab *ḥsw* [-u-].

WCh **swaH*-/**say*-/**saH*- “drink”: Hs *šā*, Sura *šwā*, Ang *šwē*, Chip *šuu*, Ank *sua*, Grk *ta*, Bol *s*, *sa*, Krk *s*, *sa*, Pero *že*, Ngm *sowoo*, Bele *hee*, Krf *see*, Gera *še*, Glm *še*-, Grm *šee*-, Wrj *sa*, Kry *sa*, Diri *čā*, Miya *sa*, Paa *sa*, Cagu *šā*, Siri *sa*, Mbu *sa*, *si*, Jmb *sa*, *si*, Fyer *šo*, DB *šoh* Ngz *sau*.

**swaH*- goes back to **sVwaH*- (metathesis of the original HS **hVsaw*-) or to **saw*-. The original initial cluster **hsV*- may be reflected in secondary laterals of Geji *šawi*, Pol *šiyu*.

CCh **sa*-/**si*- “drink”: Gbn *ši*, Hwn *sa*, Kl̄b *še*, Mrg *s̄*, FK̄i *sa*, Mofu -*s*-, Bld *si*, Muk *sa*, Daba *sa*, Gudu *sa*, FJ *se*, FMb *si*, Mwu *usa*, Log *se*, Bud *hi*, Msg *sa*, Gid *sa*.

The original form of the root **saw*-/**say*- was modified in CCh.

ECh **saw*-/**say*- “drink”: Smr *ša*, Tum *he*, Kbl *suwə*, Kera *se*, Dng *see*, Brg *saya*, Sok *sa*.

**hV*- may be a prefix. Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1301 *hVsub- “count”

Sem **hVšub*- “count, think”: Hbr *ḥšb*, Aram (Syr) *ḥšb*, Arab *ḥsb* [-u-], Gz *ḥsb*, Hss *hesōb*.

ECh **ṣVsb*- “count”: Sbn *ṣasba*.

1302 *hVtVr- “pay”

Sem **hVtVr*- “pay”: Akk *eṭēru*.

Eg *ḥtr* “pay” (n).

1303 *hVw- “rain” (v.)

Eg *ḥwy* “rain, flow” (MK).

ECh **ṣVw*- “rain” (v.): Sbn *ṣwā*.

Note ECh **ṣ*-.

1304 *hVz- “vessel”

Eg *ḥz.t* “bottle” (OK).

CCh **χVz*- “pot”: Tera *həža*.

1305 *hVzim- “sharp object, cut”

Sem **hVdim*- “cut”: Arab *ḥdm* [-i-].

CCh **žam*- < **žyam*- “spear”: Msm *džam*.

Semantic connection is dubious.

*h

1306 *ḥa- “be young”

Eg *ḥ* “young” (med).

CCh **γα-γα*- “new”¹, “young”²: Mba *haha*¹, Msg *ḥahai*².

Reduplication.

Note the rare structure of the root **CV*-, cf. also **ḥa*- “speak”.

1307 *ḥa- “speak”

CCh **γα*- “speak”: Chb *γα*.

Dhl -*χα* “answer” (v.).

Unexpected reflex of **ḥ*-.

1308 *ḥa²-/*ḥaw- “altar, throne”

Sem *ḥa²- “throne canopy”: Akk ḥa²u.

Eg ḥṣw.t “altar” (pyr).

-ṣ stands for a vowel.

Consonantal alternation *-ṣ- ~ *-w-.

1309 *ḥa²-/*ḥaw- “grind, beat”

CCh *ḡa²- “grind”: Gis ḥe²e, Log ḡa.

Assimilation of vowels in Gis.

LEC *ḥaw- “beat”: Som ḥaawi.

Rift *ḥa²- “grind corn”: Kwz ḥa²-it-.

Consonantal alternation *-ṣ- ~ *-w-.

1310 *ḥa²-/*ḥu²- “fire”

CCh *ḡu²- “fire”: Mba hū, HNk ḡwi, Kap ḡwi, FG ḡo, FKl uḡu.

Rift *ḥa²- “fire”: Kwz ḥa²o.

Alternation *a ~ *u. Cf. Eg ḥṣ “roast” (n) if only it is not related to HS *ḡar-/*ḡawar- “burn”.

1311 *ḥab- “charcoal”

CCh *ḡVbu-n- “charcoal”: Lam uḡvii-ni, Zgh uvu-re, Glv ṡḡvu-ra, Nak oḡvə-ra.

Rhotacism in individual CCh languages is regular.

Rift *ḥab- “charcoal”: Irq ḥawo, Alg ḥabi, Bur ḥabo.

Note *-b- > Irq -w-.

1312 *ḥab- “water flow”

Sem *ḥVb- “scoop, draw water”: Akk ḥabū.

Denominative verb.

WCh *ḥyab- < *ḥabya- “stream”: Hs ḡēbe.

CCh *ḡab(ḡa)- “water”: Bch ḡabyiy.

Emphatization of -ḡ- under the influence of the laryngeal.

1313 *ḥab-/*ḥabi²- “vessel”

Sem *ḥābi²-/*ḥābiy- “jug, bowl”: Arab ḥābi²-at-, ḥābiy-at-, Gz ḥəbay.

Berb *ḥVb- “big wooden plate”: Izy iḥebbi.

Eg ḥbb “vessel” (MK).

Partial reduplication.

WCh *ḥabi(?) “pot”¹, “gourd”²: Bol ḡewi¹, Krk ḡaabi¹, Ngm ḡabi¹, Krf ḡiḡi¹, Ngz ḡaḡiya².

LEC *ḥabub- “large gourd”: Or ḥabubbii.

Partial reduplication.

Eg and LEC may reflect HS *ḥabub-.

1314 *ḥabal- “weakness”

Sem *ḥabal- “lawlessness, oppression”¹, “ache, pain, sickness”²:

Akk ḥabālu¹, Hbr ḥēbel², Arab ḥabal-, ḥabāl-².

CCh *ḡVl- “weakness”: Mofu bəle.

The initial syllable is lost.

ECh *ḡVbal- “weaken”: Sbn ḥəbal.

Denominative verb.

1315 *ḥabal- “tie, plait”

Sem *ḥVbul- “tie (with a rope)”: Akk ḥabālu, Arab ḥbl [-u-].

Irregular Akk ḡ- ~ Arab ḡ-.

WCh *baHal- “tie”: Hs ḡalla, Sura ḡal, Geji ḡāliwi.

Metathesis. Emphatic ḡ- reflects the inlaut laryngeal.

CCh *baHal- “plait”: Bch bālə.

Metathesis. Bch long -ā- results from a contraction of *-aHa-.

An alternative reconstruction is *baḡal-.

1316 *ḥabay- “dance” (v.)

Eg ḡby “dance” (v.).

Bed hawaay- “dance”.

From *ḡabay-. Note the development of intervocalic *-b-.

1317 *ḥabur- “wine”

Sem *ḥabur- “kind of wine”: Akk ḡabburu.

Secondary *-u-?

Eg *hbb* ‘stage in beer fermentation’ (med).

Irregular *h*-. -*ʔ* reflects *-r-.

A cultural loanword?

1318 *haç- ‘axe’

Sem **hašš*- ‘axe’: Akk *hašš-innu*.

HEC **haç*- ‘chopping tool’: Bmb *haacce*.

Bmb -c- < *-ç-?

Connected with **hoç*- ‘break’.

1319 *haç- ‘leaf, plant’

Sem **hūš*- ‘leaf’: Aram *hūš*-, Arab *hūš*-, Soq *hēš*-.

Contraction of **hVwVš*-.

Eg *hd.t* ‘kind of plant’ (n).

Irregular reflex of **h*.

Agaw **xaç*- ‘leaf’: Xmr *hašaa*, *hača*, Kwr *ašaa*, Aun *yači*.

1320 *hač- ‘become dark’

Sem **hašVw*- ‘become dark’: Akk *hašû*.

WCh **hač*- ‘night’: Geji *gasi*, Buli *ngasi*, Tule *gašə*.

Prefix **nV*- in Buli.

LEC **as*- ‘evening’: Som *asə*.

Irregular *č*-.

HEC **hašš*- ‘come (of evening)’: Dar *hašš*-, Sid *hašš*-.

1321 *hača^c- ‘be silent’

Sem **hVša^c*- ‘be humble’¹, ‘be calm’²: Arab *hš^c* [-a-]¹, Gz *hš^c*².

SA **asa^c*- ‘keep silence’: Saho *asaa^c*.

Unexpected reflex of **h*.

Rift **hač*- ‘be silent’: Irq *hač*-.

1322 *had- ‘cheek’

Sem **hadd*- ‘cheek’: Arab *hadd*-, Jib *had*-, Hss *hadd*.

ECh **yač*- ‘cheek’: Jegu *gede*, Brg *gač-ago*.

Emphatization in Brg caused by HS **h*-.

1323 *hadar- ‘darkness’

Sem **hadar*- ‘be dark’¹, ‘darkness’²: Akk *hadāru*¹, Arab *hadar*-².

Cf. Hss *hedōr* ‘put up a sunshade’, Mhr *hedōr* id., Shh *hodor* id.

WCh **dar*- ‘night’: Hs *darē*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

**ha*- may be a prefix. Cf. also CCh **adur*- ‘evening’ (Msg *adura*).

1324 *hadir-/*hadur- ‘sleep, be benumbed’

Sem **hVdVr*- ‘remain and keep to a place, be benumbed’: Arab *hdr*.

SA **hVdir*- ‘sleep’: Afar *-ihdir*-.

LEC **hudur*- ‘sleep’: Som *hurd*-, Rnd *udur*-, Bay *hudur*-.

Assimilation of vowels. Metathesis in Som. Note the reflex of HS **h*-.

Dhl *haddura* ‘sleep’.

1325 *haduč- ‘fly’ (n.)

Sem **hadūš*- ‘fly’: Arab *hadūš*-.

WCh **HVdič*- < **HVduči*- ‘fly’: Sura *diši*.

1326 *ha‘ay- ‘house’

Eg *hcy.t* ‘house’ (gr).

CCh **ya²*-/**ya²*- < **ya²ay*- ‘house’¹, ‘compound’²: Zgh *yaya*¹,

Log *ya²a*¹, Mnd *xa*², FKl *ya²*, FGl *yyi*², HK *ye*².

1327 *halak- ‘clothes’

WCh **hal(V)k*- ‘leather covering loin’: Hs *galko*.

Irregular *-k-.

Bed *halak* ‘‘cloth, kerchief’’.

Irregular *-k-.

SA **halag*- ‘‘rag, clothes’’: Saho *halaga*, Afar *halago*.

Note HS **k* > SA **g*.

Any connection with Sem **ḥulāk*-/ **ḥālūk*- ‘‘old or torn clothes’’ (Akk *ḥulāqu*, Hbr *ḥālūq*, Aram *ḥālūqā*, Arab *ḥālūq*, Soq *ḥalaq*)? The Sem word may be derived from Sem **ḥVlVḥ*- ‘‘be torn’’. In any case the correspondence of velars is irregular.

1328 **halak*-/ **haluk*- ‘‘give birth, create’’

Sem **ḥVluḥ*- ‘‘create’’: Arab *ḥlq* [-u-].

WCh **laHaḥ*- ‘‘give birth’’: Sura *laak*.

Metathesis and contaction.

An alternative reconstruction is **lahak*-/ **lahuk*-.

1329 **halat*-/ **halit*- ‘‘mix’’

Sem **ḥVlit*- ‘‘mix’’: Arab *ḥlt* [-i-], Hss *ḥelōt*, Mhr *ḥelōt*, Shh *ḥolot*.

WCh **lawat*- < **laHaṭ*- ‘‘mix’’: Bks *lawat*.

Metathesis.

CCh **layat*- ‘‘mix’’: Mofu *lahad*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **lahat*-/ **lahit*-.

1330 **ham*- ‘‘male relative’’

Sem **ḥam*- ‘‘father-in-law’’: Akk *emu*, Hbr *ḥām*, Aram (Syr) *ḥ^a-mō*, Arab *ḥam(w)*-.

CCh **γam*- ‘‘chief’’: Bata *home*, Bch *hōme*, *hamey*.

Dhl *hame* ‘‘uncle’’.

1331 **hama*²- ‘‘rebellion’’

Sem **ḥamā*²- ‘‘rebellion’’: Akk *ḥammā²u*.

Eg *iḥm.w* ‘‘enemies’’ (XVIII).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **ḥam*-². A cultural *Wanderwort*?

1332 **ha(n)ḥob*- ‘‘tree, wood’’

Sem **ḥaṣab*- ‘‘timber’’: Arab *ḥaṣab*-.

Delabialized vowel of the second syllable.

WCh **ḥaHwab*- ‘‘tree’’: Bol *ṣōwī*, Dera *ṣōōḥī*.

LEC **ḥanḥab*- ‘‘kind of tree’’: Or *hanḥabīi*.

Inlaut -ḥ- may be a result of secondary emphatization caused by the laryngeal. -nḥ- may go back to a HS prenasalized cluster.

1333 **hansab*- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem **ḥanzab*- ‘‘kind of pot’’: Akk *ḥanzabu*.

Is Sem *-nz- a regular reflex of the HS cluster *-ns-?

Eg *ḥnbṣ* ‘‘vessel’’ (MK).

Metathesis. Note *ḥ*- < **ḥ*-. The vowel of the second syllable is marked with -ṣ-.

An alternative reconstruction is **ḥanbas*-. An ancient cultural word.

1334 **har*- ‘‘excrements’’

Sem **ḥar*²-/ **ḥary*- ‘‘excrements’’: Hbr *ḥarā²īm*, Aram (Syr) *ḥerāy*-, Arab *ḥary*-.

SA **har*- ‘‘excrements’’: Saho *haraa*, Afar *haraa*.

LEC **har*- ‘‘excrements’’: Som *haar*.

HEC **har*- ‘‘mud’’: Had *hara*, Kmb *haro*.

Related to **ḥar*- ‘‘defecate’’.

1335 **har*- ‘‘river’’

Sem **ḥarr*- ‘‘watercourse’’: Akk *ḥarru*.

LEC **har*- ‘‘lake’’¹, ‘‘river’’²; Som *haro*¹, Arb *haru*², Or *haroo*¹.

1336 **har*- ‘‘defecate’’

Eg *wḥṣ* ‘‘defecate’’ (OK).

Initial *w-* reflects a prefix.

LEC **har-* “defecate”: Som *haar-*.

1337 **has-* “grass”

WCh **hasu-* “grass”: Zar *gwas*.

ECh **was-* “grass”: Bid *ʔawso*.

Secondary **-wa-*?

LEC **haš-* “leaf”: Kns *haša*.

1338 **hasay-* “grass”

Sem **hašVy-* “thymian”: Akk *hašū*.

Eg *hʔsy.t* “medicinal herb” (med).

-ʔ- is a vocalic sign.

WCh **hasay-* “grass”: Hs *gāsayā*.

Derived from **has-* “grass”.

1339 **has-/hus-* “rub, pound”

Sem **hVš-* “crush, pound”: Akk *hašū*.

CCh **γus-* “crush, rub”: Mafa *hus-*.

Bed *-hasi-* “rub”.

SA **hes-* “rub, pound”: Saho *hesi-*.

e < **a* after a laryngeal?

HEC **has-* “rub”: Bmb *haas-iy-*.

Alternation **a* ~ **u*.

1340 **hatVm-* “face, nose”

Sem **hatm-/hatm-* “nose, beak”: Hbr *hoṭem*, Arab *ḥatm-*.

Secondary emphatic in Hbr.

Eg *hnt* “face” (pyr).

Metathesis and regressive assimilation of **-mt-* > **-nt-*.

1341 **haṭ-* “dig”

ECh **γat-* “dig”: Brg *gatt-*.

LEC **haḍ-* “dig”: Or *haada*.

HEC **haḍ-* “dig”: Kmb *haad-*.

1342 **hawVy-* “evening”

Eg *hʔwy* “evening” (pyr).

Vocalic -ʔ-.

CCh **γawVy-* “yesterday”: Mnd *ʔawəya*.

A regular reflex of **γ-* in Mnd, cf. s.v. **hay-* “voice”.

1343 **hay-* “voice”

CCh **γay-* “voice”: Gava *γaya*, Mnd *ʔiye*.

Secondary *-i-* in Mnd before *-y-*.

Dhl *hwayu* “voice, sound, noise”.

Sources of Dhl *-wa-* are unknown.

Related to **ha-* “speak”.

1344 **hazod-* “rot, be rotten”

Eg *hzd* “rot” (n.) (l).

ECh **zaHwad-* “rotten”: Dng *zōḍe*, Bid *zooḍ*.

Metathesis. Note emphatic *-ḍ-* reflecting the lost laryngeal.

An alternative reconstruction is **zahod-*.

1345 **hef-* “be light”

Sem **hip-* “be light”: Arab *ḥff* [-i-], Hss *ḥef*, Mhr *ḥef*, Shh *ḥef*.

WCh **fifya-* “light” (adj.): Fyer *fifyo*.

From reduplicated **HVfif-*?

ECh **γyaf-* “light” (adj.): Sok *effi*.

LEC **ha[ff]-* “thin, light”: Or *happii*.

Secondary Or *-p-* may go back to **-f-* in contact with a laryngeal. The vocalism is irregular.

1346 **hek-* “wait”

Sem **hVkVy-* “wait”: Hbr *hky*.

Based on biconsonantal **hVk-*.

WCh **hyak-* “wait”: DB *gyok*, Fyer *kwek*.

1347 *hil- “pierce”

Sem *hVIVy- “cut”: Arab *ḥly* [-i-].

Based on biconsonantal *hVL-.

ECh *yil- “pierce”: Sok *gile*.

Alternation *i ~ *u.

1348 *hilVp- “field”

Sem *hilVp- “meadow”: Akk *ḥilēpu*.Eg *ḥnp.t* “field” (XVIII).

Note -n- < HS *-l-.

1349 *hiš- “peel”

Sem *nVḥaš- “peel off (bark)”: Arab *nḥš* [-a-].

Prefix *nV- with modified vocalism.

Dhl *hitl*- “scrape scales off fish”.Rift *hiš- “peel”: Irq *hiš-it*-.

1350 *hiyal- “be clever”

Sem *hīl- “imagine”¹, “think”²: Arab *ḥyl* [-a-]¹, Gz *ḥly*².LEC *hil- “clever”: Or *hilluu*, Boni *hilluu*.

Contraction of *hiyVL-.

1351 *hoç- “break”

Sem *hVṣ- “break off”: Akk *ḥaṣāṣu*.CCh *ḡwac- “break”: Mafa *hwac*-.

1352 *hol- “cut”

Sem *ḥul- “pierce”: Hbr *ḥll*, Arab *ḥll* [-u-].ECh *ḡwal- “cut (animal) into pieces”: Kera *hole*.

1353 *hom- “be sick, be ill”

Sem *hVmVy- “be paralysed”: Akk *ḥamû*.

Based on biconsonantal *hVm-.

Eg *ḥm* “illness (of stomach)” (med).ECh *ḡwam- “be sick, be ill”: Lele *homya*, Kbl *hum-ḡa*.

1354 *hon- “sack”

Eg *hn* “sack” (XXII).ECh *ḡwan-H- “sack”: Kera *hoḡ*.

Secondary *-H- in the auslaut.

1355 *hon- “do, make”

Eg *hn* “do, make” (n).CCh *ḡwan- “do, make”: Log *ḡn*, Bud *wan*.

1356 *hor- “dry up”

Sem *nVḥVr- “dry” (adj.): Akk *nḥru*.

Prefix *nV-.

CCh *ḡwar- “dry up”: Tera *ḡwari*, Hwn *ḡwar*, Boka *ḡweri*, FG *ḡwoli*, HF *ḡwelo*, FJ *ḡweru*, FMch *ḡuri*, Nza *hore*, Mafa *ḡwar*.

1357 *hor- “snore”

Sem *ḥir-/*ḥur- “snore”: Arab *ḥrr* [-i-, -u-].WCh *ḥa-ḥwar- “snore”: Fyer *gogor*, Bks *hagor*, Sha *ḡahagar*, DB *hagar*.

Partial reduplication. Assimilation of vowels in individual languages.

CCh *ḡur- “snore” (n.): Mafa *ghur-ghur*.

Reduplication.

1358 *horas- “mountain”

Sem *ḥurš- “rock, mountain”: Akk *ḥuršu*, Hbr *ḥōreš*.Eg *ḥs.t* “mountainous region, desert” (pyr).

-j- < *-r-.

WCh *rwaHas- “mountain”: Tala *ro:si*.

Metathesis.

1359 **horug-* “move”

Sem **hVrug-* “go out, drive out”: Hbr *hrg*, Arab *hrg* [-u-], Hss *herōg*.
 WCh **Hwarug-* “drive away”¹, “enter”², “migrate”³: Hs
*rūga*¹, Jim *orogo*², Buli *wərgu*², Tala *rəga*², Ngz *rəgu*³.

CCh **rug-* “run”: Gude *rug-*.

The initial laryngeal is lost.

1360 **horVç-* “receptacle”

Sem **hirs-* “basket”¹, “water-jar”²: Arab *hirs-*¹, Hss *harš*,
*herōš*².

Irregular vocalism.

CCh **γwarVç-* “small pot”: HF *γwarčē*.

LEC **horoç-* “pot”: Or *horoçoo*.

Assimilation of vowels.

1361 **hotam-* “bird”

Sem **hutm-* “bird”: Akk *hutmu*.

ECh **γatVm-* < **γwatam-* “vulture”: Kera *atəme*.

Assimilation of vowels.

1362 **hoṭ-* “go”

Sem **hVṭVw-* “march, go”: Arab *ḥṭw* [-u-].

Based on biconsonantal **hVṭ-*.

CCh **γwat-* “return”: Masa *hōta*.

1363 **hub-* “hole, pit”

Sem **habb-* “pit”: Akk *habbu*.

With secondary *-a- before a labial.

Berb **hVb-* “hole”: Izy *aḥbu*.

CCh **γub-* “hole”: Lmn *oghuhu*.

Emphatization of -ḥ- under the influence of the laryngeal.

1364 **hubu3-* “cereal”

Sem **hubz-* “bread”: Arab *hubz-*, Gz *ḥəbəst*, Hss *habz*, Mhr *habz*,
 Shh *hobz*.

CCh **buz-* “millet”: Daba *vuži*.

Loss of the initial laryngeal.

ECh **bus-* “seed”: Mkk *buzu*.

Loss of the initial laryngeal.

**hu-* may be a prefix.

1365 **hubV³-* “hoe, till” (v.)

Sem **habV³-* “hoe”: Akk *habūtu*.

*-a- < *-u- before the labial.

Eg *ḥbṣ* “dig, till” (pyr).

Denominative formation.

WCh **hubV³-* “hoe, hoe-handle”: Krf *gufe*, Gera *guḥa*, Glm *giḥa*,

Bks *hub-eg*.

-ḥ- reflects the lost auslaut *-ṯ-.

1366 **hubVs-* “vessel”

Sem **hubš-* “clay vessel”: Akk *hubšāšū*.

The root is preserved only in a form of a derivative.

Eg *ḥbs* “vessel for myrrha” (gr).

Cf. **ḥansab-* “vessel”.

1367 **hucig-* “stone”

Sem **husīg-* “stone”: Akk *husīgu*.

Eg *ḥsg* “stone” (XVIII).

Irregular ḥ- < *ḥ-.

1368 **hud-* “cut”

Sem **hud-* “cut”¹, “dig, till”²: Akk *ḥadādu*¹, Arab *ḥdd* [-u-]².

CCh **γud-* “cut”: Glv *γud-*, Nak *wiṛḏa*.

Prefix **wi-* in Nak.

Cf. ECh **γad-* < **γwada-* “split”: Tum *gād*, Ndm *gəda*.

1369 **hu^c-* “put”

Eg *ḥṣ^c* “put, lay” (MK).

Traces of the *a*-grade?

CCh **xyy*- < **yuʔi*- ‘‘put, throw’’: HNK *xyyε*, Log *hi*.

Irregular development of the initial laryngeal under the influence of the inlaut laryngeal.

1370 **hun*- ‘‘voice, speech’’

Eg *hn* ‘‘speech’’ (MK).

WCh **hun*- ‘‘sound or murmur of voices’’: Hs *gūnī*.

CCh **yun*- ‘‘voice’’: HGh *xuna*.

1371 **hun*- ‘‘tomb, grave’’

Eg *hnw* ‘‘tomb, burial place’’ (XVIII).

Vocalic *-w*.

ECh **gun*- ‘‘grave’’: Tum *mu-gən*, Ndm *mu-gun*, Dng *ma-gine*, Kbl *čato-gun*.

Prefix **ma-* in most forms. Connected with **gwan*- ‘‘bury’’: Jegu *gon-t*.

1372 **hund*- ‘‘cereal’’

Eg *hnd* ‘‘kind of cereals’’.

WCh **hund*- ‘‘Pennisetum typhoidaeum’’: Hs *gundu*.

Note emphatic *-d-* influenced by the anlaut laryngeal.

1373 **hund*- ‘‘go’’

Eg *hnd* ‘‘go’’ (gr).

WCh **wund*- < **Hund*- ‘‘enter’’: Zar *wundi*.

The reconstruction of **h*- follows from the emphatic reflecting a lost anlaut laryngeal. On the other hand, **h* normally yields to Zar *g-*.

1374 **hun3*-/**hun3-ir*- ‘‘pig’’

Sem **hunzir*- ‘‘pig’’: Akk *huzīru*, Ug *hnzr*, Hbr *həzīr*, Aram (Syr) *hʕzira*, Arab *hinzīr*.

Note the development of HS cluster **-n3-* preserved only in Ug and Arab.

WCh **hun3*- ‘‘wild boar’’: Hs *gunzū*.

CCh **yingzir*- ‘‘pig’’: Ktk *hinzir*.

Assimilation of vowels. Sem loan-word?

ECh **yunzir*- ‘‘pig’’¹, ‘‘porcupine’’²: Dng *kinzir*¹, Kbl *kunzu*².

The reflex of HS **h* in Dng is irregular. Assimilation of vowels in Dng.

Note LEC **gol(V)ž*- ‘‘boar’’ (Or *golžaa*), HEC **gol(V)ž*- ‘‘boar’’ (Sid *golja*), Omot **gudin*- ‘‘boar’’ (Ome *gudunča*, Kaf *gudino*), a *Wanderwort* of considerable resemblance to **hun3(ir)*-. **-n3-* seems to be a HS cluster. **hun3-ir*- is a HS derivative. The original root is preserved only in the archaic WCh **hun3*-.

1375 **hur*- ‘‘dig’’

Sem **hVr*- ‘‘dig’’: Akk *heru*, Ug *hr*, Gz *hrw*.

WCh **hur*- ‘‘enlarge (hole, well)’’¹, ‘‘dig’’²: Hs *gūre*¹, Bol *gur*².

LEC **hur*- ‘‘make hole’’: Or *hura*.

1376 **hur*- ‘‘hole, pit’’

Sem **hurr*- ‘‘hole’’¹, ‘‘grave’’²: Akk *hurru*¹, Ug *hr*², Hbr *hōr*¹, Arab *hurr*¹, Hss *hurrayt*¹.

Eg *hr* ‘‘tomb’’ (n).

WCh **hir*- ‘‘pit, hole’’: Wrj *gir-na*, Kry *gir*, Miya *agir*, Paa *ngir*, Siri *yəri*, Jmb *yira*, Brm *čir*, Say *gir*, Buli *yir*, Pol *gir*.

From **huri*-?

LEC **hur*- ‘‘hole’’: Or *huraa*.

Derived from **hur*- ‘‘dig’’.

1377 **huray*- ‘‘palm tree’’

Sem **harVy*- ‘‘palm sprout’’: Akk *harū*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh **yuray*- ‘‘Deleb palm’’: Msg *hurai*, *horai*.

Rift **huray*- ‘‘Borassus palm’’: Irq *huray*.

1378 **huru^c*- ‘‘steal’’

Eg *hwr^c* ‘‘steal’’ (n).

Irregular laryngeal in late Eg. Vocalic *-w-*.

CCh **γur*- “steal”: Chb *χul*-, Bura *χula*, HBaza *γuli*, HNk *γuli*-, FGI *γuli*, HGH *χuri*, FKİ *γuři*, Gude *χuř-n*, FJ *χuř*, Mwu *uhuro*, Lame *huřa*.

The second syllable is lost in CCH.

1379 **hurVb*- “bend”

Eg *ħɔb* “crooked” (med).

CCh **γurVb*- “bend (down)”: Mafa *hurv*-.

1380 **huṭ*- “dig, scratch”

Sem **huṭ*- “dig”¹, “make signs on the ground”²: Akk *ħaṭātu*¹ [-*u*-], Hss *ħṭāṭ*², Mhr *ħeṭ*², Shh *ħeṭ*².

Dhl *hud*- “dig”.

Connected with **ħaṭ*- “dig”.

1381 **hüdad*- “stream, river”

Sem **hidVd*- “narrow river-bed”: Jib *hided*.

Based on **ħad(d)*- “rivulet” (Arab *ħadd*-)?

WCh **hudad*- “stream, flow”: Hs *gudāda*.

1382 **hVbuč*- “be angry”

Sem **hVbuč*- “be angry, be malicious”: Arab *ħbl* [-*u*-].

WCh **HVbuči*- “angry, bad”: Sura *biš*, Ang *bis*.

Voiced *b*- in Sura and Ang point out to a preceding syllable.

1383 **hVĉun*- “be hard”

Sem **hVšun*- “be hard”: Arab *ħšn* [-*u*-].

Assimilation of vowels in **ħašan*-.

CCh **šVn-H*- “hardness”: Masa *šeṇe*.

Metathesis of the laryngeal. Note the development of **-n-H* into -*ŋ*-.

1384 **hVĉar*- “be green”

Sem **hVšar*- “be green”: Arab *ħḍr* [-*a*-].

WCh **ĉVr*- “green, unripe”: Ngz *šer-ət*.

Complete loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

**hV*- may be a prefix. Any connection with **hVĉeb*- “be green”?

1385 **hVĉeb*- “be green”

Sem **hVšib*- “be green”¹, “paint” (v.)²: Akk *ħašābu*¹, Arab *ħḍb* [-*i*-]².

CCh *(*HV*)*žyab*- “green”: Log *žebā*.

Auslaut -*ā* in Log may reflect metathesis of the laryngeal and further lengthening of the vowel.

1386 **hVf*- “break”

Sem **hVpVy*- “break”: Akk *ħepū*.

Based on biconsonantal **hVp*-.

Eg *ħfħf* “break (a statue)” (sait).

Reduplication.

1387 **hVl*- “close, lock”

Sem **hVl*- “lock” (v.): Akk *ħalālu*.

Eg *ħn* “close” (XXII).

Irregular *ħ*- resulting from **h*- in late Eg.

1388 **hVlVy*- “shine”

Sem **hVlVy*- “be light”: Akk *ħelū*.

Eg *ħy* “shine” (XVIII).

Irregular *ħ*-.

1389 **hVn*- “preserve, keep”

Sem **ħan*- “storage place”: Jib *ħan*.

Deverbative?

CCh **γVn*- “preserve, keep, store”: Mafa *ħan*.

1390 **hVpač*- “calf” (anat.)

Eg *ħpš* “calf” (pyr).

WCh *pVhaĉ- “calf”: Mnt pəyas.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *pVhaĉ-.

1391 *hVsiĉ- “cut, pierce”

Sem *hVsiĉ- “pierce”: Arab ḥsq [-i-].

ECh *sik- “cut”: Brg sikki.

Rift *sik- “cut”: Irq siq-.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal in ECh and Rift.

1392 *hVtik- “cut, divide”

Sem *hVtik- “cut off”: Akk ḥatāku, Hbr ḥtk.

WCh *tik- “divide”: Bol tikk-.

Cf. *tik- “half” (Bol tika, Dera tik, Tng tik-t).

CCh *tik- “divide”: FM tik, Mrg tikiya.

The anlaut laryngeal is lost.

*hV- may be a prefix.

1393 *hVtVm- “close”

Sem *hVtVm- “stop up”: Akk ḥatāmu.

Eg ḥtm “close” (pyr).

Cf. a metathesized deverbative in CCh *tVyum- “dam”: Log tḫum.

1394 *hVwar-/*hVyar- “be good”

Sem *hṛ- “be favorable”: Arab ḥyr [-i-].

CCh *ḫwar- < *ḡVwar- “good”: Gava ḫwara.

Irregular laryngeal.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1395 *hVwit-/hVyit- “sew, tie”

Sem *hūt-/hīt- “sew”: Aram ḥwt, Arab ḥyt [-i-], Hss ḥeyōt, Mhr ḥetō,

Shh ḥate.

WCh *hVwit- “untie”: Bks hwet.

SA *hid- “attach camels in Indian file”: Afar hid-.

Contraction.

LEC *hit- “tie”: Som hed-, hid-, Or hid-, Rnd hid-, Kon hid-, Gid hid-, Arb hid-.

HEC *hit- “tie”: Bmb hid-.

Rift *hed- “tie”: Alg heed-.

Irregular *-d-.

Dhl hud- “sew”.

Contraction. Irregular -d-.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-. Irregular auslaut stops in Rift and Dhl may be indications of their being loanwords from other Cush branches.

1396 *hVwVĉ-/hVyVĉ- “go”

Sem *hūĉ- “go”: Akk ḥūqu.

HEC *hiĉ- < *hVyVĉ- “approach”: Bmb hiik-.

Contraction.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1397 *hVyVt- “see, watch”

Sem *hit- “observe”: Akk ḥātu.

Eg ḥty “see” (BD).

Metathesis. -t- < *-t- is regular.

An alternative reconstruction is *hVtVy-.

*k

1398 *kaʔ- “game”

Eg tʔ.w “game” (sait).

Note the palatalization of *k-.

WCh *kaʔaw- “game”: Ngz kāwa.

Suffix *-aw-.

1399 *ka²/*kaw- “bull”

Eg *kʷ* “bull” (pyr), Copt **ko* id.: OCopt *ko*.

CCh **kaw*- “bull”: Glv *kawa*, Gava *kawa*, Mnd *kawa*.

Consonantal alternation **-ʷ* ~ **-w*.

1400 *ka²- “say, shout”

Eg *kʷ* “say” (NK).

CCh **ka*²- “say, call”: Log *ka*, Bud *ka ʒu*, HnK *ka*-, HF *ka*-, Tera *ga*.

ECh **ka*²/**kaw*- “say”: Tum *kā*, Dng *kāwe*, Mubi *kā*.

Dhl *kaa*^c- “shout”.

-^c reflecting **-ʷ*?

Rift **kaw*- “tell”: Bur *kaw*-.

1401 *ka³oc- “vessel”

Sem **ka*³s- “vessel for beer”¹, “bowl”²: Akk *kāsu*¹, Arab *ka*³s-², Hbr *kōs*².

Eg *kʷs* “vessel” (l).

WCh **kwac*- “kind of a drum”: Hs *kōçō*.

Contraction from **ka*³*wac*-.

CCh **kwac*- “quiver”: Hwn *kwasa-ra*, Gbn *kwiči-te*, Boka *kwes-tə*,

Wmd *kwāza*, Chb *kwāza*, Mrg *kwāza*, Gude *kwāza*, Mwl *koso-ro*,

Bch *kwoso-to*, FJ *kwāza*, Gudu *kwāza*.

Contraction from **ka*³*wac*-?

1402 *ka³up- “cover, close”

Eg *skʷp* “cover” (caus.), Dem *kʷp* “cover”, Copt **kōp* “hide”: Boh *kʷōp*, Shd *kōp*.

Cf. reduplicated *kʷpʷp* “cover (with butter, oil)” (sarc).

WCh **kVʷup*- “cover, thatch”¹, “wrap”²: Sura *kup*¹, Ang *kūp*¹, Mpn *kūp*².

CCh **kap*- “cover (with cloth)”: Mafa *kap*.

Contraction from **kaHup*-.

Wrz **kup*- “close”: Gaw *kup*.

Dhl *kupi*- “cover”.

Rift **kuf*- “close, shut”: Kwz *kuf-um*-.

Semantic syncretism of “close”, “shut” and “cover” as in Slav **kryti*.

1403 *ka³Vn- “be true”

Sem **kVʷVn*- “be true”: Akk *kānu*.

CCh **kan*- “true”¹, “truth”²: Bch *kana*¹, Bud *kani*².

From **kaHVn*-.

1404 *kab- “burn, roast”

Sem **kVb*- “burn”¹, “smoulder”²: Akk *kabābu*¹, Hbr *kby*², Arab *kbw*².

Various formations based on biconsonantal **kVb*-.

CCh **kab*- “roast”: Bud *kabē*.

Cf. Eg *kb* “warm up” (gr) with an unexpected emphatic in the anlaut.

1405 *kab- “go, follow”

WCh **kwab*- < **kab*- “go”: Mnt *kop*, Bol *kob*-.

**a* > **wa* under the influence of the following labial.

Mgg *khab* “follow”.

1406 *kab- “shoe, sandal”

Eg *tb.t*, *tbw* “sandal” (pyr).

Note the palatalization of **k*-.

WCh **kab*- “shoes”: Ang *kāp*.

LEC **kab*-/**kob*- “shoe, sandal”: Som *kab*, Or *kobe*², Boni *kob*, Rnd *kob*, Arb *kobo*, Kon *xop-to*.

Secondary -o- before a labial.

Wrz **xop*- “shoe, sandal”: Gaw *xope*.

Borrowed from LEC?

An old *Wanderwort*. Any relation to **kab*- “go, follow”?

1407 *kab-/*kib- “(gourd) vessel”

Eg *kb* “vessel” (n).

WCh **kab-* “small calabash”: Hs *kābō*.
Dhl *kīβo* “gourd”.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

1408 **kabel-/kaber-* “shoe, sandal”

ECh **kVb-Vr-* “shoes”: Gbr *kob-oro*, Kbl *kob-ro*.
SA **kab-el-* “shoe, sandal”: Afar *kabel*.

Derived from **kab-* “shoe, sandal”.

1409 **kaber-* “bull, buffalo”

CCh **kabyar-* “bull”: Bud *kāber*.
HEC **kobir-* “buffalo”: Had *kobira*.

Secondary **o* < **a* before a labial.

1410 **kabVr-* “be thick”

Sem **kVbur-* “be big, be thick”: Akk *kabāru*, Arab *kbr* [-u-].
Secondary **-u-*?

WCh **kabVr-* “thickness”: Hs *kabrī*.

1411 **kac-* “cut, tear”

Sem **kVsVh-* “cut”: Hbr *ksh*, Arab *ksh*.

Based on the original biconsonantal **kVs-*?

WCh **kac-* “snap (thread, rope)”: Hs *kaça*.

Rift **kaʔas-* “split”: Bur *kaʔas-*.

Typical development of the inner vowel into a cluster with a middle laryngeal in Rift.

1412 **kacaf-* “metal”

Sem **kasp-* “silver”: Akk *kaspu*, Hbr *keseḫ*.

CCh **kVcaf-* “iron”¹, “sand containing iron”²: Log *xsāf*¹, Gis *mu-ksaf*².

Prefix **mu-* in Gis.

Names of metals are subject to semantic changes motivated by the history of the material culture, cf., e.g., Hitt *ḫarašu-*

“bronze” borrowed from Akk *ḫurāṣu* “gold” or Finn *vaski* “copper” borrowed from one of IE words for gold (cf. Arm *oski*, Tokh A *wäs*). Such fluctuations may be observed even within one language, cf. Skt *loha-* “copper” and “iron”.

1413 **kaf-* “descendants, clan”

WCh **kwaf-* < **kafwa-* “inheritance”: Mpn *kōp*.

Wrz **kaf-* “clan”: Gaw *kaf-ko*.

Cf. Ir *sliocht* “descendants, race, family” ~ Mlr *slicht* “trace, track” and, on the other hand, Russ *nasledstvo* “inheritance, heritage” < *sled* “trace”.

1414 **kahVp-* “hole”

Sem **kahp-* “cavern”: Arab *kahf*.

Copt **kēpi* “vault, cave”: Boh *k'ēpi*, Shd *kēpe*.

Not attested in Eg.

WCh **kap-* < **kaHVp-* “hole”: Hs *kafā*.

Contraction.

Wrz **kap-* “irrigation ditch”: Gaw *kap-ko*.

A loanword?

Cf. Eg *ṭḫ.t* “hole” (pyr) with a different laryngeal and palatalized *ṭ* < **k*. Metathesis of the original **kahep-* or **kahop-*?

1415 **kaḫ-* “house”

Sem **kaḫ-/kuḫ-* “hut”: Arab *kaḫ-*, *kuḫ-*.

Secondary variant in *kuḫ-*.

WCh **kaḫ-* “house (with clay walls)”: Hs *kago*, Gwn *kago*.

SA **keH-* “place”: Afar *kee*.

From **kaHe-*.

1416 **kakar-* “circle, ring”

Sem **kakkar-/kikkar-* “round bread, disk”: Akk *kakkaru*, Hbr *kikkār*.

ECh **kakVr-* “arm-ring, bracelet”: Kera *kaakəray*.

Partial reduplication.

1417 *ka-kul- “basket”

Sem *kul-kul- “basket”: Akk kukkullu.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh *kV_kVL-/*kulV_k- “basket”: Dgh kwulge, Nak klogo, Gava kwulekha, Mus kekele.

Some forms underwent metathesis.

Rift *kakul- “half-calabash”: Kwz kakul-eto.

Derived from *kol- “gourd, calabash”.

1418 *kal- “go”

Berb *kVL- “go, march”: Siwa u-kel, Ntf ā-kəl, Mns xel.

CCh *kal- “run, go (quickly)”: Mba kal, Mafa kəl, Gis kal.

ECh *kVL- “enter”: Kera kele.

Cf. Dhl kihl- “run”?

1419 *kal- “female in-law”

Sem *kall- “daughter-in-law”¹, “bride”²; Akk kallātu¹, Ug kl-t², Hbr kallā¹, Aram (Syr) kallātō¹.

WCh *kalya- “woman”: Zem kal, Zar kəl, Zak kyel, Buu kəli, Dok kəli.

Cf. Hs kōlō “daughters”.

Rift *kwala²- “widow” (Irg kwala²o, Alg kwa²al- ito²o, Bur kwa²al-ito²o, Asa kala²ayi) may also belong to this root and reflect *kol- together with Hs.

1420 *kalah- “go”

CCh *ka-kVLVh- “return, retire, go slowly”: Mofu kakəl^h.

Partial reduplication.

SA *kalah- “travel”: Saho kalaah, kalaah.

Derived from *kal- “go”.

1421 *kalem-/kulem- “charcoal”

CCh *kimyal- “charcoal”: Bnn kimela, BM kimil-na.

Metathesis.

ECh *kulim- “charcoal”: Dng kulmo, Mig kolmo, Bid kilmo, Brg kilmo, Mubi kilim.

Rift *kalem- “charcoal”: Kwz kalem-uko.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

1422 *kalim- “insect”

Sem *kalm- “insect”¹, “louse”²: Akk kalmatu¹, Aram kalmātā².

SA *kilim- “tick”: Saho kilim, Afar kilim.

Assimilation of vowels.

1423 *kalVy- “vessel”

Sem *kalVy- “vessel”: Akk kalū, Hbr kēlī.

WCh *kyl- < *kayal- “pot”: Dera kile, Ngm kyelle, Kr kəli.

Metathesis.

CCh *kalway- “pot”: Bud kaloē.

LEC *kill- “small bowl”: Or killa.

Contraction of a metathetic form.

An alternative reconstruction may be *kaVyl-. Any relation to *kol- “gourd, calabash”?

1424 *kama²-/*kamay- “food”

Eg kmy “food” (gr).

WCh *kamam- “snack”: Hs kāmāmā.

Partial reduplication of metathetic *kām- < *kaHam-.

ECh *ka²am- “mush”: Tum kām.

Metathesis. Cf. *kwam- “eat”: Smr kwam, Mkk koome.

An alternative reconstruction is *ka²am-/kayam-.

1425 *kan- “dog”

ECh *kanya- “dog”: Dng kanya, Jegu kany-.

Omot *kan- “dog”: Ome kana, kanaa, Mao kano.

A morphonological variant of *kun- id., *küHen- id.

1426 *kanap- “wing”

Sem *kanap- “wing”: Akk *kappu*, Ug *knp*, Hbr *kānāp*, Aram (Syr) *kenpō*, Arab *kanaf*, Gz *kənf*.

Agaw *kan(V)p-/*kin(V)p- “wing”: Bil *kanfi*, Xmt *kenfaa*, Kwr *kamb*, Kem *kāmbii*, Aun *kenfii*.

Traces of *i*-grade in Xmt and Aun.

1427 *kanpar-/*kanpur- “lip, muzzle”

Berb *kVn_fur- “lip, muzzle”: Ntf *a-kenfur*, Snus *a- kenfur*.

WCh *kapur- “mouth”: Mnt *kapur*.

Agaw *kanpar- “lip”: Bil *kanfər*, Kwr *kanpər*, Kem *kəmbər*, Aun *kanfar*.

SA *kamfer- “muzzle”: Saho *kamfer*.

Assimilation of *np- > *mf-.

LEC *gafur- “muzzle”: Som *gafuur*.

Irregular *g- < *k- and loss of inlaut *-n-. An expressive form with irregular phonetic changes or a loanword?

1428 *kap- “hand”

Sem *kapp- “hand”: Akk *kappu*, Ug *kp*, Hbr *kap*, Aram (Syr) *kappō*, Arab *kaff*, Hss *kef*, Mhr *kef*.

Eg *kp* “enemy’s hands separated from his arms; cut off hand” (n).

1429 *kap- “earth”

WCh *kapu- “red sorrel”: Mpn *kupu*.

Wrz *kap- “earth”: Gaw *kappe*.

1430 *kap- “house”

Sem *kupp- “building”: Akk *kuppātu*.

Note *u.

Eg *kȝp* “house” (MK).

Vocalic -ȝ-.

WCh *kap- “hut”: Hs *kafē*.

CCh *kVp- “house”: Tera *kipi*.

Connected with *ka²up- “cover, close”?

1431 *kapa²- “move, go”

Sem *kVpa²- “go away”: Arab *kf²* [-a].

WCh *kap- “come”: Mnt *kop*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

1432 *kar- “lamb”

Sem *karr- “lamb”¹, “fattened lamb, ram”²: Akk *karru*¹, Ug *kr*¹, Hbr *kar*².

Berb *kVrVw-/*kVrVy- “lamb”¹, “young ram”²: Ayr *a-kərwa*¹, Twl *a-kərwa*¹, Sml *i-kru*², Kby *i-kərri*¹.

Derivative in *-w-/*-y-. Cf. WCh?

WCh *karwa- “sheep”¹, “lamb, bull”²: Wnd *karo*¹, Tng *karwa*².

LEC *kar- “heifer goats” (coll.): Arb *kaariy*.

1433 *kar- “sun”

Sem *karar- “day heat”: Akk *kararū*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh *kar- “sun”: Bele *kaara*.

1434 *kar-/*kayar- “dog”

WCh *kar-/*kayar- “dog”: Hs *karē*, Brw *kəra*, Say *kara*, Bks *kyara*, Klr *gyara*, DB *čira*.

CCh *kīr- < *kVyVr- “dog”: Lmn *kīrre*, Mnd *kəre*, Suk *kīrra*, Gid *kəre*.

SA *kar- “dog”: Saho *kare*.

LEC *ka[y]ir- “dog”: Arb *kair*, *ker*.

Secondary *-i- after *-y-.

Wrz *χa[y]ar- “dog”: War *χero*, Gaw *haaro*, Gob *heero*, Cam *karo*.

*kayar- seems to be a secondary formation based on *kar- preserved in SA and, to some extent, in WCh.

1435 *kariĉ- “belly”

Sem *kariš- “belly”: Akk *karšu*, Hbr *kārēš*, Aram (Syr) *karsō*, Arab *kariš*-, Gz *karš*, Hss *kēreš*, Mhr *kēreš*, Shh *šurš*.

Wrz **korVs-* “meat”: Gaw *korse*.

Vocalism is not clear.

Semantically, the connection between “meat” and various words for inner organs may be corroborated by such IE correspondences as ON *kjōt* “meat” ~ Skt *guda-* “intestines”.

1436 **kas-* “fall”

Sem **nVkuš-* “turn over”¹, “fall”²: Arab *nks* [-u-]¹, Jib *nkos*².

Prefix **nV-* with modified root vocalism.

CCh **kas-* “fall”: Msg *kasa*.

1437 **kat-* “back”

ECh **kat-* “back”: Bid *kate*.

Rift **kat-* “cow’s hump”: Alg *kata*, Bur *kata-ŋ*.

1438 **kat-* “be small”

Sem **kVt-* “weak”: Akk *katū*.

Eg *kt* “small” (MK).

WCh **kat-* “small”: Sura *kat*, Mpn *kat*.

Cf. WCh **kwati-* “small, narrow” (Ang *kwīt*) and CCh **kwati-* “small” (Mafa *kwite²e*) reflecting a different root vowel.

1439 **kat-* “move, go”

Eg *ktkt* “move” (Amar).

Reduplication.

ECh **kat-* “go, go out”¹, “follow”²: Mubi *kāt*¹, Brg *kaati*¹, Bid *kaat*¹, Kwn *kote*².

LEC **kat-* “run”: Or *kaat-*.

Omot **kat-* “hurry, hasten”: Kaf *kaat-*, Mch *kaata-*, Bwo *kat-*.

ECh, LEC and Omot may reflect a prototype with an inlaut laryngeal **kaHat-/*kawat-*. Cf. also in WCh: Hs *katākatā* “first efforts of a child to walk”.

1440 **katum-* “metal”

Sem **kVtm-* “gold”: Hbr *ketem*.

WCh **katum-* “pig of iron”: Hs *katūmā*.

See our notes to **kacaf-* “metal”.

1441 **kaw-* “set fire”

Sem **kūy-* “burn”¹, “kindle fire”²: Akk *kawū*¹, Hbr *kwy*¹, Arab *kwy* [-i-]².

Based on **kVw-*.

WCh **kaw-/*kawVy-* “roast”: Tng *kawe*, Wrj *kaw*, Jmb *kaw*, Miya *kaw*, Kry *kaw*, Paa *ku*, Cagu *kuwa*, Siri *ku*, Ngz *kauyu*.

Cf. a similar structure with final **-y-* in Sem.

CCh **ku[w]-* “be hot”: Log *kku*.

Cf. **kuw-* “fire, hotness” (LPe *k^wu*, Suk *khu*, Bnn *kuwa*, Zime *ku*).

ECh **kVwiy-* “set fire, fry, burn”: Lele *kūy*, Mubi *kewī*, Tbn *kūyē*, Kera *ki*.

Cf. Sem and WCh forms in **-y-*.

There are indications of a parallel variant that may be reconstructed as **kawVy-*.

1442 **keVc-* “be angry”

Sem **kVVs-* “be ill-tempered”: Hbr *k^cs*.

Eg *khs* “anger” (XVIII).

Irregular laryngeal.

ECh **k^yas-* < **k^yaHVs-* “angry”: Sok *kesi kesi*.

1443 **ken-* “cereal”

Sem **kin-* “cereal”: Akk *kinītu*.

WCh **k^yan-* “seed”: Ang *kēn*.

1444 **ken-* “know, learn”

Eg *tny* “learn” (MK).

Palatalized **k-* before a middle vowel.

ECh **k^wan-* < **k^yanu-* “knowledge”: Mkk *konya*.

Bed *kan-* “know”.

Unclear *-a-*.

Agaw **kan-t-/*kin-t-* “learn”¹, “see”²: Bil *kən-t-*¹, Xmr *kin-t-*¹,

Kwr *kin-t-*¹, Aun *kan-t-*².

HEC **ken-* “know”: Had *ken-*.

Cf. Sem **Vhan-/*kVhun-* “foretell, predict”: Arab *khn* [*-a-*, *-u-*].

1445 **kenah-* “darkness”

Eg *knḥ.w* “darkness” (BD).

No traces of palatalization!

ECh **kyanaH-* “night”: Nch *kenā*.

1446 **kenum-* “darkness”

Eg *knm.t* “darkness” (BD).

No traces of palatalization!

CCh **kyanum-* “night”: Bud *kenum*.

ECh **kyaVm-* “shadow”: Mig *kelmo*, Mkk *kelēmo*, Sok *kilmio*.

**-l- < HS *-n-* dissimilated before **-m-*.

Related to **kenah-* “darkness”.

1447 **ket-* “tie”

Eg *#* “untie, disengage” (n).

Palatalization of **k-*.

ECh **kyat-* “tie”: Mkk *kette*, *gitte*.

1448 **kew-/*key-* “wind”

Eg *ṭw* “wind, air” (pyr), Copt **t'ēw* “wind, air”: Boh *t'ēou*, Shd *tēu*.

Vocalic *-ʔ-*.

WCh **kay-* “wind”: Paa *key*.

Consonantal alternation **-w- ~ *-y-*.

1449 **ki-* “leg”

Eg *ṭyṭy* “leg” (BD).

Reduplication. Palatalization of **k-*.

WCh **ki-* “hip, thigh”: Sura *čī*, Ang *či*, Chip *ši*.

Palatalization of **k-* before **-i-*.

1450 **kiʔ-* “man, child”

Eg *ṭyṭy* “man” (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*. Note the palatalization of **k-*.

ECh **kiʔ-* “child”: Gbr *kīe*.

1451 **kiʔ-* “put on (clothes)”

Eg *ṭyṭy* “put on (clothes)” (NK).

Note the palatalization of **k-*.

CCh **kaʔ-/*kiʔ-* “put on (clothes)”: Gis *ki*, Gudu *kā*, Nza *kaʔa*, Bch *kā*.

**kaʔ-* goes back to **kiʔa-*.

Cf. LEC **kaʔ-/*kaw-* “place, put, lay” (Or *kaaya*, Arb *kaw-*).

1452 **kiʔVd-* “earth, ground”

Sem **kīd-* “outside region”: Akk *kīdu*.

ECh **kiq- < *kiHVd-* “earth, ground”: Mig *kida*, Brg *kido*, Mubi *kidi*, Dng *kida*.

Emphatization of **-d-* under the influence of the laryngeal.

1453 **kič-* “bite”

Sem **nVkVṭ-* “bite”: Aram (Syr) *nkt*, Gz *nks*.

Prefix **nV-*.

Berb **kVs-* “bite”: Ahg *əkš*.

HEC **kis-* “bite”: Sid *kis-*.

Irregular *-s-*.

1454 **kič-* “basket, container”

WCh **kuč-* “basket”: Fyer *kučči*, Ank *ta-kuči*, Mpn *kəči*.

-u- from HS *ū?

Agaw *kič- ‘basket’: Xmr *kizaa*, Kem *kišaa*.

LEC *kiš- ‘sack’: Som *kiš*, Or *kešaa*.

1455 *kil- ‘fence’

WCh *kil- ‘fence’: Hs *killā*.

Cf. Brm *kwal* ‘house’, Bks *kyel* ‘place’, DB *kil* id., Buli *kila* id.

LEC *kel- ‘compound, fence’: Or *kellaa*.

Cf. also ECh *kul- ‘hut, town’ (Lele *kul*, Kera *kuli*, Smr *kūlū*, Kwn *kulū*).

1456 *kilam- ‘ivory’

Sem *kilām- ‘ivory’: Akk *kilāmu*, *gilāmu*.

Eg *kmry* ‘ivory’ (n).

Metathesis.

Ancient *Wanderwort*? The alternative reconstruction is *kimal-.

1457 *kilbab-/*kirbab- ‘insect’

Sem *kulbāb- ‘ant’: Akk *kulbābu*.

*u < *i under the influence of *b.

CCh *kirbab- ‘flea’: Bud *kirbābo*.

Irregular alternation of liquids. Partial reduplication?

1458 *kin- ‘egg’

Sem *mV-kan- ‘lay eggs’: Arab *mkn* [-a-].

Derivative with a prefix *mV- and modified vocalism.

WCh *kin- ‘egg’: Diri *akin*.

LEC *u-kun- ‘egg’: Som (dial.) *ukun*, *ukkun*, Rnd *ukun*.

Prefix *u-. Assimilation from *u-kin-. This word was obviously influenced by another LEC word for ‘egg’ (cf. Som *ugah* and the like).

Relation to Rift *kan- ‘egg’ (Irq *qanhi*, Alg *qanaʔi*, Bur *qanaya*) doubtful in view of the initial *k-.

1459 *kin- ‘count’

Eg *tnw* ‘count’ (pyr).

Suffix -w?

WCh *kinu- ‘count’: Mnt *kūn*, Wrj *kin-*, Kry *kin-*, Miya *kan-*, Paa *kan-*, Cagu *kan-*, Siri *kanu*, Mbu *kan*, Jmb *kan*.

Secondary emphatic?

Irregular alternation *k ~ *k̥.

1460 *kir- ‘steal’

WCh *kir- ‘steal’: Wrj *kir-ai*, Kry *kir*, Mbu *kir*, Paa *kara*, Jmb *kara*, Miya *akir*, Siri *kari*, Ngz *karu*, Bade *kalu*.

Wrz *kere^c- ‘steal’: Gaw *kere^c*.

Secondary -e^c-?

1461 *kirim- ‘genitals’

Sem *kirim- ‘womb’: Akk *kirimu*.

Eg *lʒm* ‘foreskin’ (MK).

Note -ʒ- < *-r-.

Semantic development may be problematic.

1462 *kir-kar- ‘camel’

Sem *kir-kār- ‘she-camel’: Hbr *kirkārā*.

Berb *kVr-kar- ‘camels’ (pl.): Ayr *i-karkar*, Twl *i-karkar*.

Reduplication. Related to Dhl *kiri* ‘giraffe’?

1463 *kiʒ- ‘container’

Eg *ʒ.t* ‘box’ (OK).

Palatalization of *k-.

Agaw *kiʒ- ‘basket’: Xmr *kizaa*, *kiʒaa*.

1464 *ko-ko- ‘vessel’

Eg *tt* ‘vessel’ (n).

Palatalization of *k-.

WCh **kwak-* “pot”: Gera *kwaka*.

From **kwakwa-*?

CCh **kwakway-* “calabash”: Mtk *kokway*.

Stem **kwakwa-* with a suffix **-ay-*.

Reduplication. The original root may be preserved in ECh

**kay-* “pot”: Mkk *keyye*.

1465 **koʔaf-* “door, gate”

WCh **kwaʔaf-* “doorway, gateway”: Hs *kōfa*.

Rift **kaʔaf-* “door, gate”: Bur *kaʔafu*, Kwz *kaʔaf-uko*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from **ʔaf-* “mouth” with a prefix **ko-*?

1466 **kob-* “bend”

Sem **nVkub-* “incline, bend”: Arab *nkb* [-u].

Prefix **nV-*. Cf. Arab *kbb* [-u] “upturn”.

CCh **kwab-ay-* “bend”: Bud *kobei-hi*.

1467 **koč-* “be big”

Sem **kVt-* “be massive”: Akk *kašāšu*.

WCh **kwač-* “high, long”: Fyer *koos*.

CCh **kwač-* “many, much”: Mba *kočo*.

1468 **kočaʔ-* “peel, tear”

Sem **kVšaʔ-* “peel”: Arab *kšʔ* [-a].

WCh **kwač-* “tear”: Bul *kwəšu*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

1469 **kod-* “work, be tired”

Sem **kud-* “work (hard), be tired”: Arab *kdd* [-u].

ECh **kad-* “be tired”¹, “be tired (of feet)”²: Sok *kadi*¹, Mkk *gidde*.

Secondary emphatization in Mkk (reflecting **kadyaH-*?).

Vocalism **-a-* of a stative.

Wrz **kod-* “work”: Gaw *koḡaḡ-*.

Partial reduplication.

1470 **koʔar-* “drive away”

Sem **kVʔar-* “drive, push”: Arab *kʔr* [-a].

WCh **kwaHar-* “drive away”: Hs *kōrā*, Buli *karu*.

Cf. CCh **kar-uw-* “hunt” (FKi *karuwa*).

1471 **koh-* “egg”

WCh **kwah-* < **kwah-* “egg”: Hs *kwai*, Grk *nkie*.

Shift of the emphatization. Prefix in Grk.

Bed *kʷahi* “egg”.

Wrz **ʔu-kah-* “egg”: Gaw *ukāhe*.

Probably, Wrz does not belong here if it is related to Som *ugah* id. and the like.

1472 **koḡan-* “shine; light”

Eg *ṭhn* “shine” (pyr).

Palatalization of **k-*.

WCh **kwan-H-* “light, day”: Tng *kəŋ*, DB *ma-kon*.

Metathesis. Prefix **ma-* in DB.

Wrz **kan-* < **kVHan-* “day”: Gaw *kanē*.

1473 **kol-* “gourd, calabash”

Eg *ṭj.t* “vessel” (OK).

Palatalization of **k-*. Note *-j-* < **-l-*.

WCh **kwal-* “calabash”: Hs *kullu*, Bol *kula*, Tng *kwalī*, Pero *kwalī*.

Cf. Hs *kwala* “metal water-bottle” and, with partial reduplication *kōlōlō* “kind of bottle-gourd”.

CCh **kwal-* “calabash, pot”: Gvo *kwəla*, HGh *kuli*.

ECh **kwal-* “jug”¹, “pot”²: Bid *kolle*¹, Mubi *kōli*², Sok *kō-kolo*².

Reduplication in Sok. Cf. Mig *kolo-ngane* “clay mug”.

LEC **ʔV-kol-* “skin bucket”: Or *okolee*.

Prefix **ʔV-*.

1474 *kol- “return, go around”

WCh *kwal- “return”: Bele *kolu*.

LEC *koll- “go around, run here and there”: Or *kolla*-³*a*.

Related to *kal- “go”?

1475 *kolab- “container”

Sem **kVlūb*- “basket”: Hbr *k'lūb*.

Secondary vocalism?

Eg *trb* “vessel” (n), *tjb* (XVIII).

Loanword from Sem?

WCh *kwalab- “glass bottle”: Hs *kwalabā*.

CCh *kwalab- “bottle”: Mafa *kwalaba*.

Hs loanword?

Derived from *kol- “gourd, calabash”.

1476 *kom- “vessel”

Eg *km.ty* “vessel” (XVIII).

No traces of palatalization.

WCh *kwam- “kind of calabash or gourd”: Hs *kōmō*.

CCh *kwam- “calabash”: Bud *komo*.

1477 *kom- “cereal”

Eg *kʷm.wt.t* “barley” (BD).

No traces of palatalization.

WCh *kwam- “peanut”¹, “maize”²: Sura *kom*¹, Pero *koomo*².

CCh *kwam- “guinea corn”: Nza *kʷəmə*.

Cf. WCh *kima- “grain”: Mnt *šism*, Brm *kim*?

1478 *kom- “fowl”

Sem **kumVy*- “waterfowl”: Akk *kumū*.

WCh *kwam- “old hen or guinea-fowl”¹, “hen”²: Hs *kwammā*¹,

Tng *kom*², Bol *kom*².

1479 *kom- “cattle”

WCh *kwam- “cow”¹, “bull”²: Bol *kwəm*¹, Krk *kwam*¹, Ngm *kwəm*¹, Ngz *kwam*², Bade *kwam*².

CCh *kum- < *kwamu- “meat”: Brm *kum*, Chb *kum*, Mrg *kum*, Klb *kum*, Wmd *kumu*.

ECh *kwama- “buffalo”¹, “meat”²: Sok *kām*¹, Dng *kuma*², Mubi *kome*².

Agaw *kim- “cattle, cow”: Bil *kim*, Xmr *kim*, Kwr *kim*, Dmb *kim*, Kem *kemaa*, Aun *kemii*.

Innovative *-i-?

1480 *kor- “ass, donkey”

Sem *kurr- “young of an ass, foal”: Arab *kurr*.

WCh *kwar- “ass, donkey”: Bol *koro*, Krk *kwaro*, Ngm *koro*, Ngz *kwara*, Bade *kōro-n*.

CCh *kwar- “ass, donkey”: Tera *koro*, Gaa *kwari*, Gbn *kwari*, Hwn *kwara*, Klb *kwara*, Gude *kwara*, Gudu *kwara*, Bch *kwarey-to*, Bud *koro*, Msg *kurek*, Gid *koro*, Lame *karo*, LPe *koro*, Masa *kəro-ta*, Bnn *kwəra*.

Cf. also Nza *kəro* “horse”.

ECh *kwar- “ass, donkey”: Smr *kora*, Tum *kora*, Ndm *kurō*, Nch *kora*, Kbl *kura*, Dor *kura*, Kwn *kurā*.

Omot *kur- “ass, donkey”: Ome *kuraa*, Kaf *kuuroo*, Mch *kuro*, Gim *kur*.

1481 *kor- “(be) round”

Sem *kur- “ball”: Arab *kur-at*.

Cf. Arab *krw* [-u-] “give spherical form to smth.”.

Note the anomalous morphological structure of the noun.

WCh *kwar-kwar- “round”: Maha *korkor*.

Reduplication.

Cf. Dhl *kiir-ooδ*- “make in a ball”.

1482 *kor- “be angry”

Sem **kVrVh*- “be unhappy, be disgusted”¹, “hate”²: Arab *krh*, Hss *kerōh*, Mhr *kerōh*, Shh *kereh*.

Based on biconsonantal **kVr-*?

WCh **kwar-* ‘‘hate, disgust’’: Sura *kwar*.

Any relation to **kar-* ‘‘punish’’: Ang *kār*, Sura *kar*, Fyer *kar*?

Agaw **kwar-* ‘‘be angry’’: Xmr *k^war-*, Kwr *k^war-*, Dmb *k^war-*, Aun *k^wal-*.

SA **kur-* ‘‘anger, wrath’’: Saho *kuraa*.

Omot **kar-* ‘‘be angry’’: Kaf *kaar*.

The source of **-a-* is not clear.

Dhl *kor-* ‘‘be in trouble’’.

1483 **kora-* ‘‘field’’

Eg *tr* ‘‘field’’ (gr).

Palatalization of **k-*.

WCh **kwaHar-* ‘‘farm’’: Bol *koori*, Ngm *kori*, Pero *kuuri*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is **ko^car-*.

1484 **kos-* ‘‘tooth’’

Eg *ts* ‘‘tooth’’ (MK).

Palatalization of **k-*.

Bed *koos* ‘‘tooth’’.

Rift **ko^oos-* ‘‘molar’’: Kwz *ko^oos-iko*.

Cf. Irq *goso* ‘‘incisor’’? Note the inlaut laryngeal in **-o^oo-* developed from **-o-*.

Connected with **kos-* ‘‘pierce, cut’’?

1485 **kos-* ‘‘pierce, cut’’

WCh **kVs-* ‘‘cut (with a knife)’’: Paa *kəs*.

ECh **kyas-* < **kwasi-* ‘‘pierce’’: Kwn *kesi*.

Omot **koš-* ‘‘pierce’’: Mch *kossi*, Bwo *koš-*.

1486 **koz-* ‘‘knot, unite’’

Sem **kūz-* ‘‘unite, collect’’: Arab *kūz* [-a-].

Based on **kVz-*.

Eg *tz* ‘‘knot (v.)’’ (a), ‘‘unite’’ (n).

Palatalization of **k-* > *t-* may be caused by a rounded vowel.

1487 **koz-* ‘‘be dry’’

Sem **kuz-* ‘‘be dry’’: Arab *kzz* [-u-].

CCh **kaž-* ‘‘dry up’’: Bud *kažu*.

Unexpected **-a-*.

ECh **kVž-* ‘‘dry up’’: Mkk *koḏḏe*, *guḏḏe*.

1488 **kub-* ‘‘house’’

Sem **kūb-* ‘‘building’’: Akk *kūbu*.

ECh **kub-* ‘‘straw hut’’: Smr *kubī*.

1489 **kuc-* ‘‘clothes’’

Sem **kus-* ‘‘kind of clothes’’: Akk *kusītu*, Ug *ks-t*.

Eg *kʷs* ‘‘kind of clothes’’ (l).

-ʷ- may reflect a vowel.

Cf. WCh **kic-* ‘‘plait’’ (Hs *kiçē*), ECh **kwas-* ‘‘spin’’ (Tum *kož*).

1490 **kučer-* ‘‘fat, grease’’

Sem **kuṭr-* ‘‘suet’’: Arab *kuṭr-*.

WCh **kučyar-* ‘‘fat, grease’’: Hs *kiçe*, Bol *šidor*, Dera *šudot*, Ngm *šidar*.

1491 **kuf-* ‘‘river’’

Sem **kupp-* ‘‘water spring’’: Akk *kuppu*.

CCh **kuf-* ‘‘river’’¹, ‘‘lake’’²: Gaa *kufa*¹, Gbn *kufa*², Chb *kufa*², Hwn *kufa-rā*¹.

1492 **kuha²-* ‘‘speak, shout’’

Eg *khʷ* ‘‘utter a cry’’ (MK).

Vocalic -ʷ.

WCh **kuh-* ‘‘shout’’: Dera *kui*, *kuhi*.

CCh **kV²ah-* ‘‘speak’’: Log *kāha*.

Metathesis.

1493 *kul- "kidney"

Sem *kuly- "kidney": Akk *kalītu*, Ug *klyt*, Hbr *kēlāyōt* (pl.), *kilyā*,
Aram (Syr) *kulitō*, Arab *kuly-at-*, Gz *kʷəlīt*, Hss *kelīt*, Mhr *kelyūt*.
CCh *kul-kul- "kidney": Gaa *kulkul-ara*.

Reduplication.

LEC *kal-/*kulal- "kidney": Som *kalli*, Or *kalee*, *kulali-ti* (pl.), Kon
χalla.

Cf. Arb *kal-ano* id.

Dhl *kalle* "kidney".

From *kulal-?

In Cush there exists a parallel formation *kel-, cf. LEC *kel-
(Som *kellii*) and Omot *kel- (Ome *kellawa*).

1494 *kulum- "fish"

WCh *kulVm- "large fish": Hs *kulmā*.

SA *kullum- "fish": Afar *kullum*, *kulluum*.

LEC *kullum- "fish": Som *kalluumo* (pl.), Bay *kunnumi*.

Som -a- is secondary. Assimilation of sonants in Bay.

Any connection with Sem *kall- "fish, whale" (Shh *kāl*, Mhr
kell)?

1495 *kulup- "worm, crocodile"

Sem *kulup- "worm": Akk *kuluppu*.

Eg *kʷp.w* "crocodile" (MK).

-ʷ- goes back to *-l-.

Related to *kulum- "fish"?

1496 *kum- "be black"

Eg *km* "black" (pyr), Copt **kame* "black": Boh *k'ame*, Shd *kame*.

Wrz **kum-* "black": Gaw *kumma*.

Cf. Agaw **kVm-* "be evening": Aun *kəm-əŋ*.

1497 *kum- "take, get"

Sem **hVkum-* "take": Akk *ekēmu*, Arab *hkm* [-u-].

Prefix **hV-*.

CCh **kum-* "obtain": FK *kum-anu*³, FG *kum-ʷwi*.

Rift **kom-* "have"¹, "grip"²: Irq *kom-*¹, Bur *kom-*¹, Asa *kom-*¹,

Kwz *kom-os-*².

Dhl *kam-* "hold".

Unexpected vocalism.

1498 *kun- "dog"

Berb **kun-* "dog": Gua *cuna*.

Omot **kunan-* "dog": Kaf *kunano*, Mch *kunano*.

Partial reduplication.

Related to **kan-*, **kūHen-* id.

1499 *kunač- "cereal"

Sem **kunač-* "emmer": Akk *kunāsu*, Aram (Syr) *kunnātā*.

CCh **kanVč-* "sorghum": Log *kansē*.

Assimilation of vowels from **kanas-* < **kunas-*?

Derived from **ken-* "cereal"?

1500 *kunak- "tree"

Sem **kanak-* "kind of tree": Akk *kanaktu*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh **kunak-* "sheanut tree": Kry *kunnaku*.

1501 *kur- "boat"

Eg *kr* "boat" (n).

ECh **kur-ay-* "boat": Smr *kuroi*.

1502 *kur- "river, lake"

WCh **kur-* "pond": Ang *kur*.

ECh **kur-* "river"¹, "pond"², "lake"³: Smr *kuri*¹, Sok *korō*²,

Jegu *kūrāye*³.

Agaw **kur-* "river": Bil *kuraa*, Dmb *kuraa*, Kwr *kuraa*, Kem *kuraa*.

LEC **kur-* "rivulet": Or *kuree*.

1503 *kur- “knife”

Eg *krkr* “knife” (gr).

Reduplication.

ECh *kur- “knife”: Smr *kura*.

Rift *kirar- “axe”: Bur *kirara*.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

1504 *kur- “mountain”

WCh *kir- < *kuri- “hill”: Grk *kir*.

CCh *kur- “mountain”: Ksr *kuř*, Log *kurr*.

LEC *kur- “mountain”: Som *kur*.

1505 *kurak- “bird”

Sem *kurk- “crane”: Akk *kurku*, Aram (Syr) *kurkayī*, Arab *kurk-īy-*,
Gz *kʷärāki*.

CCh *kurak- “dove, francolin”: Mba *kūrakay*, Gudu *kurku-to*, Nza
kurkute, Lame *kuruk*, LPe *koroku*.

Secondary -u/-o- of the second syllable in Lame and LPe.

Descriptive stem.

1506 *kus- “be small”

Sem *wV_kVš-/ *yV_kVš- “become small”: Arab *wks*, *yks*.

Prefix *wV-/ *yV-.

WCh *kus- “short”: Ank *kuss*.

CCh *kus- “small”: Chb *ḡkusu*, Klb *kušu*, Mrg *kwašu*.

Prefix *nV- in Chb.

1507 *kus- “rub, pound”

Sem *kuš- “pound”: Arab *kss* [-u-].

WCh *kus- “rub”: Mpn *kus*.

CCh *kwas- “rub”: Tera *kwəš-ara*, Zgh *kas-duwe*.

Related to *kos- “tooth”? Any connection with *kus- “be small” (cf. ON *smār* “little” < IE *smē- “rub”)?

1508 *kus- “meat, bull”

Berb *kus- “meat”: Lib *kusu*.

WCh *kus- “bull”: Sura *kus*, Ang *kus*, Mnt *kūs*.

Cf. ECh *kas- “bull”: Bid *kas-kō*. Semantically, cf. an exact parallel in Av *gav-* “ox, cow” and also “meat”.

1509 *kuw- “be dark”

Eg *kkw* “dark” (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

WCh *kuw- “dark”: Ang *pi-kwi*, Chip *pe-kowo*, Sura *koo*, Mpn *kūo*.

Prefix *pi- in Ang and Chip.

1510 *kuw-/ *kuy- “shout”

WCh *kuw- “shout” (n.): Hs *kūwa*.

Agaw *kuy- “emit sounds”: Aun *koy-ḡ*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1511 *küHen- “dog”

WCh *kuHen- “dog”: Fyer *kʷeeḡ*.

Fyer -ḡ goes back to *-n-H-.

Mgg *kwehen* “dog”.

Omot *keHen- “dog”: Dime *keenu*.

Related to *kan-, *kun- id.

1512 *kün- “rise, raise”

Eg *tny* “raise high” (pyr).

Note the palatalization of *k-.

WCh *kunwa- “rise”¹, “lift”²: Bol *kon*^{1 2}, Dwot *kun*².

1513 *kün- “woman, co-wife”

Sem *kann-/ *kinn- “co-wife”¹, “female in-law”²: Akk *kinītu*¹,
Arab *kann-at-*².

Secondary variant with *-a?

Berb **kVn-* “co-wife”: Izy *iken*, Snus *ta-kna*, Kby *ta-kna*.

WCh **kin-* “co-wife”¹, “sister”²: Tng *kin*², Wrj *kinai*¹, Kry *kin*¹, Miya *kin*¹, Cagu *kine*¹, Mbu *kina*¹, Jmb *kina*¹, Sha *čin*², Klr *kin*².

Irregular development of **-ü-*.

Agaw **kwin-* “woman”: Bil *ɔyiinaa*, Xmr *iuunaa*, Xmt *eq^wen*, Kwr *iewiina*, Dmb *kiuunaa*, Kem *yiwiinaa*, Aun *ɣuonaa*.

Cf. numerous Cush forms with a voiced stop in the anlaut:
Agaw **gan-* “mother” (Bil *ganaa*, Kwr *ganaa*, Kem *gānaa*),
Omot **gen-* “woman, lady” (Ome *gennee*, Kaf *gennee*, Mch *gānne*),
Dhl *gaana* “woman”.

1514 **küsan-* “beans”

Sem **kišan-* “bean”: Akk *kiššānu*.

CCh **gusan-H-* “kind of beans”: Mofu *gusaɣ*.

Irregular voiced **g* < **k*.

1515 **küɣ-* “slave”

Sem **kizVy-* “servant”: Akk *kizū*.

CCh **kuɣ-* “slave”: Bch *küsa*, Gudu *kuza*.

1516 **kVcVm-* “beat, break”

Sem **kVsim-* “beat, break into pieces”: Akk *kasāmu*, Hbr *ksm*, Arab *ksm* [-i-].

Eg *ksm* “strike” (MK).

1517 **kVĉ-* “dig”

Sem **nVkiš-/nVkuš-* “empty, dig”: Arab *nkš* [-i-, -u-].

Prefix **nV-*.

ECh **kaĉ-* “dig, bury”: Kwn *kasi*, *kesi*.

Cf. CCh **kVč-* “dig”: Mofu *kəč-*?

1518 **kVmV³-* “bind”

Sem **kVmV³-* “bind”: Akk *kamū*.

Eg *lɣm* “binding” (XVIII).

Metathesis. Note the palatalization of **k-*.

The alternative reconstruction is **kV³Vm-*.

1519 **kVnVy-* “call”

Sem **kVnVy-* “call (by name)”: Hbr *kny*, Arab *kny* [-i-].

Eg *kny* “call” (reg).

1520 **kVrVb-* “ask”

Sem **kVrVb-* “ask, request”: Akk *karābu*.

Eg *lɣkb* “complain” (pyr).

Metathesis. Initial *i-* may reflect a prefix or a front vowel of the first syllable.

The alternative reconstruction is **rV³kVb-*.

1521 **kVwVl-/kVyVl-* “dog, wolf”

Berb **kVwVl-* “wolf, jackal”: Tua *akūlen*.

CCh **k³yal-* < **kVyal-* “dog”: Ksr *kele*, Log *kəle*, Bud *kelī*.

Sem **kalb-* “dog” may also belong here as a reflex of **kal-* with the suffix of harmful animals **-b-*. Note the consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*.

***k**

1522 **ka³-* “see”

Eg *kɣkɣ* “look” (n).

Reduplication.

WCh **ka-* “see”: Maha *kai*, Bgh *kwa*, Kir *kwē*, Ngz *ika*.

Bgh and Kir go back to **kwa³-* < **kaw-*.

ECh **ka³-* “see”: Tum *ka*.

1523 *ka²-/*kaw-/*kay- “move upwards, fly”

Eg *kɔ* “be high” (pyr).

WCh *ka²- “rise”: Sura *kaa*, Chip *kaa*.

CCh *kwa²- “raise, lift”: Gudu *kʷo*.

From *kaw-?

ECh *kaw-/*kay- “fly”¹, “rise”²: Mobu *kaye*¹, Bid *kaaw*².

Consonantal alternation *-ɔ- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-.

1524 *ka²-/*kay- “spit”

Sem *kɪ²- “spit”: Hbr *qy*.

Transformation of the original biliteral root into a *CVyVC- structure. Cf. Akk *gāu*, *kāu* id.?

Eg *kɔ*^c “spit out” (MK).

Based on the original *kɔ?

ECh *ka²ak- “spit”: Dng *kaake*.

Reduplication.

1525 *ka²-/*kay- “egg”

WCh *kwa²-/*kway- “egg”: Hs *kwai*, Grk *nie*.

Prefix in Grk.

Omot *kew- “egg”: Yam *keewa*.

1526 *kab- “vessel”

Sem *kab- “goblet”: Akk *qabūtu*.

Eg *kby* “mug” (MK).

Suffix -y?

WCh *kaḥ- < *kab- “basket”: Sha *kaḥa*, DB *kaḥa*.

Shift of emphatization.

1527 *kab- “cold”

Eg *kb*, *kbb* “cold”.

LEC *kab- “cold”: Som *qabow*, Rnd *xobo*, Arb *kab*.

Som and Rnd go back to *kab-aw-.

1528 *kab- “speak, shout”

Sem *kVb- “say”: Akk *qabū*.

WCh *kab- “name” (v.): Tng *kəb*.

ECh *kVb- “talk”: Ndm *kəba*.

LEC *kab-kab- “shout” (n.): Som *qabqab*.

Reduplication.

1529 *kabal- “heart, stomach”

Sem *kalb- “heart, soul, middle”: Arab *qalb*.

Metathesis.

WCh *kabal- “stomach”: Siri *bokule*, Mbu *kubulo*.

Assimilation of vowels. Metathesis in Siri.

CCh *kuḥar- < *kubal- “heart”: Hwn *kuḥar-fara*.

Metathesis.

Alternative reconstructions are *kalub- and *baḥul-. Any relation to Afar *qabul* “fat” (n.)?

1530 *kaç- “bone”

Sem *kašš- “breast, sternum”: Arab *qašš*.

Agaw *nV-[k]ac- “bone”: Bil *naaš*, Xmr *ḡac*, Kwr *naaš*, Dmb *naaš*,

Kem *ḡaš*, Aun *ḡac*, Dmt *ḡaaç*.

Prefix *nV-.

Wrz *mi-keč- “bone”: War *mi-keče*.

Prefix *mV-. The vowel is not regular.

Cf. *kas- “bone”.

1531 *kaç-/*kuç- “cut”

Sem *kuš- “cut”: Akk *qašāšu*, Hbr *qšš*, *qsy*, Aram *qšš*, Arab *qšš* [-u-],

Shh *qeš*, Soq *qeš*.

WCh *kaç- < *kaç- “scrape, plane (wood)”: Hs *kāçā*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

Dhl *k'ats*- “circumcise”.

Omot *kuç- “circumcise”: Maji *kuç*.

Alternation *a ~ *u. Cf. *kuç- “cut, pierce”.

1532 *kač- “divide”

ECh *kač- “part, divorce”: Bid kač-.

Rift *kas- “divide”: Irq qasis-.

Cf. WCh *kač- “place in portions”: Hs kasa (with deglottalization).

1533 *kad- “skin”

Sem *kadd- “lamb skin”: Arab qadd-.

WCh *kaḍ- < *kad- “skin”: Krf kaḍa.

Shift of emphatization.

1534 *kad- “vessel”

Sem *kadaḥ- “pot, bowl”: Akk qadū, Arab qadaḥ-.

Based on the original *kad-?

LEC *kadam- “vessel, gourd”: Or qadaada.

Partial reduplication.

Cf. another morphonological variant in *kod- “vessel”.

1535 *kad-/kawad- “strike”

CCh *kaḍ- < *kad- “strike”: Gis kaḍ, Mofu kaḍ-, Mafa kaḍ-.

ECh *kawaḍ- < *kawad- “strike”: Mig kooḍo.

Shift of emphatization.

Bed kaḍaw “strike”.

Metathesis. Note the shift of emphatization similar to Chadic.

The original morphological structure is preserved in CCh.

1536 *kaduh- “fly” (n.)

Sem *kadūḥ- “fly” (n.): Arab qadūḥ-.

WCh *kud- < *kudaḤ- “fly” (n.): Hs kudā.

Metathesis of vowels.

1537 *kaḥ- “earth, sand”

Eg kaḥ “earth” (MK).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

CCh *kay-kay- “sand”: Muk kaykay, Msg kaikai.

Reduplication.

1538 *kaḥah- “cough” (v.)

CCh *kaḥag- “cough”: Bud kahage.

Dissimilation from *kaḥaḥ-?

ECh *kaḤak- “cough”: Bid kaak.

Dissimilation from *kahah-?

LEC *kak(V)k- “severe cough”: Or qakkee.

Descriptive root. An alternative reconstruction may be *kaḥak- or *kaḥak-.

1539 *kak-/kuk- “cuckoo, hen”

Sem *kakVɣ- “bird”: Akk qaqū.

Eg kak “cuckoo” (NK).

WCh *kukway- “rooster”: Fyer kukwe.

CCh *kwak- “hen”: Gul kwaku.

ECh *kVkay- “bird”: Bid keeke.

Descriptive root. Alternation *a ~ *u.

1540 *kal- “fall”

Sem *kāl- “fall”: Akk qiālu, Ug ql.

Based on *kVl-.

CCh *kal- “fall”: Mafa kal-.

ECh *kal- “drop”: Bid ʔakal.

1541 *kal-/kawal- “speak”

Sem *kāl- “speak”: Arab qwl [-u-].

Related to *kāl- “voice” (Hbr qōl, Aram qāl, Gz qāl).

ECh *kawal- “cry, shout”¹, “speak, call”²: Lele ya-kolo¹, Kbl ye-kuwələ, Dng kole², Jegu kol², Brg kole², Bid kol².

Prefix *ya- in Lele and Kbl.

SA *kal- “say, think”: Afar -kal-.

The original biconsonantal root structure is preserved in SA.

1542 *kal-/kil- “be small”

Sem *kil- “be small, be light”: Akk *qallu*, Hbr *qll*, Arab *qll* [-i-], Hss *qel*, Soq *qel*.

WCh *kal- “small”: Dera *kalla*.

ECh *kal- “small”: Kbl *kāle*.

LEC *kal- “thin, slender”: Or *qaḷaa*, *qallaa*, Kon *qalla*².

Alternation *a ~ *i. Cf. CCh *kul- “short”: Gudu *kul*.

1543 *kam- “rise, lift”

Sem *kūm- “stand up, get up”: Hbr *qwm*, Arab *qwm* [-u-], SAR *qwm*, Gz *qwm*.

Secondary transformation of a biconsonantal root into a *CVwVC- structure.

WCh *kam- “lift”: Geji *kami*, Buli *kəmu*.

1544 *kamVh- “stick”

Eg *kṃḥ* “twig” (n).

WCh *kam- “stick”: Sura *kam*, Ang *kam*, Mpn *kam*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

1545 *kamVh- “flour”

Sem *kamḥ- “flour”: Akk *qēmu*, Hbr *qemaḥ*, Aram (Syr) *qemḥō*, Arab *qamḥ*-, Gz *qamḥ*.

HEC *kam(ay)- “flour”: Bmb *kamay*, Had *kama*, Kmb *kama*.

1546 *kan- “plait”

Berb *kVn- “tie”: Kby *əqqən*.

Eg *kn* “weave” (gr).

Cf. *kny* “weaver” (MK).

WCh *kanu- “tie”: Cagu *kun*-, Bgh *kan*, Buli *kənnu*.

CCh *kanwa- “plait”: Lame *kənwā*, Msm *kan*.

ECh *kwan- < *kanwa- “twist”¹, “plait”²: Tum *koṇ*¹, Mkk *kini*².

Secondary -i- in Mkk.

1547 *kan- “say, shout”

WCh *kwan- < *kanu- “say”: Say *kwan*, *kwani*.

Omot *kan- “shout”: Ome *kan*-.

1548 *kap- “head, occiput”

Sem *kapa[y]- “occiput”: Aram (Syr) *qōpyō*, Arab *qafā*-.

Berb *kaf- “head”: Ghd *iyaf*, Kby *ēyaf*.

ECh *kwap- < *kapwa- “occiput”: Dng *kopo*, Mig *kupo*, Jegu *kofo*.

1549 *kar- “horn”

Sem *karn- “horn”: Akk *qarnu*, Ug *qrn*, Hbr *qeren*, Aram (Syr) *qarnō*, Arab *qarn*-, Gz *qarn*, Hss *qōn*, Mhr *qōn*, Shh *qun*, Soq *qan*.

Derivative in *-n-.

Eg *kr.ty* “horns” (dual) (NK).

Omot */k/ar- “horn”: Kaf *karoo*, Mch *karo*.

1550 *kar- “cloud”

Eg *kr* “cloud” (pyr).

WCh *kar- “cloud”: Bol *kəriya*.

1551 *kar- “finish”

Eg *kr* “end (of a book)” (n).

WCh *karya- “finish”: Hs *kāre*, Tng *ker*, Buli *kyeru*.

ECh *kar- “finish”: Kwn *kar*, Mobu *kəre*.

1552 *kar- “mountain”

Sem *kār- “single mountain, hill”: Arab *qār-at*-.

Berb *kar- “hill”: Shl *iyar*.

Eg *kṣṣ* “hill”.

-ṣṣ < *-r-?

LEC *kar- “high mountain, summit”: Som *qar*, Or *qara*.

1553 *kar- “burn; fire”

Eg *kr* “fire, glaze (pots)” (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

WCh *kar- ‘burn’: Kr *karu*, Krf *kaʔu*, *kaaru*.

CCh *kar- ‘fire’: Mnd *kara*, Glv *kara*, Zgh *kara*.

Cf. Mofu *kakər* ‘burn’ with partial reduplication.

1554 *kar- ‘(be) cold’

Sem *karr- ‘(be) cold’: Hbr *qar*, Arab *qarr*-, Gz *qʷrr*.

WCh *karar- ‘cold (of water, weather)’: Hs *kararā*.

Partial reduplication.

A morphonological variant of *kor- ‘cold’ (n.).

1555 *kar- ‘call, shout’

Sem *kVrV- ‘call, shout’¹, ‘read’²: Akk *qerū*¹, Ug *qr*¹, Hbr *qr*^{1 2}, Aram *qr*¹, Arab *qr* [-a-, -u-]².

Based on biconsonantal *kVr-.

Berb *kVrVy- ‘call’ (n.): Tua *ta-yeri-t*.

Based on biconsonantal *kVr-.

WCh *kar- ‘cry out’: Hs *kārā*.

1556 *kara- ‘cut’

Sem *kVʔar- ‘cut (trees)’: Arab *qʕr* [-a-].

Metathesis.

WCh *kar(aH)-/*kir- ‘cut’: Hs *kira*, Bol *kar*, Krk *karaa*, Dera *kara*-, Ngm *kara*-.
ECh *kVr- ‘carve’: Ndm *kəra*.

Agaw *kara- ‘cut’: Bil *karaa* y-.

LEC *kar- ‘sharp, point’ (v.): Or *qara*.

Cf. also LEC *kor- ‘cut, carve’ (Som *qor*-, Or *qor*-, Arb *qor*-),
*kar- ‘shave oneself’ (Arb *qar*-).

Wrz *kar- ‘sharp’: Gaw *qaru*.

HEC *kar- ‘be sharp’: Sid *kar-aaʔm*-.

Dhl *kʕer*- ‘cut’.

Metathesis and contraction.

1557 *kas- ‘bone’

Berb *kVs- ‘bone’: Ahg *eyes*, Tua *eyēs*, Snus *īyes*, Kby *īyes*, Siwa *ayēs*.

Eg *ks* ‘bone’ (pyr), Copt *kas id.: Boh *kas*, Shd *kas*.

WCh *ha-kas- ‘bone’: Hs *kašī*, Wrj *kāsū-na*, Kry *kāsu*, Miya *kusi*,
Paa *kəsi-ki*, Cagu *kəkəsəna*, Mbu *kəkəsə*, Jmb *kəkasi*, Bks *kyas*, Sha
gyiš-aw, Klr *gyiš-aw*, DB *kyas*.

Prefix *ka-.

ECh *kas- ‘bone’: Kwn *kisi-gi*, Dng *kāso*, Bid *kas-ko*.

Assimilation of vowels in Kwn.

LEC *kas- ‘bone, leg’: Gel *kas*.

Omot *kas-/kəs- ‘bone’: Nao *kus*, Dime *kas*, *kus*.

Unexpected *-u-.

1558 *kaʔ-/kʔ- ‘cut’

Sem *kʔ- ‘cut’: Arab *qʔt* [-u-], Gz *qʔtt*, Amh *qʔtt*.

The vocalism *u may be reflected in labialized velars of Gz and Amh.

LEC *kaʔ- < *kaʔ- ‘circumcise’: Bay *kaʔ*-.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

Omot *kʔ- ‘cut’: Kaf *kʔ*-.

Rift *kaʔ- ‘circumcise’: Kwz *kaʔ*-.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

Dhl *kʕaatʕ-aaʕ*- ‘divide’.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

1559 *kaw- ‘nail, claw’

WCh *kaw- ‘finger-nail’: Wrj *kəwi-na*, Mbu *kawi*, Jmb *kuya*.

ECh *kawak- ‘finger-nail’: Mkk *kooka*.

Partial reduplication.

Wrz *koy- < *kaway- ‘claw’: Gaw *qoy-akko*.

1560 *kawas-/kayas- ‘bow, arrow’

Sem *kawš- ‘bow’: Akk *qaštu*, Hbr *qešet*, Arab *qaws*-, Gz *qast*.

CCh *kyas- < *k[a]yas- ‘arrow’¹, ‘bow’²: Mba *kese*¹, Msg
*kise*².

ECh *kyas- < *k[a]yas- ‘bow’: Tum *kēse*, Bid *kēse*, Mig *kese*, Sok
kese (< Arab?).

Cf. also Rift *kas- ‘arrow’ in Kwz *kasamato*. Note the consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1561 *kawat- “food”

Sem *kawt- “food”: Hss *qūt*, Mhr *qawt*, Shh *qit*.

WCh *kwatu- < *kVwatu- “food, bread”: Tng *kutu*, *kwete*.

CCh *kwat- < *kVwat- “food”: Lame *kwati*.

1562 *kayaç- “end, finish”

Sem *kās- “end, finish” (n. and v.): Hbr *qēs*, Jib *keši*.

WCh *kayac- < *kayaç- “end, finish”: Sura *kyes*, Mpn *kes*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

1563 *kayič- “summer”

Sem *kayt- “summer”: Hbr *qayış*, Aram (Syr) *qaytō*, Jib *qoz*, Hss *qayz*, Mhr *qayz*, Shh *qoz*, Soq *qiyat*.

WCh *kiç- “summer”: Buli *kis*, Zul *gisi*.

Contraction of *-ayi- > *-i-.

Omot *keç- “heat” (n.): Mch *keççi*.

Related to *keç- “be hot, be warm”: Ome *kiçu*, Mch *keççi*.

1564 *ke²- “house”

CCh *kyay- “house”: Pad *keya*.

From *kyaH-.

LEC *ke²- “enclosure, compound”: Or *qee²ee*.

Omot *ke²- “house”: Gim *kee²oo*.

Any connection with Hs *kaye* “village”?

1565 *keç- “break”

Sem *kīš- “break, split”: Arab *qyd* [-i-].

Based on biconsonantal *kVš-.

ECh *kyaç- “break, skin”: Bid *kedv*.

1566 *ken- “kill”

Sem *kVna²- “kill”: Arab *qn²* [-a-].

Based on biliteral *kVn-.

Eg *kn* “kill” (reg).

CCh *kyan- “kill, break in pieces”: Mnd *kyen*.

1567 *kenin- “vessel”

Sem *kinān- “bottle”: Arab *qinnān-at*.

CCh *kyanin-H- “small pot”: Gudu *kēniḡ*.

Partial reduplication?

1568 *ker- “dwelling”

Sem *kary- “town, village”: Ug *qr-t*, *qry-t*, Hbr *qiryā*, Aram (Syr) *qerī-t*, Arab *qary-at*, SAR *qr*, Jib *sire-t*.

Secondary vocalism.

ECh *kyar- “house”: Smr *kerī*.

Omot *ker- “house, dwelling”: Ome *ķera*.

A morphonological variant of *kor- “house, place”.

1569 *keran- “monkey”

WCh *kyaran-H- “monkey”: Bks *kyeraḡ*.

Suffix *-H-.

LEC *karan- “vervet monkey”: Arb *kaarran*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. WCh *kar- “monkey” (Sura *kar*, Ang *ker*) as a possible reflection of the original HS *kar- id. See *kerVd- “monkey”.

1570 *kerVd- “monkey”

Sem *kird- “monkey”: Arab *qird*.

ECh *mV-kyar(V)d- “green monkey”: Mig *mekerda*.

Prefix *ma-. Phonetically, *kyar(V)d- > *kyar(V)d-.

Related to *keran- id. Apparently, there existed HS *ker- “monkey”.

1571 *kiḡ- “moon”

Eg *ḡhy* “moon” (BD).

Vocalic -ḡ.

CCh **kiy-* < **kiH-* “moon”: Gis *kiya*, Bld *kiya*, Mtk *kiya*.

ECh **kway-* < **kwaHi-* “moon”: Dng *kəye*, Mig *koyo*, Bid *koya*.
Unexpected vocalism.

1572 **kiHVd-* “set on fire”

Sem **kVHVd-* “set on fire”: Akk *qādu*.

WCh **kiḍ-* < **kid-* “burn”: Gera *kiḍ*.

Cf. CCh **kwa-kwad-* “hotness”: Klb *kwakwadu*.

1573 **kilVb-* “knee”

Eg *kəb.t* “knee” (LM).

Note *-j-* < **-l-*.

LEC **[k]ilVb-* “knee”: Kon *kilba*, Bus *kilba*, Gat *kilba*, Gdl *kilba*.

Omot **kelVb-* < **kelVb-*: Gll *keelba*.

Shift of emphatization.

1574 **kir-* “frog”

Sem **kVrr-* “frog”: Arab *qarr-at-*, *qirr-at-*, *qurr-at-*.

Eg *krr* “frog” (n), Copt **krur* id.: Boh *k'rour*, Shd *kroure*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh **kir-* “frog”: Daba *kərrəḡ*, Mofu *kakəraḡ*, Gava *kūre*, FBw *kuř-min*.

Partial reduplication in Mofu.

ECh **kir-yan-* “frog”: Mubi *kirēni*, Sok *koringē*.

1575 **kīrah-* “wound” (v.)

Sem **kVrah-* “wound” (v.): Arab *qrh* [-a-].

ECh **kiHVr-* “wound” (v.): Mkk *giira*.

Metathesis.

Connected with **kura-* “strike, break”.

1576 **kirop-/kōrip-* “bark” (n.)

Sem **kirp-* “bark”: Arab *qirf-*.

Cf. Arab *qrif* “peel (bark)”, Gz *qrif* id.

WCh **kwarip-* “bark”: Cagu *korōpe*, Brw *kworəp*, Wnd *kworip*.

Metathesis of vowels in Sem or WCh. Cf. **kolif-* id. Any connection with **kur-* “skin, bark”? In Cush, there are several similar forms with a voiced auslaut: Bed *kurbe* “skin”, Agaw **kwarab-* “skin” (Kem *kʷərəve*), Omot **kurub-* “skin” (Ome *kurubi*).

1577 **kirVb-* “breast, belly”

Sem **kirb-* “intestines”¹, “belly”², “side”³: Akk *qirbu*¹, Hbr *qereb*², Arab *qurb-*, *qurub-*³.

Eg *kəb* “gut” (med).

HS **-r-* > Eg *-j-*.

Wrz **ker(V)p-* “breast”: Gaw *kerpe*.

Irregular anlaut?

Cf. SA **gar(V)b-* “belly” (Saho *garbaa*, Afar *garbaa*).

1578 **kobaḥ-* “cloud, sky”

Eg *kəbḥ.w* “sky” (pyr).

WCh **kwaḡay-* < **kwabaH-* “cloud”: Bol *kebe*, Krk *kwabo*, Ngm *keḡe*.

1579 **kod-* “vessel”

Eg *kd* “pot” (med).

Cf. Copt **kot* “basket” (Fym *kat*, Boh *kot* and the like)?

WCh **kwaḡ-* < **kwad-* “calabash”: Krf *kwado*, Gera *kwada*.

CCh **nV-kwad-* “bottle”: Log *ḡkōda*.

Prefix **nV-*.

ECh **kwaḡ-* < **kwad-* “pot”: Dng *kəḡa*.

LEC **kod-* “receptacle”: Or *qodaa*.

Dhl *k'oodo* “kind of calabash”.

Cf. **kad-* “vessel”.

1580 **kol-* “egg”

CCh **kwal-* “egg”: Bata *kwalo*.

Agaw *²*Vn-kwalal*- ‘‘egg’’: Kem *ənku²l²al*, Aun *ənku²l²al*.

Prefix *²*Vn*-. Partial reduplication.

1581 *kol- ‘‘look, see’’

Sem **mVkul*- ‘‘look’’: Arab *mql* [-u-].

Prefix **mV*-.

Berb **kVl*- ‘‘look’’: Izy *smuqel*.

ECh **kwal*- ‘‘see’’: Ndm *kə²la*, Jegu *ʔakal*-.

Agaw **kwal*- ‘‘look, see’’: Bil *k^wal*, Xmr *k^wal*, Xmt *kaal*-, Kwr *ψ^waal*, Dmb *k^waal*, Kem *χal*.

LEC **kolal*- ‘‘see’’: Som *qollaali*-.

Partial reduplication.

1582 *kol- ‘‘earthenware’’

Sem **kull*- ‘‘clay mug’’ ¹, ‘‘jug’’ ²: Akk *qulliu* ¹, Arab *qull-at*- ².

HEC **kol*- ‘‘jar’’: Bmb *kole*.

1583 *kol- ‘‘head, nape’’

Berb **kVl-kul*- ‘‘occiput’’: Izy *aqelqul*.

Reduplication.

WCh **kwa-kwal*- ‘‘brain’’: Hs *kwa²kwalwā*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh **kwa-kVl*- ‘‘brain’’: Kwan *kokəl*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC **kol*- ‘‘nape’’: Or *qolee*.

HEC **ko²(V)l*- ‘‘nape, back of neck’’: Had *ko²lo*, Kmb *ko²lu*.

Secondary *²-.

Quite probably, related to **kol*- ‘‘earthenware’’. Cf. Lat *testa* ‘‘potsherd’’ > Rom **testa* ‘‘head’’.

1584 *kol- ‘‘be hot, burn’’

Sem **kVIVw*- ‘‘roast’’: Akk *qalū*, Arab *qlw* [-i-, -u-].

Based on **kVl*-.

CCh **kwalu*- ‘‘hotness’’: Bch *kwul*-.

1585 *kolif- ‘‘bark’’ (n.)

Sem **kulip*- ‘‘bark’’: Akk *quliptu*, Hbr *q^elippā*, Arab *qulāf-at*-, Hss *qelfēt*, Mhr *qelēfōt*, Soq *qalifo^h*.

Cf. Arab *qlf* ‘‘peel’’ (v.), Gz *q^wlf* id. Secondary vocalism in Arab.

SA **kolof*- ‘‘bark’’: Saho *kolofo*.

Irregular **k*-. Assimilation of vowels.

LEC **kolof*- ‘‘bark’’ ¹, ‘‘foreskin’’ ²: Som *qolof* ¹, Or *qolofa* ², Kon *qolfa* ¹.

Assimilation of vowels.

Wrz **kofol*- ‘‘bark’’: Gaw *qoffol*.

Assimilation of vowels. Metathesis.

1586 *kom- ‘‘house, enclosure’’

WCh **kwama*- ‘‘hut’’: Ang *kwam*, Kry *kam*, Miya *kam*, Siri *kami*, Mbu *kam*.

Rift **kwam*- ‘‘enclosure’’: Bur *qwama*, Kwz *kw’ama*.

1587 *komal- ‘‘insect’’

Sem **kaml*- ‘‘flea’’ ¹, ‘‘louse’’ ²: Arab *qaml*- ¹, SAr *qmlt* ², Gz *q^wemāl* ², Tgy *q^wemāl* ².

Ethio-Sem forms may reflect an earlier rounded vowel of the root.

CCh **kwamal*- ‘‘ant’’: Bud *komāli*.

1588 *kop- ‘‘container’’

Sem **kupp*- ‘‘box’’ ¹, ‘‘basket’’ ²: Akk *quppu* ¹, Arab *quff-at*- ², Shh *qefet* ², Mhr *qeffēt* ², Soq *qefet* ².

Cf. Akk *qappatu* ‘‘basket’’, Gz *qafo* id.

CCh **kVp*- ‘‘calabash’’: Bch *kpa*.

ECh **kwap*- ‘‘box’’: Mkk *koop*.

LEC **kuf*- ‘‘basket’’: Som *quffo*.

1589 *kor- ‘‘house, place’’

Sem **kur-an*- ‘‘villages’’ (pl.): Arab *qur-an*-.

Suffix -an-.

WCh **kwar*- ‘hut’: Krk *kwaro*.

Cf. partial reduplication in DB *kukor* ‘stone wall’, see CCh.

CCh **kwa-kwar*- ‘town’: Mtk *kwokwař*.

Partial reduplication (cf. WCh).

ECh **kwaru*- ‘place’: Lele *kūr*, Kbl *korr*.

LEC **kor*- ‘block’: Or *qoroo*.

Rift **kor*- ‘brick house’: Irq *goori*.

A morphonological variant of **ker*- ‘dwelling’.

1590 **kor*- ‘speak, ask’

CCh **kwar*- ‘speak’: Zgh *kwaraya*, Gava *kwər*.

LEC **kor*- ‘examine, question’: Or *qora*.

Reduplication in Or *qorqoro* ‘ask’.

HEC **kor*- ‘ask (in investigation)’: Gel *kor*.

Related to **kar*-/**kir*- ‘call, shout’?

1591 **kor*- ‘cold’ (n.)

Sem **kurr*- ‘cold’: Akk *qirru*, Hbr *qor*, Aram (Syr) *qurō*, Arab *qurr*-, *qirr*-, Gz *qʷər*.

LEC **kor(r)*- ‘intense cold’: Or *qorra*.

HEC **kor(r)*- ‘cold’: Sid *qorre*.

Derived from **kar*- ‘(be) cold’.

1592 **koreš*- ‘cut’

Sem **kVriš*- ‘cut into parts’: Akk *qarāšu*, Arab *qrš* [-i-, -u-].

HEC **kores*- ‘break (bread)’: Had *koreš*-, Kmb *koros*-.

Note the unusual vocalic pattern. Cf. **kara*^c- ‘cut’?

1593 **kori*²- ‘bird’

Sem **kari*²- ‘kind of bird’: Hbr *qorē*², Arab *qāriyy-at*-.

Irregular vocalism.

WCh **kyar*- < **kwari*- ‘hen’: Mnt *kier*.

CCh **kwar(i)*- ‘duck’: Mofu *kwerekwere*.

Reduplication.

ECh **kwar*- ‘duck’¹, ‘chicken, rooster’²: Kera *akorkoro*¹, Dng *kokira*², Jegu *kokore*², Mubi *kūr*², Mig *kukkira*, *kokiro*².

Various types of reduplication.

LEC **kor*- ‘kite’: Arb *qore*.

1594 **korV*^c- ‘shield’

Eg *kr^c.w* ‘shield’ (XIX).

ECh **kwar*- ‘shield’: Mkk *korko*, Sok *kokēre*.

Partial reduplications. Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

1595 **kos*- ‘strike’

WCh **kwās*- ‘strike’: Hs *dan-kwasa*, Ang *kwās*.

ECh **kVs*- ‘break, strike’: Mkk *koss*-, *gusse*.

LEC **kos*- ‘knock, peck’: Or *qossa*².

HEC **kas*- ‘strike, pierce’: Sid *kas*-, Had *kaass*-, Bmb *kas*-, Kmb *kas*-.

The root vowel is irregular.

1596 **kotir*-/**kotur*- ‘be small’

Sem **kVtir*-/**kVtur*- ‘live modestly, make meager’: Arab *qtr* [-i-, -u-].

CCh **kwatVr*- ‘small’: Mtk *kwotr*.

1597 **koṭi*^c- ‘end, finish’ (v.)

Sem **kVṭiV*^c- ‘finish, be finished’¹, ‘be spent’²: Akk *qatū*¹, Arab *qt^c*².

WCh **kwatṭi*- < **kwatṭi*- ‘end, finish’: Ang *kūt*, Siri *kwata*, Fyer *kīt*, Tng *kwade*, Siri *kwata*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

CCh **kaṭ*- < **kwata*- ‘end, finish’: Msg *kata*.

1598 **koy*- ‘bird’

Eg *ky* ‘bird’ (XVIII).

WCh **kway*- ‘hen’: Sura *kwēs*, *kyē*, Ang *ki*, Mnt *kiyē*.

CCh **kuy*- ‘hawk’: Mnd *kuye*.

ECh **kway*- ‘bird’: Kwn *koyō*.

Cf. Mkk *kaaawa* ‘dove’.

1599 **kub*- ‘roof, house’

Sem **kubb*- ‘cupola’: Arab *qubb-at*.

CCh **kub*- ‘hut’: Tera *kəba*, Gude *kuva*, FM *kuvu*.

1600 **kuç*- ‘cut, pierce’

Sem **kVç*- ‘pierce’: Arab *qdd*.

WCh **kVç*- ‘cut, split’: Jmb *kəç*.

CCh **kVç*- ‘cut’: Zgh *kšu-naya*.

Rift **kuç*- ‘cut’: Bur *quuč*.

Cf. **kaç*- ‘cut’.

1601 **kud*- ‘cut, tear’

Sem **kud*- ‘cut’¹, ‘tear’²: Hbr *qdd*¹, Aram *qdd*¹, Arab *qdd* [-u-]^{1 2}, Gz *qdd*¹, Tgr *qdd*², Amh *qdd*², Arg *qdd*², Hrr *qdd*², Gur *qdd*².

CCh **kuçi*- ‘tear, pluck’: Mafa *kwiç*-, *ngwiç*-.

Agaw **kidid*- ‘tear’: Aun *qeded-əŋ*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC **kod*- ‘divide’: Or *qood*-.

Omot **kad*-/**kod*- ‘divide’: Kaf *kodi*, Mch *koodi*.

1602 **kudaḥ*- ‘dig’

Sem **kVdVh*- ‘make holes’: Arab *qdh*.

ECh **kudaH*- ‘dig’: Ndm *kudā*.

Wrz **kod*- ‘dig’: Gaw *qoδ*-.

1603 **kuk*- ‘bark’ (n.)

Eg *k.k.ty* ‘bark’ (gr).

WCh **a-kukwak*- ‘bark’¹, ‘skin’²: Klr *ak’uk’wəg*¹, Ang *kuk*².

Partial reduplication in Klr.

1604 **kul*- ‘lift, rise’

Sem **kVl*- ‘raise’: Arab *qll*.

Berb **kVwVl*- ‘rise’: Sml *γuli*, *γli*, Sgh *eylīy*.

Inlaut *-w- continuing HS *u?

CCh **kul*- ‘lift’: HNK *kulu*, Kap *kəl-te*, HF *kəli*-, FKl *kəltu*³.

1605 **kum*- ‘sweep’

Sem **kVm*- ‘sweep’: Arab *qmm*.

WCh **kum*- ‘sweep’: Chip *kum*, Ank *kum*, Grk *kokum*.

Partial reduplication in Grk.

1606 **kum*- ‘be hot, burn’

Sem **kVm*- ‘burn’: Akk *qamū*.

WCh **kum*- ‘become hot’: Bol *kum*.

1607 **kur*- ‘go around, follow’

WCh **kur*- ‘go around’: Bol *kur*.

CCh **kur*- ‘accompany’: FMch *kuri*.

ECh **kwar*- ‘go away’¹, ‘follow, turn’²: Kera *koore*¹, Mkk *guzze*².

LEC **kor*- ‘run back and forth’: Or *qora’a*.

1608 **kur*- ‘skin, bark’

WCh **kur*- ‘skin, bark’: Bgh *kwar*, Wnd *kur*, Tala *kuur*, Zul *kuuri*,

Bot *koore*, Kir *kwār*, Pol *kūri*, Geji *kūr*, Brw *kūru*.

Omot **kur*- ‘skin, bark’: Ome *kuuro*, *kurra*.

1609 **kurab*- ‘insect’

Sem **akrab*- ‘scorpion’: Hbr *‘aqrāb*, Aram (Syr) *‘eqarbō*, Arab *‘aqrab*-.

Prefix **a*-.

WCh **kurVb*- ‘ant’: Glm *kurba*.

1610 *kura^c- “strike, break”

Sem *kVra^c- “strike (with a stick)”: Arab qra^c [-a-].

Based on *kVr-?

WCh *kir- “grind”¹, “blow”²: Gln kir¹, Ang kūr².

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal. Secondary *i.

CCh *kur- “forge”: FJ kura.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

LEC *kura²- “hit, bat”: Or qura²a.

1611 *kurom- “cut, bite”

Sem *kVrum- “cut with teeth”: Arab qrm [-u-].

WCh *kurwam- “cut or bite head off”¹, “cut”²: Hs kurmē¹, Ang karm².

1612 *kuruc- “rope”

Sem *kurus- “belt”: Akk kurussu.

Irregular reflection of *k.

Eg kʾs “cord” (pyr).

-ʾ- continues HS *-r-.

A cultural loanword?

1613 *kut- “beat, break”

Sem *wVktVt-/ʔVktVt- “beat (smb.)”: Arab wqt, ʔqt.

Prefix *wV-/ʔV-

ECh *kut- “break, pound”: Kwn kutē.

Cf. also Rift *ket- “break in pieces”: Irq qet-is-, Bur qet-is-.

1614 *kut- “feed, cook”

Sem *kūt- “feed”: Arab qwt [-u-].

Derivative based on *kVt-.

WCh *kut- “prepare food, cook”: Tng kute.

Related to *kawat- “food”.

1615 *kuṭun- “be small”

Sem *kVtVn- “be small, be thin”: Hbr qtn, Gz qtn, Hss qayten, Mhr qayten, Shh qeten.

CCh *kuṭun- “short, small”: Tera kutun.

Related to *kotir-/kotur- “be small”?

1616 *küč- “insect”

ECh *guč- “termite”: Lele gusi.

Agaw *küč- “worm”: Bil kešaa, Xmr hesaa, Kwr xešii, Dmb xesee, Kem xešaa.

Dhl k'utsi “bee larva”.

1617 *küd- “genitals”

CCh *küd- < *kud- “testicles”: Mnd kuḍa, Pad kuda-ma, Mtk kuḍe-eč.

Shift of emphatization.

Agaw *kwid- “anus, vulva”: Xmr xwedaa.

LEC *kod- “penis”: Som qoodo, qoodo.

1618 *küdur- “vessel”

Sem *kidr- “earthenware”: Hbr q'dērā, Aram qidrā, Arab qidr-, Hss qeder, Mhr qāder.

ECh *gudur- “pot”: Kera gədərya, Mubi gudur.

1619 *kün- “(be) white, (be) yellow”

Eg kny.t “yellow color” (NK).

Vocalic -y.

CCh *kun-H- “white”: Bch kuṅ, Bata kuṅe.

1620 *kür- “snake”

Eg ikr.w “kind of snake” (pyr).

i- may be a prefix lost in Chadic or a vocalic sign for a front vowel.

WCh *kur- “snake”: Tng kurot, Bol kureedī.

CCh **kur*- “snake”: Bnn *kuriya*.

Cf. a denominative formation in Sem **kur*- “hiss (of a snake)”: Arab *qrr* [-u-].

1621 **kVĉeb*- “cut”

Sem **kVšVb*- “cut”: Arab *qdb*.

ECh **kVĉyap*- < **kVĉyab*- “cut”: Bid *keḏep*.

Note the unvoiced anlaut.

Derived from **kuĉ*- “cut, pierce”.

1622 **kVʿoh*- “shoulder”

Eg *kḥ* “shoulder, arm” (MK).

Rift **kwaḥ*- < **kwaḥ*- “shoulder”: Irq *kwaḥa*, Alg *kwaḥu*, Bur *kwaḥa*.

Dissimilation of emphatics. The inlaut *-ʿ- is not preserved.

1623 **kVḵ*- “eat, bite”

Eg *kḵ* “eat” (XVIII).

WCh **kVḵ*- “bite”: Kry *kəki*.

A nominal reflex of **kVḵ*- may be preserved in Dhl *kʾokʾo* “throat”.

1624 **kVI*- “spin”

Sem **kVI-kVI*- “brandish, agitate”: Gz *qʷlqʷl*.

Reduplication.

Berb **kVI*- “spin”: Tua *eyli*.

1625 **kVIVc*- “spit”

Sem **kVIVs*- “spit”: Arab *qls*.

Eg *kʾs* “spit”.

-ʾ- continues HS *-l-.

1626 **kVr*- “dry” (v.)

Sem **kVr*- “drying”: Akk *qarūru*.

Berb **kVr*- “be dry”: Tua *iḃar*.

1627 **kVrVs*- “freeze”

Sem **kVrVš*- “freeze”: Aram (Syr) *qrš*, Arab *qrs*.

Berb **kVrVs*- “freeze”: Tua *ɣeres*.

Derived from **kar*- “(be) cold”, **kor*- “cold” (n.).

1628 **kVw*-/**kVy*- “remain, wait”

Sem **kVw*- “remain”¹, “wait”²: Akk *qūʾu*², Hbr *qwy*², Aram (Syr) *qw*^{1 2}.

CCh **ki*- < **kVy*- “remain”: Log *ki*.

Omot **kVwVy*- “remain, wait”: Kaf *kēe*-, *kēey*-, *kway*-.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1629 **kVyVn*- “forge”

Sem **kīn*- “forge”: Arab *qyn* [-i-].

WCh **kyan-un*- < **kVyan-un*- “forge”: Hs *kyanuna*.

Partial reduplication.

1630 **kVžor*- “dirt, be dirty”

Sem **kVdar*-/**kVdur*- “be dirty”: Arab *qdr* [-a- , -u-].

Cf. Hbr *qdr* “be dark”.

ECh **gVžwar*- “faeces, silt”: Kera *goder*.

*1

1631 **laʾ*- “be tired, be sick”

Sem **lVʾay*- “be tired”¹, “be slow”²: Hbr *lʾy*¹, Arab *lʾy* [-a-]².

Cf. also Akk *laʾū* “weak (?)” (in context with *šerru* “baby”).

Sem verb is based on biconsonantal **lVʾ*-.

WCh *la²- ‘‘sickness, pain’’: Sura *laa*, Ang *le*.

Nominal derivative.

Cf. ECh *law- ‘‘to become weak for lack of water (of plants)’’: Bid *law*.

1632 *la²-/*law- ‘‘cattle’’

Sem *la²-/*li²- ‘‘cow’’¹, ‘‘heifer’’², ‘‘wild bull’’³: Akk *lú*¹, Hbr *lēṯā*², Arab *la*²-³, Jib *le*², Soq *ṣelha*¹.

Forms reflecting *-i- may belong to a different ablaut grade.

WCh *la²- ‘‘cow’’: Dera *la*.

WCh *la²u- ‘‘meat’’ may belong to the same root.

Agaw *law-/*luw- ‘‘cattle, cow’’: Bil *laaw*, Xmr *luwaa*, Aun *luwaa*.

Secondary *-u- before a labial.

SA *la²-/*law- ‘‘cattle, herd’’: Saho *laa*, Afar *laa*, *low*.

LEC *lo²-/*low- ‘‘cattle’’: Som *loo*², Or *loo-n*, Kon *lowaa*, Gdl *loha*.

Secondary *-o-.

Wrz *lo²- ‘‘cow’’: Gaw *lo²o*, Cam *loo²oo*, Hrs *lo²o*, Dob *lo²o*, Grr *lo²o*.

Secondary *-o-.

1633 *la²ad- ‘‘field’’

Eg *lɔd.t* ‘‘field’’ (MK).

Initial *i*- goes back to **l*-.

ECh *lawad- < *laHad- ‘‘field’’: Jegu *lood*.

LEC *lad- ‘‘land’’: Or *laddaa*.

Contraction.

1634 *lab- ‘‘cereal’’

Sem *lāb- ‘‘roasted corn’’: Akk *lābtu*.

Eg *nb* ‘‘cereal’’ (gr).

Note *n*- < HS **l*-.

1635 *lab- ‘‘cow, bull’’

Eg *nb.t* ‘‘cow’’ (gr).

n- < HS **l*-.

ECh *labi- ‘‘cattle’’¹, ‘‘bull’’²: Smr *labei*¹, Ndam *libe*², Lele *ku-lba*.

1636 *labi²-/*liba²- ‘‘lion’’

Sem *labi²- ‘‘lion’’¹, ‘‘lioness’’²: Akk *lab²u*¹, Ug *lbu*¹, Hbr *lābī²*², Arab *labu*²-².

WCh *lVbV²-V_r- ‘‘wild cat’’: Sura *rəḫəl*.

Suffix *-r-. Note -ḫ- < *-b²-.

CCh *a-lib-ar- ‘‘lion’’¹, ‘‘hyaena’’²: Hwn *lifāri*¹, Mrg *ha-livari*¹, Klb *lēvari*¹, Chb *ṣalvari*¹, Hld *luvari*¹, HF *luveri*¹, HB *livəru*¹, HNk *livəri*¹, Lam *ərvare*¹, Mnd *ṣuruvwəri*¹, Glv *ṣarvara*¹, FMch *luvari*¹, Gude *livara*¹, Mtk *laval*².

Note that Mtk reflects the original structure with *-ṣar- > -al.

SA *lub-ak- ‘‘lion’’: Saho *lubaak*, Afar *lubaak*.

Suffix *-ak-. *i > u before a labial.

LEC *lib-aḥ- ‘‘lion’’: Som *libaḥ*.

Suffix *-ḫ- or an irregular continuation of the auslaut laryngeal of the original HS form?

Metathesis of root vowels.

1637 *lag- ‘‘river’’

CCh *lagwa- ‘‘river’’: Zgh *gu-lagwa*, Bnn *loka*.

Prefix *gu- in Zgh. Unvoiced Bnn -k- seems to be not quite regular.

LEC *lag- ‘‘river’’: Or *laga*.

HEC *lag- ‘‘river’’: Sid *laga*.

Borrowed from LEC?

1638 *lağ- ‘‘speak’’

Sem *lağ-/*luğ- ‘‘speak, chat’’: Hbr *l^{cc}*, Arab *lgw* [-a-, -u-].

WCh *lağ- ‘‘speak’’: Fyer *lak*, Bks *lak*, DB *lak*.

1639 *lağ-/*luğ- ‘‘neck, throat’’

Sem *luğ- ‘‘throat’’: Hbr *loa^c*, Arab *luğ-at*.

Dhl *lak’a* ‘‘area under chin’’.

Alternation *a ~ *u. Cf. WCh *la^c- ‘‘neck’’ (Sha *laha*, DB *la*, Bks *la*) and CCh *lay- id. (Mba *le*).

1640 *lahas- “lick”

Sem *lVhaš- “lick”: Arab *lhs* [-a-].

Cf. also *lhs* id. [-a-].

WCh *laHVš- “lick”: Hs *lāsā*.

If the inlaut laryngeal is of secondary origin, the root may be related to *les- “tongue”.

1641 *lahak-/laḥik- “clay”

Sem *lahak- “clay”: Arab *laḥaq*.

Berb *lak- “clay”: Ahg *ta-laq*.

Bed *lik^w* “clay”.

Contraction from *lVHiḱ-?

1642 *laḥam- “meat, food”

Sem *laḥm- “bread, food”¹, “meat”²: Hbr *leḥem*¹, Aram (Syr) *laḥmā*¹, Arab *laḥm*-, *laḥam*-².

Cf. Akk *laḥāmu* “to eat”, Arab *lḥm* [-a-] “feed with meat”.

WCh *laHam- “meat”: Brm *laamu*, Grn *laam*.

Note Hs *lamai* “tuwo”.

1643 *laḥ- “sheep, goat”

Berb *laH- “ram”: Ayr *tele*, Ahg *e-lah-əy*, Sus *tīli*, Fgg *tīli*.

Eg *nḥ* “goat” (XIX).

Prefix *C⁻V-. Note -n- < *l.

Bed *naa^ʔ* “sheep”.

Note n- < *l-.

SA *laḥ- “she-goat”: Saho *lah*, Afar *laah*.

LEC *laḥ- “fat-tailed sheep”: Som *lah*.

Cf. also Arb *leh* “ewe”.

HEC *lah- “she-goat”: Sid *laah*.

Rift *le^ʔ- “goat”: Irq *le^ʔi*.

Irregular *-ʔ-.

1644 *laḥ- “knife, axe”

Eg *nḥ^ʔ* “knife” (TS).

Vocalic -ʔ.

CCh *lay- “spear”¹, “axe”²: Log *laya*¹, Bud *lai*¹, Gude *raḥa*², FBw *rəḥ-an*², FMch *raḥa*², FJ *laḥa*².

1645 *lak- “think”

Eg *nk^ʔ* “think” (MK).

Vocalic -ʔ.

CCh *lak- “think”: Gis *lak*.

Cf. Or *lakkaa^wa* “count” (v.), Sid *lakka^ʔ*- “measure” (v.)?

1646 *lak- “kite”

Sem *lak(w)- “she-kite, female eagle”: Ug *lqh*, Arab *laqw-at*.

WCh *lVwVḱ- “vulture”: Mpn *look*.

Secondary development of *lak-.

CCh *la-lak- “kite”: Msm *lolokoi*, Bnn *laraka*.

Partial reduplication. Dissimilation of *liquida* in Bnn.

1647 *lal- “goat, cattle”

Sem *lali^ʔ- “goat”: Akk *lalū*, *lali^ʔu*, Soq *luloh*.

LEC *lal- “she-goat”¹, “cattle”²: Or *lal-eesa*¹, Rnd *lolyo*².

HEC *lal- “cattle”: Sid *laalo*, Dar *laalo*, Ala *laalo*, Kmb *laalu*.

Reduplication of *la^ʔ-/*law- “cattle” or *laḥ- “sheep, goat”?

1648 *lam- “speak, shout”

Eg *nmy* “shout, cry” (MK).

Suffix -y.

WCh *lam- “say”: Ank *lem*.

CCh *lam- “cry”¹, “speak”²: Lame *lam*¹, Mwu *u-lamo*².

ECh *lVm- “speak”: Mwu *lame*.

1649 *lam- “lie” (v.)

ECh *lam- “lie”: Sbn *lama*.

Rift *lam- “lie”: Irq *lama*, Bur *lama*.

1650 *lam- “be soft”

WCh *lwam- < *lam- “be soft”: Ang *lōm*.

Vowel change before a labial.

Agaw *lim- “be tender”: Xmr *lilem*, Xmt *ləmlim*, Kwr *lələm*, Kem *ləməy*.

Secondary vocalism in a reduplicated stem.

1651 *lap- “spleen”

WCh *lap- “spleen”¹, “liver”²: Sura *llap*¹, Ang *lap*¹, Klr *ma-laf*².

Prefix *ma- in Klr.

SA *³a-lef- “spleen”: Afar *aleefu*.

Prefix *³a-. Secondary *-e-.

LEC *lap- “heart, chest”: Or *lappee*.

Secondary emphatic in Or?

Dhl *laḥfi* “lungs”.

Note *l-* and irregular *-f-*.

1652 *lap- “beans, corn”

Sem *lupp- “beans”: Akk *luppu*.

Vowel labialized before *-p-.

Eg *npj* “seed, grain” (n).

Suffix -j, cf. ECh.

ECh *lap- “millet”: Sok *lap-iya*.

1653 *lap-/*lawap- “be wet”

Eg *npj* “wet” (sarc).

-j is a vocalic sign.

ECh *lawap- “wet”: Ndam *lwap*, Smr *lawe*.

Secondary extension of *lap-.

1654 *larVy- “stick”

Sem *larVy- “twig”: Akk *larû*.

Eg *ry.t* “stick” (MK).

Eg *j-* < HS *l-.

Another possibility for Eg is to compare it with ECh *³war- “stick”: Jegu *orra*.

1655 *lat- “skin”

Eg *ntnt* “skin” (med).

Reduplication. Eg *n-* < *l-.

WCh *lat- “skin”: Zar *laat*.

Cf. deverbative *lut- “skin” (v.): Fyer *lut*.

1656 *lat- “man”

Eg *nty.w* “people, men” (OK).

-y may be a suffix or a reflex of a front vowel.

WCh *lat- “person”: Maha *latu*.

1657 *lat- “destroy, split, grind”

Sem *lVta²- “split”¹, “strike”²: Akk *letû*¹, Arab *lt*² [-a-]².

Based on biconsonantal *lVt-.

Eg *nt* “slaughter” (gr).

WCh *latu- “grind”: Klr *lot*.

ECh *lVt- “destroy”: Mkk *litt-*.

1658 *lawVy- “twist, bend”

Sem *lūy- “twist, bend”¹, “turn”²: Arab *lwy* [-i-]¹, Jib *lwy*²,

Hss *lewō*², Mhr *lewō*², Shh *le*².

WCh *lawya- < *lawVy- “bend”: Hs *lawya*.

CCh *lay- “fold”: Lame *lei*.

Contraction of *lawVy-.

1659 *lay- “water; pour”

WCh *lay- “pour”: Ang *le*.

ECh *law-/*lay- “pour out”¹, “wet” (v.)²: Sok *ileo*¹, Tum *law*².

Secondary variant in *-w-.

SA *lay- “water”: Saho *laye*, Afar *lay*, *le*.

1660 *le²- “shine”

Sem *lV²-lV²- “shine (of a star)”: Arab *lP*.

Reduplication.

WCh *lya²- “begin (of the day)”: DB *le²*.

SA *lela^c- “day”: Saho *lälä^c*, Afar *lälä^c*.

Reduplication. Note the development of hS *²-.

Any relation to Irq *lo²a* “sun, God”, Bur *letu* “sun”, Alg *lele²a* id. in Rift?

1661 *le²-/*lew- “put on (clothes)”

Eg *nw* “put on (clothes)” (l).

WCh *lya²- “dress” (v.): Sura *lee*.

ECh *lVw- “put on (clothes)”: Tum *law*.

Consonantal alternation *²- ~ *-w-.

1662 *leb- “elephant”

Eg *ɣbw* “elephant” (OK).

ɣ- < HS *l-.

WCh *lab- < *lyaba- “elephant”: Tng *laba-ta*.

Suffix -ta?

CCh *nyab- “elephant”: Log *nevi*.

Irregular *n- < *l-.

ECh *lyab- “elephant”: Mkk *ɣelbi*.

With a typical Mkk metathesis in the first syllable.

Any relation to Or *arba* “elephant”?

1663 *leĉum- “fish”

Berb *licVm- “fish”: Ghd *u-lisma*, Ghat *a-ləməšay*.

Metathesis in Ghat.

Eg *nšmw.t* “fish” (NK).

Final -w indicates *u of the second syllable.

WCh *l(y)amVĉ- “fish”: Hs *lamsa*.

1664 *len- “be soft”

Sem *līn- “be soft, become soft”¹, “soften”²: Arab *lyn* [-i-]¹,

Mhr *liyōn*¹, Jib *lɛ:n*¹, Hss *alyin*², Mhr *alyin*², Shh *elyīn*².

Based on *lVn-.

Eg *nny* “be tired, be lazy”.

Metathesis. For the meaning, cf. MHG *weich* “soft” and “weak”.

WCh *lyan- < *lVyan- “soft”: Ang *len*.

Cf. reduplication in Chip *lenlen*. The same root may be also reflected in Sura *non* id. with assimilation.

1665 *ler- “time”

Eg *nry* “time, moment” (NK).

Vocalic -y.

CCh *lyar-/*lwar- “time”: Mtk *leř*, Bnn *lora*.

1666 *les- “tongue”

Sem *lišān- “tongue”: Akk *lišānu*, Ug *lšn*, Hbr *lašōn*, Aram (Syr) *leššōnō*, Arab *lišān*-, Gz *lesān*, Jib *elsen*, Hss *leşen*, Mhr *leşen*, Shh *lišen*, Soq *leşin*.

Suffix *-ān-.

Berb *lVɣ- “tongue”: Siwa *elles*, Kby *iləs*.

Eg *ns* “tongue” (pyr), Copt *les “tongue”: Fym *les*, Akh *les*, Boh *las*, Shd *las*.

Copt attests the character of the sonant orthographically denoted as *n*- in Eg.

WCh *ḥa-lis-um- “tongue”: Hs *halše*, *harše*, Sura *lišis*, Ang *leus*, Chip *lišis*, Mnt *lišis*, Grk *lis*, Bol *lisi-m*, Krk *lusu*, Ngm *linsa*, Maha *di-lis*, Krf *ilmīši*, Gera *de-linsa*, Glm *lim*, Grm *limši*, Fyer *lis*, Bks *ʔalis*, Sha *ʔaləs*, DB *lis*.

Prefix *ḥa- and a suffix of body parts.

CCh *ɣV-lyas- “tongue”: Gis *eles*, Msg *lesi*.

Prefix *ɣV-.

ECh *lyas- “tongue”: Mig *li-t*, Mubi *lesi*, Mkk *ʔilze*, Dng *lɛ:s-en*, *leese*.

Metathesis in Mkk, see s.v. *leb- “elephant”.

Omot *mi-las- “tongue”: Kaf *mi-laso*.

Prefix *mi-.

See *lahas- “lick”.

1667 *li²af- “fingernail, claw”

Eg *lɜf.t* “claw (of the vulture)”.

CCh *li-lif- “fingernail”: Masa *lilifa*.

Partial reduplication.

Bed *ne²aaf* “fingernail, claw”.

Note initial *n- < *l-.

SA *lifⁱ- “fingernail, claw”: Saho *lifⁱ*.

Metathesis. Note the development of HS *²-.

1668 *lib-/ *lub- “heart”

Sem *libab- “heart”: Akk *libbu*, Ug *lb*, Hbr *lēb*, Aram (Syr) *lebbō*,

Arab *lubb-*, Gz *labb*, Hss *ḥelbēb*, Mhr *ḥewbēb*, Shh *ūb*, Soq *elbeb*.

Eg *ib* “heart” (pyr).

*l- > i- before a front vowel.

WCh *lVb- “lungs”: Chip *ləp*.

CCh *(HV-)lib- “belly, stomach”¹, “heart”²: Daba *libⁱ*¹, Mus *lib(i)*¹, Mnd *ṣurvə-ḡude*², Glv *rivi-ḡiya*², Zgh *arve*².

ECh *lub- “heart”: Mkk *ṣulbo*.

Metathesis in Mkk, cf. *leb- “elephant”.

Agaw *lVb-ak- “heart”: Bil *lābbāka*, Kwr *lābakaa*, Dmb *lābakaa*, Kem *lābbākaa*.

Suffix *-ak-.

SA *lub(b)- “heart”: Afar *lubbⁱ*.

LEC *lab-/ *lub- “heart”: Som *laab*, Or *lubbⁱ*, *labbe*.

Secondary *-a-.

Omot *lib- “heart”¹, “belly”²: Anf *yiboo*¹, Gll *lib²a*².

Rift *lib- “chest”: Asa *liba*.

Alternation *i ~ *u.

1669 *lič- “be weak, be soft”

Sem *lVt-lVt- “linger, tarry”: Arab *lilt*.

Reduplication. On the semantic development see s.v. *layan- “be soft”.

Agaw *lič- “be soft”: Xmr *lis-*.

SA *lis-lis- “soft”: Saho *lislis*.

Reduplication. Not quite regular *-s- < HS *-č-.

1670 *lihab- “burn”

Sem *lVhab- “burn, be bright”: Hbr *lhb*, Arab *lhb* [-a-], Gz *lhb*.

Eg *rhb* “glow”.

Note r-.

Agaw *lib- < *liHVb- “heat, cook” (v.): Kem *lāb-*, *lāb-*.

Cf. also Bed *liw-* “burn” as a possible continuation of *lib-.

1671 *liḥap- “cover”

Sem *lVḥap- “envelop, cover”: Arab *ḥf* [-a-], Jib *elḥef*.

WCh *liḥ- < *liHVḥ- “cover”: Hs *lulluḥa*, Bol *liḥḥ-*, Dera *liḥe*.

Reduplication in Hs. Secondary emphatic *ḥ goes back to *p in contact with a laryngeal.

1672 *liḥum- “kill, fight”

Sem *lVḥum- “kill, fight”: Hbr *ḥm*, Arab *ḥm* [-u-].

CCh *lim- < *liHVm- “war”: Lmn *lāmo*, Daba *lim*.

1673 *liḡam-/ *liḡim- “eat, swallow”

Sem *lVḡam- “swallow, eat, gobble (a mouthful)”: Arab *lqm* [-a-].

ECh *liḡam- “eat”: Tum *lagəm*, Kbl *liyəm*.

LEC *liḡim- “swallow”: Or *liḡim-s-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from *lVḡ- “lick”. On the other hand, cf. Sem *lVḡam- “eat, feed” (see s.v. *laḡam- “meat”).

1674 *lil- “water; be wet”

Berb *lil- “sea, river”: Nfs *iləl*, Zng *ell*, Sus *ill*.

Cf. Lib *lil- “water” (apud Hdt.: λιλυ) and Fgg *ill* “weep”.

Cf. also Kby derivative s-lil “wash”.

Bed *lil-* “be wet”.

Reduplication of *lay- “water; pour”.

1675 *liw- “cloud, sky”

Eg *nw.t* “sky” (pyr).

Eg *n-* < HS **l-*.

WCh **liw-ay-* “cloud”: Sura *lluu*, Chip *liwu*, Bgh *lway*, Mnt *luo*.

1676 *liwVč- “mix”

Sem **lūt-* “knead, mix”: Akk *lāšu*, Hbr *lōš*, Arab *lwt* [-u-].

ECh **liwVč-* “mix”: Mobu *luse*, Ngam *lise*, Dng *lewsī*.

1677 *lo³- “breath, soul”

Eg *nšw* “breath” (XVIII).

Vocalic -w.

WCh **lwa³-* “soul”: DB *lwa³*.

1678 *loḵum- “camel”

Berb **lVḵum-* “camel”: Siwa *a-lyom*, Ntf *a-lyum*, Tlt *a-lyum*, Izy *alyem*, Kby *a-ly^wəm*, Rif *alyəm*, Wrg *aḷəm*.

WCh **raḵum-* < **rwāḵum-* “camel”: Hs *rāḵumi*.

Irregular **r* < **l*.

CCh **lukVm-* “camel, horse”: Mba *lukma*.

Cf. Log *kurguma* “camel”.

ECh **lwaḵum-* “camel”: Tum *logma*, *loguma*, Dng *lokumo*, Ndam *lugumo*, Brg *lokomo*, Jegu *logom*.

Cf. Kbl *lak'ma* “horse”.

A cultural term that may be a *Wanderwort* (of Berber origin?).

1679 *lo-lüm- “insect”

ECh **lwa-lVm-* “ant”: Jegu *lolmo*.

LEC **lu-lum-* “larvae of mosquitoes”: Som *lulumo* (pl.).

Reduplication of **lüm-* “termite”.

1680 *lom- “bird”

Eg *nm* “kind of bird” (l).

CCh **lwam-* “dove”: Ngw *loma*.

1681 *lub- “be thirsty”

Sem **lūb-* “be thirsty”: Arab *lwb*.

Based on HS **lub-*.

Eg *iby* “be thirsty”.

Reflects **lVbVy-*.

Dhl *λuuβ-* “sip”.

Note λ-.

1682 *lubaḥ- “strike”

Sem **lVbaḥ-* “strike”: Arab *lbḥ* [-a-].

ECh **lVb-* “strike”: Tum *ləbə*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

Dhl *luβ-* “beat”.

1683 *luḡab- “be tired”

Sem **lVḡab-/lVḡub-* “be exhausted”: Arab *lḡb* [-a-, -u-].

WCh **lub-* “be tired”: Dera *luba*.

Contraction from **lVHub-*.

CCh **luHVb-* “tiredness”: Kap *luḥwe*, HF *liḥi*, Bnn *lobuwa*, FMch *ruḥu*.

Nominal derivative with a different vocalism.

1684 *luḥur- “cloth”

Eg *nḥr.w* “kind of dress” (gr).

WCh **luHur-* “striped cloth”: Hs *nūrū*, *lūrū*.

1685 *luk- “bird”

ECh **lukuk-* “kind of bird”: Bid *lukuku*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC **luk(k)-* “hen”: Som *luki*, Or *lukku*, Bay *luk-ale*, Arb *lukku*.

HEC **lukk-* “hen”: Bmb *lukk-ančo*.

1686 *luk- “road”

CCh **lak-* “road”: Klb *laku*, Bura *laku*, Mrg *lagu*.

Intervocalic *-k- > Mrg -g-.

LEC *luk- “crossroads of forest paths”: Or *lookoo*, *luukoo*.

1687 *lum- “eat”

Sem *lum- “chew”: Akk *lamāmu* [-u-].

CCh *lum- “bite, eat”: Mba *lum*, Msg *lama*, *luma*.

Cf. Sem *lVham- “eat, feed” (see s.v. *laḥam- “meat”).

1688 *lum- “gather”

Sem *lum- “gather”: Arab *lmm* [-u-].

ECh *lam-/lum- “gather”: Mubi *lamma*, Bid *lum*, Mig *lumme*.

1689 *lūbaḥ- “be wet”

Eg *ibḥ* “wet” (MK).

Palatalization of *l- > t-.

CCh *luḥa- < *lubaH- “wet” (v.): Bura *liḥ-enta*, Hld *lūḥ-uri*, Chb *luḥ-ti*, Wmd *luḥ-ta*, HF *ləḥ-əši*, FG *luḥwi-ti*, Kap *luḥi-ke*, Gava *luḥ*, Daba *luḥ*, Msg *laḥ*, Zime *laḥ*.

ECh *lub- “wet”: Kera *lubi*.

1690 *lūf- “cloud, fog”

Eg *nfj* “fog” (gr).

Vocalic -y.

WCh *lVfVf- “cloud”: Kry *ləfəfə*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh *luf- “cloud”: Daba *luv*.

1691 *lüm- “boat”

Eg *lmw* “kind of ship” (OK).

Palatalization of *l- > t-.

CCh *lum- “boat”: Zime *lum*.

1692 *lüm- “big, many”

Sem *liVm- “thousand” < * “many”: Akk *lim*, Ug *lpm*.

Based on *lim-.

WCh *lumum- “in quantity”: Hs *lumumu*.

Partial reduplication. Cf. also Hs *lamama* “in great quantity”.

HEC *lum- “big”: Dar *lumo*.

1693 *lüm- “termite”

Sem *nimm- “termite”: Arab *nimm-at*.

Assimilation of consonants.

CCh *lum- “termite”: Bura *luma*, Chb *ləma*, Kap *luma*, HK *luma*.

1694 *lūnaḥ- “net”

Eg *inḥ* “net” (LM).

Palatalization of *l- > t-.

WCh *lunaḥ- “net”: Mnt *lung*, Ank *lang*.

1695 *l[ü]w- “house, dwelling”

Berb *liw- “room”: Ghd *ta-lūw-in*.

Eg *nw.t* “village, town” (pyr).

WCh *lu/w/- “house, hut”: Sura *lu*, Ang *lū*, Chip *lə*.

CCh *luw- “town”: Zgh *luwa*.

ECh *a-luw- “interior dwelling space”: Kera *aluwa*.

Dhl *lawā* “village”.

Unexpected vowel.

1696 *IVk-/IVk- “leg”

Sem *ilk- “heel”: Akk *ilku*.

Prefix *i-.

Berb *IVk- “leg, calf”: Twl *eləy*, Ahg *ēləy*, Izy *iley*.

Agaw *lik(u)- “leg, hip”: Bil *lik^w*, Xmr *lik^w*, Xmt *luk^w*, Kwr *lik^w*,

Dmb *lik^w*, Kem *läk^{wə}*, Aun *lək^w*.

SA *lak- “hip, thigh, leg”: Saho *lak*, Afar *lak*.

LEC *luk-/luḥ- “leg, hip”: Som *lug*, Or *luka*, *luka^a*, Rnd *lux*, Bay *lukka*, Arb *lukk*, Kon *log-da*, Gdl *lukke-to*.

HEC *lek-/lok- “leg, hip”: Sid *lekkee*, Dar *lekka*, Had *lokko*, Ala *lokka-ti*, Bmb *luka*, *lukka*, Kmb *lokka-ta*.

Wrz *luχ- ‘leg’: War *luχ-te*, Gaw *luχ-te*, Gob *luh-*, Cam *lu³ge*.
Dhl *luka* ‘thigh’.

Irregular *k ~ *k̥ in various branches of HS.

1697 *IVk- ‘lick’

Sem *luk- ‘lick, lap’: Hbr *lqq*, Arab *lqq* [-u-].

Cf. Akk *leku* ‘lick’ (< *IVhV_k-).

Berb *IVk- ‘lick’: Twl *əlləy*, Ahg *əlləy*, Mzab *əlləy*.

WCh *lak- ‘eat greedily’¹, ‘lick’²: Hs *lake*¹, Bks *lok*², DB *loḵ*².

ECh *lya-lik- ‘lick’: Mig *lelliko*.

Partial reduplication.

Bed *lak-* ‘lick’.

LEC *lik-/loḵ- ‘swallow, lap’: Som *liq-*, Kon *log-*, Gid *loq-*, Had *liq-ič-*.

Vocalism *o may be secondary.

*m

1698 *ma-/*mi- ‘mouth’

Berb *mV- ‘mouth’: Ghd *a-mi*, Awj *am*, Ahg *i-mi*, Zng *i-mmi*.

CCh *ma-/*mi- ‘mouth’: Bata *mee*, Daba *ma*, Nza *ma*, Msg *maa*, *mii*, Gid *mo*.

One of the cases representing a rare root pattern CV-.

1699 *ma³- ‘water’

Sem *ma³-/*may- ‘water’: Akk *mū*, Ug *my*, Hbr *mayim* (pl.), Aram (Syr) *mayyō* (pl.), Arab *mā³-*, Gz *māy*.

Berb *mV- ‘water’ (pl.): Izy *aman*, Kby *aman*.

Eg *mw* ‘water’ (pyr).

WCh *ma³- ‘water’: Geji *maa*, Grn *maa*.

CCh *ma³-/*maw- ‘river’¹, ‘water’², ‘dew’³: FKl *māwa*¹, Gude *ma³in*², FBw *ma³in*², Log *mū*³.

If Log is not from *ma³u- it may go back to an apophonic variant *mu³-, cf. Bed.

Bed *mu³-* ‘liquid’.

A reflex of u-grade?

Dhl *ma³a* ‘water’.

Rift *ma³-ay- ‘water’: Irq *ma³ay*, Asa *ma³a*, Kwz *ma³aya*.

Note parallel forms with sonants *may- and *maw- in Sem, Eg and CCh. Sem, Berb and CCh may reflect an archaic HS plural *ma³-in-!

1700 *ma³in- ‘woman, wife’

WCh *ma³in- ‘wife, woman’: Ngm *mīno*, Krk *men*.

CCh *min- ‘woman’: Gude *munii*, Msg *minne*.

Gude -u- is irregular.

ECh *ma³an- ‘co-wife’: Kera *maanə*.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC *min-/*³amin- ‘woman’: Bay *amine*, Gel *minne*.

HEC *men-/*³amen- ‘woman’: Sid *meen-to* (pl.), Ala *mēen-*, Bmb *aameen-*.

Omot *ma³in- ‘wife’: Shn *maan* (pl.), Gim *main*.

Rift *³amen- ‘wife’: Irq *ameni*, Bur *ameni*.

Dhl *maani* ‘barren woman’.

Contraction.

In Cush, several branches reflect *³amin-.

1701 *mabar- ‘mouth’

WCh *mabar- ‘mouth’: Hs *mabāri*.

Bed *ambar* ‘mouth’.

WCh *ma- and Bed *am-* reflect the HS correspondence that may be also traced between Cush prefix *³am- and Chadic prefix *ma-.

1702 *mač- ‘be drunk’

WCh *miwač- ‘beer’: Ang *mos*, Sura *mwos*, Ank *mwess*, Mpn *mwes*, Grk *mut-*, Mnt *mus*.

Derived from *mač-?

LEC *mač- ‘be drunk’: Or *mačaw-*.

Note -č- preserved in Or in contrast to the expected reflex of HS
 *č > LEC *s, *š. Derived from the original noun?

Omot *mač- ‘be drunk’: Ome *matto-*, Kaf *maš-*, Mch *maša*.
 Denominative form?

1703 *mač- ‘press, cut’

WCh *mač- ‘press, squeeze’: Hs *māša*.

Omot *mačč- ‘cut’: Kaf *mačč-*.

As to semantics, cf. W *trychu* ‘cut’ ~ OEEng *thrycean* ‘press’.

1704 *mag- ‘be numerous, be big’

CCh *magwa- ‘big, long, high’: Mus *mogwa*.

ECh *mag- ‘much, many’: Tum *māg*.

SA *mag-/mang- ‘be strong’¹, ‘be numerous’², ‘fill’³,
 ‘plenty’⁴: Saho *meng*-¹, *meg*-², Afar *mag*-², *mangoo*⁴.

Nasal infix in certain forms.

1705 *mag- ‘be bad’

WCh *mug- ‘bad’: Hs *mūgu*.

Secondary formation with modified vocalism.

Bed *maag* ‘be bad’.

LEC *mag- ‘be bad’: Or *magu*.

1706 *ma^č- ‘grain, cereal’

Sem *māč- ‘corn, seed’: Hbr *māčā*.

ECh *may- ‘millet’: Smr *may*, Ndam *may*.

ECh *may- may reflect earlier *maH(i)-.

1707 *ma^čaw-/ma^čay- ‘wind’

Eg m^čw ‘wind’ (MK).

-č- stands for a vowel of the first syllable.

ECh *maHay- ‘wind’: Mkk *maaye*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1708 *ma^čid- ‘stomach’

Sem *ma^čVd- ‘stomach’: Arab *ma^čid-at*.

Cf. also Arab *ma^čad* ‘side’?

CCh *mVHid- ‘liver’: Chb *mide*, Ngw *miḍa*, Mrg *miḍa*.

ECh *myad- ‘belly’: Jegu *med-et*.

*-ya- results from a contraction of *-aHi-.

1709 *mahar- ‘suck’

Eg *mhr* ‘suck, milk’ (gr).

WCh *maHar- ‘suck’: Ang *mōr*.

A regular contraction.

1710 *mahor- ‘slave, soldier’

Sem *mVhVr- ‘service man, soldier’: Ug *mhr*.

Cf. the semantic development of OIr *ōc* ‘young’ (adj.) →
 ‘young man’ → ‘warrior’.

WCh *maHwar- ‘slave’: Klr *mahor*, DB *moor*.

CCh *mVhwar- ‘immigrant’: Lame *muhor*.

Secondary -u- after a labial.

1711 *mahaw-/mahay- ‘forget’

Eg *mhy* ‘be forgetful (of heart)’ (MK).

CCh *maw- < *maHaw- ‘forget’: Bnn *mawa*.

Contraction.

Agaw *may- ‘forget’: Xmr *mii-t*, Kwr *mey*, Dmb *mey*, Kem *maay*.

Narrow vowels in Xmr, Kwr and Dmb continue *-a- before
 *-y-.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1712 *maḥ- ‘tie’

Eg mḥ^ḥ ‘tie’ (MK).

Vocalic -ḥ.

ECh *maH- ‘tie’: Smr *mā*.

1713 *maḥal- “box, basket”

Sem *maḥal- “box, basket”: Akk *maḥḥalu*.

Eg *mhn* “box” (n).

Irregular reflection of the laryngeal in late Eg.

Sem loanword in Eg?

1714 *maḥVy- “wind”

Sem *maḥVy- “storm”: Akk *mehû*.

Eg *imḥ* “turbulence” (sarc).

Metathesis. Vocalic -ḥ-.

The alternative reconstruction is *yVmaḥ-.

1715 *makay- “stick”

Sem *makVy- “stick”: Akk *makûtu*.

CCh *makay- “stick”: Bud *makai*.

1716 *makil- “boat”

Sem *magîl- “barque, boat”: Akk *magîlu*.

Akk -g- substitutes *k?

Eg *mkr* “ship” (XXII).

Sem loanword? Note -r < *-l.

1717 *makVr- “(be) red”

Sem *makr- “red”: Akk *makrû*.

Eg *mkrr* “unknown color” (gr).

-rr may continue *-r- or reflect a partial reduplication.

1718 *maḵV²- “vessel”

Sem *maḵV²- “vessel for offerings”: Akk *maqqu*.

Eg *mqḏ* “measure (for dates)” (n).

Palatalization of *-ḵ-.

HEC *maḤaḵ- “jar for milking”: Sid *maakke*.

Metathesis.

1719 *malaw- “desert”

Sem *malaw- “desert”: Arab *malā*(²)-.

-²- is of orthographic value only.

Eg *mrw* “desert”.

Note -r- < HS *-l-.

1720 *mam- “forget, doubt”

WCh *mam- “forget”: Siri *mama*, Mbu *mamw*-, Jmb *mama*.

LEC *mam- “doubt”: Or *mama*.

Semantically, *tertium comparationis* may be formulated as * “not know”. Hence, “not know exactly” → “doubt”.

1721 *man- “know, test”

Sem *mVnVw- “count” ¹, “test, try” ²: Akk *manû* ¹, Hbr *mny* ¹, Arab *mnw* [-u-] ².

Based on biliteral *mVn-. The meaning “test, try” may be the most archaic in this group of words, serving as a source of other meanings connected with intellectual activities as such.

WCh *man- “know”: Mnt *man*, Ank *man*, Mpn *mān*, Bol *mon*, Ngm *man*.

CCh *man-/*mun- “understand, analyze”: Lame *man*, *mun*.

Secondary *-u-.

LEC *man- “mind”: Som *maan*.

Cf. also Eg *mn.t* “manner, way” (MK)?

1722 *man-/*mayan- “man”

Berb *mīn- < *mVyVn- “man”: Zng *mīn*.

WCh *man-/*min- “man”: Krk *mun* (pl.), Pol *māni*, Dwot *mani*, Buli *mān*, Bar *mani*, Kir *mīni* (pl.), Bol *menni*, Geji *māni*, Say *miwan*.

The variant *min- may go back to *mVyVn-.

CCh *mayan- “man”: Log *meeni*.

LEC *mun- “male”: Som *mun*.

Secondary *-u-, cf. Omot.

HEC *man- “people”: Sid *maana*, Dar *maana*, Had *maana*, Kmb *maana*, Tmb *mana*.

Omot **mon-* < **man-* ‘people’: Yam *monoo*.

Note a morphonological co-variant of the root with an inlaut sonant. Cf. also Dhl *mana^ce* ‘child’.

1723 **man-/min-* ‘house’

Eg *mn* ‘room’ (MK), Copt **monē* ‘dwelling, inn’: Boh *monē*, Shd *monē*.

Copt may be borrowed from Gk *μονή*.

WCh **man-/min-* ‘house’¹, ‘place’²: Tng *man*¹, Dera *māna*¹, Pero *mina*¹, Sha *mun*².

Secondary -u- in Sha.

CCh **min-* ‘door’: Msg *min*, *mj*.

ECh **man-* ‘place’: Smr *mana*, Ndam *mān*, Tum *man*.

LEC **man-/min-* ‘house’: Som *miin*, Or *mana*, *manaa*, Boni *miy*, Arb *min*.

Wrz **man-* ‘house’: Gaw *mano*.

HEC **min-* ‘house’: Sid *mine*, Dar *mine*, Had *mine*, Kmb *mine*.

Dhl *mini* ‘house’.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

1724 **mang-* ‘millet, lentils’

Sem **mang-/magg-* ‘beans, lentils’: Akk *mangu*, Arab *magg-*.

HEC **manḵ-* ‘millet’: Bmb *manḵo*.

Secondary emphatic **ḵ* < **g*?

One of the cases in which HS stops display irregularities when appearing after nasals, in HS clusters.

1725 **manV^c-* ‘hold, take’

Sem **mVnV^c-* ‘hold, take hold of’: Jib *mina^c*, Hss *mōna*, Mhr *mōna*, Shh *mina^c*.

WCh **man-H-* ‘take’: Sura *maṭ*, Grk *maṭ*, Mpn *maṭ*.

1726 **maq-* ‘pour’

Sem **mVḥ-* ‘pour’: Akk *maḥāḥu*.

Berb **mVy-* ‘be wet’: Izy *emmey*.

Eg *mhy* ‘pour’ (gr).

-ḥ- from -ḥ- in late Eg.

WCh **maHay-* ‘pour, wet’: Dera *māy-*.

The development of *-q- in this case is irregular. Cf. **muq-* ‘be wet’.

1727 **mar-* ‘slave’

Eg *mr.t* ‘serf’ (OK).

WCh **mar-* ‘slave’: Siri *marə-čək*, Mbu *mar*, Jmb *mar-žu*.

CCh **mVr-* ‘slave’: FKī *māra*.

1728 **mar-* ‘cow, bull’

Eg *mr.t* ‘cow’ (gr).

CCh **mar-* ‘sacrificial bull’: Mafa *maray*.

LEC **mar-* ‘calf’: Arb *maar*.

1729 **mar-* ‘sheep, goat’

Sem **immar-* ‘sheep, lamb’: Akk *imмерu*, Ug *imr*, Phn *imr*, Pun *imr*, Aram (Bibl) *immar*, (Palest) *imm^rrā*, (Syr) *emm^rrā*, Arab *immar-*.

WCh **mar-* ‘goat’¹, ‘ram’²: Tng *mara*¹, Pol *mar*¹, Geji *mal*¹, Buli *mar*¹, Bks *maray*².

SA **mar-* ‘sheep’: Saho *maruu*, *maaru*, Afar *maruu*, *maaru*.

Apparently, this root has no etymological connection with **mar-* ‘cow, bull’.

1730 **mar-* ‘bind, roll up’

Eg *mr* ‘bind, tie’ (med).

WCh **mar-* ‘twist, wring’: Tng *mari*.

LEC **mar-* ‘roll up, turn’: Or *mar-*, *maar-*.

Rift **mar-* ‘twist’: Irq *marra*.

1731 **mar-* ‘walk’

Sem **mur-* ‘go away’: Arab *mrr* [-u-].

*-u- may be secondary.

Berb **mVr-* "pass by": Ayr *əmmər*.

WCh **mīr-/mur-* "run": Miya *mīr-*, Mbu *mur-*.

Secondary vocalism?

HEC **mar-* "go": Bmb *mar-*, Had *mar-*, Kmb *mar-*, Sid *mar-*.

Dhl *mar-* "go round".

1732 **mar-* "house"

Eg *mr* "pyramid" (OK).

Note the semantic development.

Agaw **mar-* "yard": Bil *maraa*.

Rift **mar-* "house": Irq *maray* (pl.), Bur *mara*, Asa *mor-ok*.

1733 **mar-* "drop, rain"

Sem **mar-* "drop": Hbr *mār*.

ECh **mar-* "rain": Smr *ma:ri*

Cf. Berb **mVr-* "pour" (Kby *əmmīr*) as a continuation of the corresponding HS verb.

1734 **mar-* "be sour"

Sem **mar-* "(be) bitter": Akk *marāru*, Hbr *mar*, Arab *mrr* [-a-, -u-],

Soq *mrr*, Hss *mer*, Mhr *mer*, Shh *mur*.

For a similar semantic evolution see s.v. **ḥamaṣ-* "be sour".

Eg *m* "become sour" (pyr).

Prefix *ṣ-*.

WCh **mar-* "sour": Ang *mer*.

1735 **mar-* "field"

Eg *mr* "pasture" (OK).

WCh **mar-* "field, farm": Chip *mar*, Mnt *mai*, Sura *mār*, Ang *mār*.

Development of **r* in Mnt is regular.

ECh **mar-* "earth": Sok *māro*.

1736 **mar-* "be ill, be weak"

Sem **mVrah-* "be weak, suffer": Arab *mrh* [-a-].

Derivative based on **mar-*.

Eg *mr* "be ill" (pyr).

ECh **maHyar-* "become weak": Bid *meer*.

Based on **mar-*?

Rift **maʿar-* "weak": Asa *maʿara*.

Cf. also LEC **mar-* "kind of smallpox" (Or *maaree*)? Note a morphological variant **maHar-/maHer-* in ECh and Rift that may correspond to Sem **marah-*. If so, Eg remains isolated.

1737 **mar-* "recover, be healthy"

Sem **mar-* "healthy, strong": Akk *marmaru*, Arab *marīr-*.

Reduplications based on **mar-*. Cf. Hss *merret* "strength".

WCh **mar-* "recover": Hs *māre*.

1738 **mar-* "hoe" (n.)

Sem **marr-* "hoe, spade" ¹, "iron spade" ²: Akk *marru* ¹, Aram (Syr) *marr-*, *maʿr-* ¹, Arab *marr-* ².

Eg *mr* "hoe" (a).

ECh **mar-/mīr-* "hoe": Smr *mara*, Sbn *miri*.

HEC **morar-* < **marar-* "hook of the plough": Had *moraara*.

Partial reduplication.

Related to **mar-* "dig".

1739 **mar-* "dig"

Sem **mur-* "dig": Akk *marāru* [-u-].

Secondary **-u-*.

WCh **mari-* "hoe, farm" (v.): Ang *mār*, Bol *mar*, Dera *na mira*.

1740 **mar-/mar²-* "man"

Sem **mar²-* "son" ¹, "master" ², "man, husband" ³: Akk *māru* ¹, Aram (Bibl) *mārē* ², Arab *mar²-*, *mur²-* ³, SAr *mr²* ³.

Eg *mr.w* "people" (OK).

WCh **maʿar-* "boy" ¹, "masculine" ²: DB *maar* ¹, Fyer *mara* ².

Metathesis.

ECh **maʿar-* "uncle": Mig *maar*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is *ma³ar-. There are no traces of *-³- in Eg.

1741 *marVg- “field”

Sem *marg- “meadow”: Arab *marg*-.

ECh *mVrVg- < *marug- “field”: Dng *morgo*.

Cf. LEC *marVg- “grass” (Or *marga*)? Derived from *mar- “field”.

1742 *marV^c- “be right, be true”

Eg m³c “be true” (a).

Note -³- < *-r-.

CCh *mar- “right” (adj.): Zgh *mara*ⁿ.

1743 *ma-rV^k- “stair, staircase”

Sem *mar^k- “stair”: Arab *marq-at*-.

Eg m³k “staircase” (pyr), Dem *mky*, Copt *muki: Boh *mouki*.

Sem loanword?

Derived from *rek(ay)- “climb”.

1744 *masak- “skin”

Sem *maš^k- “skin”¹, “skin bag”²: Akk *mašku*¹, Hbr *mešek*², Aram (Syr) *meškō*¹, Arab *mask*-¹.

Eg msk³ “skin, hide” (pyr).

Final -³ may indicate *a of the second syllable.

Ancient Sem loanword in Eg?

1745 *masi³- “take, steal”

Sem *mVšV³- “rob”: Akk *mašā³u*.

WCh *mus- “take (away)”: Hs *amše*, Sha *mus*, Klr *mus*.

Secondary formation with a prefix in Hs. Unexpected vocalism.

ECh *ma³is- “steal”¹, “catch”²: Mig *māso*¹, Bid *mūs*¹, Mobu *maše*².

Metathesis. Cf. also Tum *muž* “steal”, Ndam *muž-en* id. HEC *mas- “take”: Sid *mass*-, Had *mass*-.

The alternative reconstruction is *ma³is-.

1746 *mat- “go, walk”

Eg *nmṭ* “march” (pyr).

Prefix *nV-.

WCh *mat- “come”: Ang *mēt*, Fyer *moot*.

SA *mat- “come”: Saho -*amat*-, -*emet*-, Afar -*mat*-.

1747 *maṭar- “water”

Sem *maṭar- “streaming water”¹, “rain”²: Akk *miṭirtu*¹, Ug *mṭr*², Hbr *māṭār*², Aram (Syr) *meṭrō*², Arab *maṭar*-².

Eg *mtr* “water” (Amarna).

1748 *mawaṭ-/mayāṭ- “wash”

Sem *mūš- “wash”: Arab *muṣ* [-u-].

Cf. Arab *mšmš* “rinse”.

CCh *mac-/muc- “wash”: Msg *masa*, Masa *musu-mo*.

LEC *mVyV^c- “wash”: Som *mayd*-, Or *miṭ*-.

HEC *mVyV^c- “wash”: Sid *maṭo*, Kmb *meṭṭe*³, Kab *meṭṭi*-, Ala *meṭṭi*-.

Omot *mayaṭ- “wash”: Ome *meṭ*-, Kaf *maac*-.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1749 *mawar- “roof, house”

WCh *mawar- “roof”: Sha *mawar*, DB *mawar*.

LEC *mōr- < *mawar- “manger”¹, “home”²: Or *moora*¹, Boni *moor*².

Related to *mar- “house”.

1750 *mawaṭ-/mayāṭ- “tree”

CCh *mVṭ- “baobab”: HNk *māte*, HGh *mate*, HF *mād*-.

Cf. also HNk *muds* id.

ECh **mawat-* ‘kind of tree’: Mkk *moote*.

LEC **mēt-* < **mayat-* ‘palm tree’: Or *meētii*.

Consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*. Probably, related to **muṭ-* ‘stick’.

1751 **mawut-* ‘die’

Sem **mūt-* ‘die’: Akk *mātu*, Hbr *mwṭ*, Aram *mwṭ*, Arab *mwṭ* [-u-], Gz *mōta*, Hss *mōt*, Mhr *mōt*.

Verb **mVt-* ‘die’: Ayr *ammat*, Izy *emmet*, Kby *emmet*, *əmməṭ*.

Eg *ml*, *mwṭ* ‘die’ (pyr).

WCh **mawut-* ‘die’: Hs *mutu*, Sura *muut*, Ang *muut*, Chip *muut*, Grk *mud*, Bol *mot*, Krk *mēt-*, Tng *mud-*, Ngm *mato*, Maha *muto*, Bele *motu-*, Krf *muk-ko*, Gera *mudu-*, Glm *məz-*, Grm *mut-*, Wrj *miy-*, Kry *miya*, Diri *matu*, Miya *miy-*, Paa *miy-*, Cagu *mōs-en*, Pol *miši*, Geji *musu*, Brm *mise*, Say *miši*, Dwot *mus*, Buli *muši*, Fyer *mot*, Bks *mot*, Sha *mot*, Klr *mot*.

CCh **mat-/matVw-* ‘die’: Bura *mta*, Chb *mti*, Mrg *mtu*, HF *mtu*, HNk *mte*, HGh *mte*, FG *mti*, Kap *mti*, Mnd *mat*, Bld *muč*, Nza *mute*, Log *mti*, Bud *matte*, Lame *mata*, Masa *mita*, Bnn *matua*.

Metathesis in **matVw-* > Bnn *matua*.

ECh **mawut-* ‘die’: Smr *made*, Tum *māde*, Dng *muutu*, Mubi *māt*, Sok *mūta*, *mīta*.

LEC **mūt-* < **mVwVt-* ‘die’¹, ‘deadly ill’²: Rnd *amut* (1st sg.)¹, Gid *muut*².

1752 **may-* ‘go, come’

Eg *nmy* ‘go’ (pyr).

Prefix **nV-*.

WCh **may-* ‘return’: Bol *maa*, Dera *mai*.

CCh **may-* ‘go’¹, ‘come’²: Gis *me*¹, Masa *mai*².

ECh **maw-/may-* ‘outrun’¹, ‘enter’²: Mobu *maye*¹, Sbn *mwə*².

SA **maH-* ‘come’: Saho *ma*, Afar *ma*.

LEC **may-* ‘come’: Arb *maye*.

ECh and SA seem to reflect co-variants of the main root with consonantal alternations.

1753 **mayas-* ‘know, hear’

WCh **mayas-* ‘know’: Tuli *mēsī*.

Bed *maasu(w)-* ‘hear’.

From **mayas-* with **-y-* > **-H-*?

1754 **maži-* ‘vessel’

Sem **maži-* ‘bronze vessel’: Akk *maziū*.

Eg *māzy* ‘vessel’ (n).

Sem loanword in Eg?

1755 **meciṭ-/mecuṭ-* ‘squeeze’

Sem **mVsuṭ-* ‘squeeze’: Arab *msṭ* [-u-].

WCh **nyacuṭ-* ‘squeeze’: Krk *nžaḍu*, Tng *sond-*, Glm *čuuz*, Geji *četi*, Dwot *nzət*.

CCh **nVciṭ-* ‘press’: Tera *nžedī*, Ngw *nsitə*.

In WCh and CCh **n-* reflects the assimilation of **m-*.

1756 **meḥ-* ‘swim’

Eg *mhy* ‘swim, navigate’ (a).

Vocalic *-y*.

WCh **myaH-* ‘swim’: Bgh *myau*.

1757 **meḥas-* ‘big snake, crocodile’

Eg *mzḥ* ‘crocodile’ (OK).

Metathesis.

WCh **myaHas-* ‘python’: Hs *mēsā*.

LEC **mas-* ‘snake’: Som *mas-*.

Contraction.

HEC **hamas-* ‘snake’: Sid *hamaso*, Had *hamas-iččə*, Bmb *hamasi*.

Metathesis. Assimilation of vowels.

1758 **mek-* ‘stone’

Sem **mikk-* ‘stone’: Akk *mikku*, *mekku*.

Eg *mḥ* ‘granite’ (OK).

Together, Eg -j- and Sem *i may reflect only HS *e.

1759 *mer- ‘be near’

Eg *mr* ‘nearness’ (t).

ECh *myar- ‘near, close’: Nch *mera*, Kbl *mra*.

1760 *mer- ‘beast of prey’

CCh *myar- ‘serval, wild cat’: Lame *mēr*, *mereo*, LPe *meri-an*.

Rift *mer- ‘lion’: Asa *mer-ok*.

Cf. Alg *mariyamo* ‘wild cat’.

1761 *meri²- ‘see, watch’

Sem **ṽmVr*- ‘see’: Akk *amāru*, Ug *ṽamr*.

Metathesis.

Eg *mṽṽ* ‘see’ (westc).

The alternative comparison for *mṽṽ* is CCh *mya²- ‘see’ (Bud *me*).

ECh *myar- ‘look, peer’: Bid *mer*.

Agaw *mirri^c- ‘look, watch’: Bil *mili^c y-*.

1762 *met-met- ‘speak, shout’

Eg *mtmt* ‘speak’ (XVIII).

ECh *myat-myat- ‘shout’: Sok *metemeteg*.

Reduplication.

1763 *meti²- ‘spear’

Eg *mtjy.t* ‘spear’ (BD).

ECh *myat- ‘spear’: Bid *meta*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

1764 *mi(?) - ‘child’

Eg *my* ‘sperm, son’ (XIX).

Wrz *mi²ay- ‘baby, boy’: Gaw *mi²ay*.

1765 *mi²- ‘antelope’

Eg *mṽ* ‘antelope’ (pyr).

CCh *miyaw- < *mi²-aw- ‘antelope’: Lame *miyeo*, LPe *miyeo*, Zime *miyeo*.

Agaw *miHiw- ‘kind of gazelle’: Kem *meewaa*.

1766 *mi²es- ‘tree’

Sem **mVHVš*- ‘kind of tree’: Akk *mēsu*.

WCh *myas- < **mVHyas*- ‘mahogany’¹, ‘locust-bean’²: Chip *mes*¹, Mpn *mes*².

CCh *myas- < **mVHyas*- ‘tamarind’: Log *mesā*.

HEC *mi²es- ‘cedar’: Bmb *mi²eesaa*.

1767 *migir- ‘grass’

Berb **mVgVr*- ‘cut (grass)’: Kby *emger*.

Denominative verb.

LEC *migir- ‘kind of tough grass’: Or *migira*.

HEC *migir- ‘grass’: Had *migira*.

Rift *magir-/ *migir- ‘firewood’: Irq *migir*, Alg *magiru*.

1768 *mi-^cVbal- ‘arrow, spear’

Sem *mi-^c(*V*)bal- ‘arrow’: Arab *mi^cbal-at*.

Eg *m^cbṽ* ‘harpune’ (pyr).

Sem loanword?

WCh **ṽumbul*- < **mubul*- ‘throw (a spear)’: Bol *ṽumbul*.

Denominative verb.

1769 *mič- ‘son, child’

Sem **mVt*- ‘son’: Ug *mt*.

Eg *ms* ‘child’ (pyr), Copt *mes: Akh *mes*, Boh *mas*, Shd *mas*.

ECh *mič- ‘son, child’: Bid *mičo*, *miča*, Mig *miča*.

1770 *min- ‘water, river’

Eg *myn.t* ‘waters’ (pyr).

Vocalic -y-.

CCh **min*- “river”¹, “dew”²: FG *mini*¹, Kap *minε*², Mwu *minu*¹.

1771 **min*- “worm”

Sem **mūn*- “caterpillar”: Akk *mūnu*.

From **min*-?

Berb **mVn*- “flea’s eggs”: Twl *imniwan*.

Meaning?

LEC **min(n)*- “tapeworm”: Or *minni*, Arb *miinne*.

HEC **min(n)*- “tapeworm”: Dar *minne*.

Rift **menan*- “tapeworm”: Asa *menana*.

1772 **min*- “want”

Sem **mVnVy*- “want”: Arab *mny*, Soq *mny*, Gz *mny*, Tgy *mny*.

CCh **min*- “want”: Masa *min*.

1773 **minV*^c- “cow”

Eg *mn^c.t* “cow” (pyr).

Agaw **miHVn*- “young cow”: Kem *miyän*.

Metathesis.

1774 **mir*- “river”

Eg *mr* “channel, pond”.

CCh **mir*- “river”¹, “pool”²: FM *mirə*¹, Mus *amrai*².

Prefix *a*- in Mus.

1775 **mit*- “insect”

CCh **mVd*- “mosquito”: Tera *mədə*.

Irregular Tera *-d* < HS **-t*.

LEC **mit*- “worm”¹, “black ant”²: Som *miḍ*¹, Or *miṭii*².

HEC **mit*- “ant”: Sid *miṭa*.

Dhl *muta* “small ant”.

-u < **-i* after **m*.

1776 **mit*- “pull”

Sem **mut*- “pull, stretch”: Arab *mtt* [-*u*-], Hss *meṭ*, Mhr *meṭ*, Shh *miṭ*.

Secondary vowel.

CCh **mit*- “pull”: Mtk *mit*.

1777 **mo*³- “stick”

Eg *mṭw* “stick” (pyr).

CCh **u-mwa*³- “twig”: Msg *umo*.

Prefix **u*-.

1778 **mo*³- “be new”

Eg *mṣ* “new” (OK).

WCh **mwa*³- “new”: Fyer *mu*, Klr *mōhwe*, DB *mwa*.

CCh **mway*- “new”: Tera *mewa*, Mofu *mɔuya*.

1779 **modaṭ*- “tear”

CCh **mwaḍ*- < **mwadVH*- “tear”: Gis *moḍ*.

LEC **mudaḥ*- “tear off”: Som *mudaḥ*.

Som *ḍ* < **d* has been influenced by the laryngeal.

1780 **mog*- “head”

CCh **mog*- “head”: Mnj *mok*, Msg *mok*.

HEC **mug*- “head”: Bmb *muga*.

1781 **mo*^c*uḥ*- “bury”

Eg *mḥ^c.t* “tomb” (MK).

Unexpected final *-c*.

CCh **mwaHu*- “bury”: Lame *mu³u*, Msg *mou*.

Wrz **may*- “bury”: Gaw *may*.

1782 **mon*- “move, go”

Berb **mun*- “accompany”: Izy *mun*.

Eg *mmn* “move (away)” (OK).

Reduplication.

WCh **mwan*- “go”¹, “ride”², “come”³: Ang *mwen*, Sura *mwān*², Say *man*³.

Related to WCh **man*- “return” (Ngm *man*) and CCh **min*-/**mun*- id. (FJ *mun*, FM *min*, Mwu *umina*, Bch *muna*) if the above forms are not analyzed as **ma-n*- and **mi-n*-/**mu-n*- correspondingly.

1783 **monVh*- “slave”

Eg *mnḥ* “slave” (n).

WCh **mwan*- “slave”: Bgh *mwan*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

1784 **mori*²-/**moriḥ*- “fat, oil”

Sem **mari*²- “fat”¹, “fat cattle”²: Akk *marū*¹, Ug *mru*², Hbr *mārī*².

Cf. Arab *mrḥ* [-a-] “oil” (v.).

Eg *mrḥ.t* “fat, grease” (OK).

WCh **mwaHir*- “fat, oil”: Hs *mai*, Sura *mwōr*, Ang *mūr*, *mwūr*, Mpn *muur*, *mwoor*, *myar*, Bol *mor*, Krk *meru*, Ngm *mor*, Maha *mor*, Bele *mur*, Krf *mur*, Gera *moori*, Glm *mār*, Grm *moori*, Pol *mīri*, Geji *mīli*, Brw *miyir*, Say *mīr*, *māyi*, Kir *mār*, Tala *mīr*, Sha *maḥ*, Ngz *mārək*.

Metathesis.

CCh **mar*- “fat, grease”: Tera *mər*, Gude *mara*, Gudu *maṛ*, Bch *marəy*, Nza *mare*.

From **mwara*-.

LEC **mor*- “fat”: Or *moora*.

Irregular correspondences of laryngeals.

1785 **mos*- “weapon”

Sem **mūšay*- “razor”¹, “knife”²: Arab *mūsay*-¹, Soq *mos*², Shr *mus*², Mhr *maus*².

Secondary *-u- after a labial.

WCh **mas*- “spear”: Hs *māši*.

From **mwasa*-.

CCh **mwasa*- “spear”¹, “iron”²: Chb *mwāši*¹, Klb *masu*¹, Ngm *mwasu*¹, Wmd *masu*¹, Hil *masu*¹, Daba *māsa*², Mus *masa*².

ECh **mwasa*- “iron”: Mubi *masiyo*.

Rift **muš*- “spear”: Asa *muš-uk*.

1786 **mos*- “give birth”

Eg *msy* “give birth” (pyr).

Suffix -y.

CCh **mwasa*- “give birth”: Bata *mwaza*, Bch *mwasa*, Mwu *kumwaša*.

Prefix **ku*- in Mwu.

1787 **mu*²- “man”

WCh **mu*²- “man”: Dera *mu*, Tng *muu*, pl. *mi*.

CCh **mi*²- “people”: Log *mi*.

From **mu*²i-?

LEC **moH*- “man”: Arb *mo*, *moh*.

Omot **ma*²-/**mo*²- “man”: Hozo *mo*, Sezo *mao*.

Rift **mu*²- “people”: Irq *mu*, Kwz *me*²-*iko*.

1788 **mud*- “speak”

Berb **mVwVd*- “ask, pray”: Twl *mud*.

Based on **mVd*-.

Eg *mdw* “speak” (pyr), Copt **mute*: Boh *mout*, Shd *moute*.

Vocalic -w.

WCh **muḍ*- “answer”: Hs *muḍa*.

Unexpected *ḍ.

CCh **mud*- “speak”: Msg *muda*.

ECh **mad*- “ask”¹, “call”²: Jegu *mād*¹, Ndam *madidī*².

Partial reduplication in Ndam. Secondary vocalism?

Cf. LEC **mod*- “think” (< HS **mVwVd*- or **mVd*-): Som *mood*-?

1789 **muk*- “press”

Sem **muk*- “be pressed”: Hbr *mkk* [-u-].

WCh **muk*- “press”: Ang *muk*.

1790 *muk- “suck, drink”

Sem *muk- “suck”: Arab *mkk* [-u-].

WCh *muk- “sip”¹, “chew”²: Ang *muk*¹, Mpn *muk*¹, Bol *mukk*².

1791 *mulak-/*mulik- “stranger, chief”

Sem *malik- “king”: Akk *maliku*, *maliku*, Hbr *melek*, Arab *malk-*, *malik-*.

*-u- > *-a- after a labial.

WCh *mulVk- “stranger”: Wrj *məlki-zəhə-*, Diri *murkyu*.

CCh *mulak- “stranger”: Suk *malak*, Gis *mulak*.

The semantic connection of “stranger” and “ruler” reflects a certain historical reality of a “king” or “chief” belonging to or coming from an outside socio-ethnic group. At the same time, note CCh *mul- “king” (Bnn *mula*, Masa *mula*), ECh *mul- id. (Kwn *mulā-te*).

1792 *mulu^c- “lizard”

WCh *muluH- “gray lizard”: Bks *mulu-sus*.

Cf. Hs *mulwa* “short thick snake”.

SA *mulu^c- “lizard”: Afar *mulu^c-it*.

LEC *mulu^c- “lizard”: Som *mulu^a*.

1793 *mun- “bird”

Eg *mnw.t* “dove, turtle” (OK).

WCh *mun- “bird”: Kry *mūnu*.

Cf. a partial reduplication in ECh *minin- “kind of bird”: Bid *mininiyo*.

1794 *mun- “heart, liver”

CCh *mun- “liver”: Hwn *məna-ra*, Gbn *məna^aəta*, Gaa *mənə-tla*,

HNk *mne*, Kap *mune*, FG *mini*, Mtk *məna-d*, Tera *mənaməna*.

Dhl *muna* “heart”.

Cf. *mani* “large intestine”?

Rift *mun- “heart”: Irq *muna*, Bur *muna*, Kwz *mun- ako*, Asa *mon-ok*.

1795 *mun- “be, remain”

Eg *mn* “remain” (pyr).

WCh *mun- “remain”: DB *mun*.

CCh *min- < *muni- “be”: Msg *mine*.

1796 *mune^c- “love” (v.)

Sem *mun- “love”¹, “be favorable”², “desire”³: Akk *menū*¹, Arab *mnn* [-u-]², Soq *mny*³, Jib *mutni*³.

WCh *munya- “love, like”: Fyer *muni*, Sha *mun*, Pero *meno*.

CCh *mun- “preferred”: Lame *mun*.

1797 *mun-/*muyun- “ash, coal”

Eg *mn.w* “ash, coal” (gr).

WCh *muyun- “ash”: Bgh *muyun*.

Note the root pattern with “optional” C² = -y-.

1798 *munah-/*muni^h- “give”

Sem *mVnah-/*mVni^h- “give”¹, “offer”²: Arab *mnh* [-a-, -i-]¹, Soq *mnh*^{1 2}.

WCh *mun- “give”: Pero *munu*.

1799 *muq- “be wet”

Sem *mu^h- “soak, dissolve”: Akk *maḥāḥu* [-u-].

Verb *mV^h- “be damp”: Ahg *əmməy*, Twl *əmməy*.

ECh *muk- “rinse out”: Mkk *muk-*.

1800 *muqeq- “marrow, brain”

Sem *mu^h_h- “marrow”¹, “brain”²: Akk *muḥḥu*^{1 3}, Ug *mḥ*^{1 2}, Hbr *mō^aḥ*², Aram (Syr) *muḥḥō*^{1 2}, Arab *muḥḥ-*².

CCh *mVqyaq- “brain”: Mnd *məkxyekxe*.

Derived from *muq- “be wet”? Cf. Skt *majjan-* “brain”, Av *mazga* id., Slav *mozgъ* id. ~ IE *mezg-* “dip, sink”.

1801 *muğaʔ-/muğaw- “male relative”

Sem *maḡāʔ- “uncle”: Akk *maḡāʔu*.

Usual development of *u after a labial.

Eg *mhwt* “relative; subordinate; family” (MK).

Irregular reflex of HS *-q-.

WCh *muḡaʔ- “king”: Jim *mugaʔa*.

CCh *mVq- “king”: Kap *məyε*, Log *mɣai*, Bud *mei*.

Consonantal alternation *-ʔ- ~ *-w-. Note the semantic shift in Chadic.

1802 *muqVʔ- “strike, pierce”

Sem *mVḡVʔ- “beat, flog”: Aram (Syr) *mḡʔ*.

Eg *mḡʔ* “pierce (with a spear)”.

WCh *muHVq- “strike”: Hs *mūka*.

Metathesis.

ECh *muk- “beat”: Mig *mukkiyo*.

Rift *muḡ- “fight”: Irq *muḡ*.

Cf. Dhl *mukk-eeδ*- “take by force, plunder”?

1803 *mur- “man”

WCh *mur- “servant”: Hs *murī-ma*.

CCh *mur- “man”: Gudu *məř*, Nza *murs*, Bch *murey*, Bata *mūřən*.

HEC *mur- “infant”: Sid *mure*.

1804 *murVh- “feed”

Sem *mVrVh- “feed”: Akk *marū*.

ECh *muHVr- “food”: Ndam *mūr*, Bid *muro*.

Metathesis.

Related to *moriʔ-/moriḡ- “fat, oil”.

1805 *murVṭ- “beard, chin”

Eg *mrt* “chin” (l).

From Berb (Nfs *tu-mar-t* “beard”)?

WCh *murVṭ- “beard”: Diri *mulḡu*.

The word seems to be derived from a root preserved also in Chadic, cf. WCh *mar-/mur- “beard”: Wrj *mara*, Kry *mar*, Siri *muri*, Ngz *mari*.

1806 *mut- “man”

Sem *mut- “man”¹, “nobleman”²: Akk *mutu*^{1 2}, Ug *mt*¹, Hbr *mētīm*¹ (pl.).

Secondary vocalism influenced by the initial labial.

WCh *mut- “man”: Hs *mut-um*.

ECh *muti- “man”: Dng *miti-ko*, Sok *mati*, *muti*.

This root describes “man” as “mortal”, cf. *mawut- “die”. The same semantic development is well-known in IE, cf. Skt *mṛta*- “dead” ~ Av *mašya-*, OPers *martiya-* “man”.

1807 *muṭ- “stick”

Sem *maṭ- “stick, branch”: Hbr *maṭe*.

Eg *mdw* “stick” (OK).

1808 *m[u]yir- “snake”

WCh *mVyir- “python”: Sura *miyir*, Ang *myirm*, Chip *mīr*, Mpn *mer*, *mīr*.

Agaw *mir-/mur- “snake”: Bil *mər-aawaa*, Kem *mər-ewa*, *mār-āwaa*, Dmb *merwaa*, Dmt *murii*, Aun *muri*.

1809 *muž- “cattle”

Eg *md.t* “cattle” (OK).

ECh *muž- “ox”: Brg *mūzo*.

1810 *müʔ- “lion”

Eg *mṣy* “lion” (pyr).

Vocalic -y.

ECh *muʔi- “lion”: Smr *mi*, *mui*, Tum *mui*, *mūy*, Ndam *mui*.

1811 *mV³ad- “be large”

Sem *mV³ād- “many, much”¹, “very”²: Akk *mādu*¹, Hbr *m³ōd*².

CCh *mVd- “large”: Daba *mōdde*.

Contraction.

1812 *mVd- “knife, axe”

Sem *mVdy- “knife”: Arab *mady-at-*, *midy-at-*, *mudy-at-*.

WCh *³i-mVd- “small axe”: Grk *imda*.

CCh *mVd- “axe”: Gudu *mədō-čü*.

1813 *mVdun- “vessel”

Berb *mVdun- “kind of pan”¹, “kind of basin”²: Izn *mādun*¹, Kby *amdun*².

WCh *nVdun-H- “pot”¹, “drum”²: Sha *ndug*¹, Klr *ndug*².

Assimilation of the initial *m-.

1814 *mVl- “speak, call”

Sem *mVl- “speak”: Aram *mll*.

Berb *mVl- “say, indicate”¹, “shout, call”²: Twl *əməl*¹, Kby *mmel*².

1815 *mVlog- “bosom; suck”

Sem *mVlag-/ *mVlug- “suck”: Arab *mlg* [-a-, -u-].

Eg *mnd* “bosom, udder” (pyr), Copt **mnot*: Boh *mnot*.

Note the progressive palatalization of *-g-.

1816 *mVIVh-/ *mVIVh- “be good”

Sem *mVIVh- “be good”: Arab *mlh*.

Eg *mh* “be fitting, fit”.

Irregular correspondence of laryngeals.

1817 *mVsaw-/ *mVsay- “cereal”

Eg *msy* “kind of corn” (n).

CCh *mVsaw- “millet”: Log *msoā*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

1818 *mVtak- “be sweet”

Sem *mVtV_k- “be sweet”: Akk *matāqu*, Hbr *mtq*, Hss *matq*, Mhr *matq*, Shh *matq*, Soq *maṭaq*.

CCh *mVtak- “sweet”: Mtk *mtake*.

1819 *mVtur- “run”

Sem *mVtur- “go fast (of horses)”: Arab *mṭr* [-u-].

CCh *mVtVr- “run”: Glv *mdər*-.

*n

1820 *na³-/ *naw-/ *nay- “see”

Berb *nVn- “see”: Izy *anni*.

Reduplication.

Eg *nw* “see” (XVIII).

WCh *na³-/ *nay- “see”: Sura *naa*, Ang *ne*, Chip *naa*, Bol *innaa*-, Krk *naa*, Krf *nee*, Gera *nee*, Glm *ny*, Grm *nee*, Wrj *nah*, Kry *nahə*, Miya *nay*, Mbu *nay*.

CCh *na³-/ *ni³- “see”: Tera *na*, Gbn *ni*, Mnd *nə* .

*ni³- goes back to *nVy-.

LEC *nay- “learn”: Arb *nay*-.

The semantic shift is similar to the development of Goth *witan* “know” < IE **weid*- “see”.

Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-.

1821 *na³ib- “left”

Eg *iḅy* “left” (pyr).

Note *i*- < HS **n*-. Vocalic -y.

WCh **naḅ*- < **na³Vb*- “left”: Zar *naḅi*.

While WCh reflects initial **n*-, Eg may well indicate **l*- > *i*-.

If **l-* was originally in the anlaut, the reconstruction **la³Vb-* is to be connected with HS **lib-/lub-* ‘heart’. If **n-* is reconstructed in HS, cf. **nib-* ‘heart’.

1822 **nab-* ‘speak; name’

Sem **nVb-* ‘call’¹, ‘speak’², ‘nominate’³: Akk *nabû*¹, Hbr *nb²*², SAr *nb²*², Gz *nbb²*², Soq *nb³*³, Jib *enbe³*³.

WCh **nab-* ‘read, count’: Tng *nabi*.

Omot **nab-* ‘name’: Hmr *nabi*, *naabi*.

Deverbative formation.

1823 **nabal-* ‘arrow, spear’

Sem **nabl-* ‘arrow’: Arab *nabl-*.

Rift **labal-* ‘spear’: Irq *lawala*, Alg *labala*, Bur *labalä*.

Assimilation of the initial **n-* > **l-*.

1824 **nacin-* ‘(be) sharp’

Sem **nasin-* ‘sharp point, nail’: Akk *nasinu*.

Eg *nšny* ‘sharp’ (NK).

š < **s* before **i*.

1825 **naç-* ‘speak, call’

Sem **nVç-* ‘dictate (a letter)’: Arab *nçç*.

Eg *nç* ‘call’ (OK).

ECh **nas-* ‘chat’: Tum *naž*.

Voicing of auslaut **-s* > *-ž*.

1826 **nad-/nīd-* ‘go, walk’

Sem **nid-* ‘go fast’¹, ‘run (away)’²: Ug *ndd*¹, Hbr *ndd*², Aram (Bibl) *ndd*², Arab *ndd* [*-i-*]².

Cf. also Hbr *nd²*, *ndy* ‘move away’.

Berb **nVyVd-* ‘walk’: Izy *nyuddu*.

Based on **nVd-*.

Eg *nwd* ‘move’ (med).

Based on **nVd-*.

WCh **nVd-* ‘go (away)’¹, ‘come’²: Bol *ndi-*¹, Krk *nde-*, *ndayi*¹, Krf *ndo*², Pol *nduwu*¹.

CCh **nad-* ‘come’: Wmd *and-əw*.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

1827 **nada^c-* ‘swallow’

CCh **nVda-* ‘swallow’: HNk *nda-re*, FK *nda-*, HF *ndaço*, Glv *ndu*, Mofu *nd-*, Gude *nday-*.

SA **nada^c-* ‘swallow’: Saho *nada^c-*, Afar *nada^c-*.

1828 **naf-* ‘breath’

Eg *nf* ‘breath’ (NK).

SA **naf-* ‘breath, soul’¹, ‘face’²: Saho *naf*¹, Afar *neef*².

LEC **naf-* ‘breath, soul’¹, ‘body’²: Som *naf*, *neef*¹, Or *nafa*², Arb *nafa*².

Related to **nif-* ‘smell, breathe’.

1829 **nafar-* ‘man’

Sem **napr-* ‘man, group of men’: Arab *nafr-*.

WCh **nafar-* ‘man’: DB *naafara*.

Derived from **naf-* ‘man, person’ preserved only in WCh: DB *nāf*, Gul *nāfu*. Cf. also Pero *neepe* ‘first born child’.

1830 **nafus-* ‘breath’

Sem **napš-* ‘breath, soul’: Akk *napištu*, Ug *npš*, Hbr *nepeš*, Aram (Syr) *napšā*, Arab *nafs-*, Gz *nafs*, Hss *nefeset*, Mhr *nefesēt*, Shh *nefsēt*.

Berb **nVfas-* ‘breath’: Ahg *u-nfas*.

Metathesis of vowels.

WCh **nufas-* ‘breath’: Hs *numfāšī*, *lumfāšī*, Sha *lafwos*, *lufwos*.

Secondary nasal infix in Hs and dissimilation of **n-* in Sha.

Metathesis of vowels.

CCh **na[ff]us-* ‘soul’: Log *nawusə*.

A widely attested semantic pattern, cf. Lat *anima* ‘breath’ → ‘soul’.

SA **nafVs-* ‘breathing’: Saho *nafse*.

Metathesis of vowels explained by the influence of verbal forms. Derived from *naf- ‘‘breath’’. Related to *nufas- ‘‘blow, breathe’’. Cf. also Sem *nVšVp- ‘‘blow’’ (Akk *našāpu*, Hbr *nšp*, Aram *nšp*) and Eg *nšp* ‘‘breathe’’ (gr) if these are not derived from *sip- ‘‘blow’’.

1831 *nagaĉ-/ *naguĉ- ‘‘ruler, man’’

Sem *nVguš- ‘‘ruler’’: Arab *nigāš*-, Gz *nəguš*.

Cf. also SAR *ngšwn* ‘‘king’s title’’. Arab may be a Gz loanword or a deverbative.

CCh *ma-nVgaš- ‘‘bridegroom’’: Gis *mangaš*.

Prefix *ma-.

LEC *²angāš- ‘‘tribal chief’’¹, ‘‘eldest son’’²: Som *ugaas*¹, Or *angafu*².

Metathesis in the anlaut. Assimilation of vowels in Or. Note *-ng- > -g- in Som.

Omot *²angus- ‘‘first-born son’’: Ome *angussaa*.

As in LEC, initial *²Vn- corresponds to Chadic and Sem *nV-.

*-s- < HS *-ĉ- is not quite regular.

1832 *nag[i]H- ‘‘cattle’’

Sem *na^cg- ‘‘sheep’’: Arab *na^cg-at*.

Metathesis.

Eg *ng* ‘‘bull’’ (OK).

WCh *nungi- ‘‘cow’’: Sura *niŋ*, Ang *nüŋ*, Mnt *nung*.

WCh, presumably, represents a partial reduplication *nu-nVgi- from *nu-nVgiH-. On the other hand, WCh could be borrowed from Fulbe.

Note contradictory evidence of Sem and Eg as far as the laryngeal is concerned.

1833 *na^cVw- ‘‘snake, worm’’

Eg *n^cw* ‘‘kind of snake’’ (BD).

WCh *nVHVw- ‘‘snake’’: Sura *ŋwɔɔ*, Chip *nwɔ*, Mpn *nwo*.

Omot *naHu- ‘‘worm’’: Kaf *nau-itoo*.

1834 *nahak- ‘‘cry’’

Sem *nVhak-/ *nVhuĉ- ‘‘cry, shout’’¹, ‘‘bray’’²: Akk *nāqu*¹, Hbr *nhq*¹, Arab *nhq* [-a-, -u-]¹, Gz *nhq*¹, Hss *nekāq*², Mhr *nehēq*², Shh *nhēq*².

ECh *nak- < *naHak- ‘‘cry’’: Kera *nak-te*.

Contraction.

Cf. CCh *nyax- ‘‘ask’’: Daba *nexu*.

1835 *naḥ- ‘‘want’’

Eg *nh* ‘‘want’’ (MK).

-y is a suffix.

CCh *naH- ‘‘want, love’’: Glv *nā*.

1836 *naḥ- ‘‘oil, fat’’

Sem *nāḥ- ‘‘fat, grease’’: Akk *nāḥu*.

Eg *nhḥ* ‘‘oil’’ (n).

Partial reduplication. -ḥ- is a late Eg reflex of -h-.

Irregular correspondence of laryngeals. A cultural word?

1837 *naḥ- ‘‘bend’’ (intr.)

Sem *nVḥ- ‘‘bend’’: Arab *nhḥ*.

Agaw *naH- ‘‘bend’’: Bil *na²y*-.

Cf. Bed *nu²*- ‘‘lower, put’’.

1838 *naḥas- ‘‘pierce’’

Sem *nVḥas-/ *nVḥuš- ‘‘prick’’: Arab *nh^s* [-a-, -u-].

WCh *nas- ‘‘pierce (with spear)’’: Hs *nāse*.

ECh *nas- < *naHas- ‘‘pierce’’: Mobu *nase*, Ngam *nesi*.

1839 *naḥūr- ‘‘nose’’

Sem *naḥūr- ‘‘nostrils’’¹, ‘‘nose’’²: Akk *naḥīru*¹, Hbr *nēḥīrayim*¹, Aram (Syr) *nəḥīrē*¹, Arab *manḥīr*¹, Jib *naḥer*², Soq *naḥīr*².

Prefix *ma- in Arab.

Berb *nVḥur- ‘‘nose’’: Ghat *a-nḥur*, Ahg *a-nḡur*.

1840 *nakar-/nakir- “refuse, deny”

Sem **nVkar*- “ignore, disapprove”: Arab *nkr* [-a-], Jib *nkər*.

ECh **nakir*- “refuse”: Tob *naar*, Dng *nakir*.

Derivative from **kor*- preserved only in Chadic: WCh **kwar*- “refuse” (Sura *kwar*) and CCh **kyar*-/**kwar*- “refuse” (Hwn *kar*, Gaa *kər-fa*, Gbn *ker-fa*, Mwu *ukoro*, FMch *kara*).

1841 *nam- “man”

ECh **nam*- “people”: Tum *nemi-nam*.

Old collective. Cf. Kwn *nom-tō* “woman”, Sib (pl.) *nam-de* id.

SA **num*- “man”: Afar *nuum*, *nuumuu*.

Probably, **u* < **a* before **-m*-.

LEC **nam*-/**nim*- “man”: Som *nin*, Or *nama*, Kon *nama*, Bus *nama*, Gdl *nama*.

Regular Som *-n* < **-m*. Vocalism of Som has no support in other forms.

Omot **nam*- “man”¹, “son”²: Kaf *anaamoo*¹, Mch *naamo*².

1842 *nan- “god”

Eg *nn* “primeval god [Urgott]” (gr).

WCh **nan*- “god”: Sura *nān*, Ang *nen*, Mnt *nān*, Ank *nān*, Mpn *nān*.

1843 *nan- “go, walk”

Berb **nVn*- “go across”: Izy *ennu*.

Eg *nny* “go” (pyr).

-y is a suffix.

CCh **nan*- “go”: Masa *nana*.

LEC **nan*- “go round”¹, “walk”²: Or *naanna^wa*¹, Arb *nanni-ete*².

Reduplication?

1844 *nani[k]- “plant”

Sem **naniḵ*- “plant”: Akk *naniqu*.

Eg *innk* “medicinal herb” (med).

Prefix *i*-?

Irregular correspondence of Sem **k* ~ Eg *k*. A loanword?

1845 *nap- “intestine”

Eg *np̄* “guts” (sarc).

Vocalic -y.

CCh **ni-nap*- “liver”: Daba *ninap*.

Partial reduplication. Cf. also FKl *nəffo* “heart”, Log *nəfu* id.

1846 *napil- “snake, worm”

Sem **napil*- “caterpillar”: Akk *nappillu*.

Eg *np̄n* “snake” (reg).

-n < HS **-l*-.

1847 *naw- “be tired”

Eg *nw* “weak” (MK).

WCh **na*²-/**naw*-/**nay*- “be tired”: Ank *ne*, Geji *na*²- *wi*, Wrj *nuw*-.

Kry *nuwa*.

Secondary -y- in Geji? Cf. also Kry *nuwa* “tiredness”.

Any connection with **naw*-/**nay*- “be bad”?

1848 *naw-/*nay- “be bad”

Eg *ny.t* “evil” (BD).

WCh **ni²aw*- “be bad”: Ank *niau*.

Modification of the original stem.

ECh **naw*- “evil, terrible”: Mkk *nāwa*.

Consonantal alternation **-w*- ~ **-y*-.

1849 *nawač- “wine, beer”

Sem **na[w]aš*- “kind of beer”: Akk *nāšu*.

Eg *wnš.t* “wine” (XIX).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **wanač*-.

1850 *nayaw- “vessel”

Eg *nyw* “pot” (med), *nw* (n).

ECh **nawaw-* “mug”: Jegu *naayo*.

1851 **neʔul-* “moisten”

Sem **nVʔVl-* “moisten”: Akk *naʔālu*.

CCh **nVHul-* “moisten”: Masa *ḡul-*.

Masa *ḡ-* < **nH-*.

ECh **nyaHul-* “rain” (v.): Sbn *nwə:lə:*, Mig *nyālo*.

1852 **neb-* “swim”

Eg *nby* “swim” (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*.

CCh **nyabi-* “swim”: Gul *nebia*.

1853 **nečaʔ-* “inhale through the nose”

Sem **nVšaʔ-* “introduce a medicine through the nose”¹, “sniff, snuffle”²; Arab *nšʕ* [-a-]¹, Hss *še-nšā*², Mhr *še-nšē*³, Jib *niša*⁴.
 Berb **nV[c]-* “sneeze”: Nfs *ə-nzu*, Siwa *ə-nzu*, Mzab *ə-nzu*, Sml *t-inzi*.

WCh **nyaHVč-* “breathe”: Klr *nos*, Bol *nēs-*.

ECh **nyaHas-* “breathe”: Mig *naaso*, Bid *nēs*.

Metathesis.

Cf. **nVčag-* “inhale through the nose”.

1854 **neg-* “ask, shout”

Eg *nd* “ask (advice)” (pyr).

Palatalization of **g* after **e*.

CCh **nVg-* “answer”: Glv *nggw*.

ECh **nyag-* “shout”: Sok *negi*.

1855 **neh-* “spit”

Eg *nh* “spit” (pyr).

CCh **nyah-* “spit”: Mnd *nyahə*, Bata *naewi*, Mwl *nayi*.

1856 **neh-* “saliva”

Eg *nh* “saliva” (pyr).

CCh **nyah-* “saliva”: Mnd *nyehə*, Lame *neʔe*.

Derived from **neh-* “spit”. Reduplicated in ECh **naHan-* “saliva”: Brg *naani*.

1857 **nek-* “punish”

Eg *nyk* “punish” (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*.

CCh **nyak-* “punish”: Bch *nyaka*.

Cf. ECh **nik-* “disobey”: Mkk *nīke*.

1858 **nes-* “sand”

Eg *nš* “sand” (l).

Irregular *-š* < **-s-*.

WCh **ni-nyas-* “sand”: Kir *nineyesi*, Tala *nyenyəs*.

Partial reduplication.

1859 **nes-* “red”

Eg *ins* “red” (pyr).

i- may be a prefix.

CCh **nyas-* “red”: Hwn *nyis*.

1860 **ni-* “water”

Eg *nwy.t*, *n.t* “water” (MK).

CCh **ni-* “water”: Msm *nī*.

1861 **niʔan-/niwan* “finger, fingernail”

WCh **niwan-* “nail”: Bgh *nyoon*, *nywoon*, Kir *nyoon*.

Agaw **naʔan-* “hand”¹, “finger”²: Bil *naḡ*¹, Xmr *nān*¹, Xmt *naan*¹, Kwr *naan*, *naana*^{1 2}, Kem *naan*².

Assimilation of vowels.

Reduplication of HS **Vn-* in Eg **n* “fingernail” (pyr)? Consonantal alternation **-ʔ- ~ *-w-*.

1862 *nib- “heart”

CCh *nib- “heart”: Daba *niv*, Mus *nəv*.

Omot *nib- “heart”: Yam *nibaa*, Kaf *nibboo*, Mch *nibbo*, Bwo *niiba*.

Cf. *lib-/lub- id.

1863 *nib- “pour”

Sem *nVbV- “sprinkle, flow”: Hbr *nb^c*, Aram (Syr) *n^aba^c*, Arab *nb^c* [-a-, -i-, -u-].

Based on biconsonantal *nVb-.

Eg *nby* “cast metal” (v.) (pyr).

Infinitive in -y.

1864 *nibuč- “dig”

Sem *nVbuč- “dig out”: Arab *nb_t* [-u-], Jib *nb_t*, Hss *nebōt*.

WCh *bičVn- “bury”: Hs *bisne*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is *bičun-.

1865 *nif- “smell, breathe”

Sem *nVpaḥ- “smell” (intr.): Arab *nfh* [-a-], Jib *nifx*, Soq *nafaḥ*.

Secondary formation based on *nap-?

Eg *nfy* “breathe” (n).

CCh *nif- “breathe, smell”: Daba *nip*, Mus *nəp*.

For the semantic development, cf. Bret *c’houez* “smell” and “breath”.

1866 *nig- “break”

Eg *ngy* “break” (NK).

Infinitive in -y.

CCh *lig- < *nig- “break”: Mba *ligi*.

1867 *nigal- “sickle, sword”

Sem *ni(m)gal- “sickle”: Akk *ningallu*, *nimgallu*, Arab *mingal-*, Hbr *maggal*.

Note a nasal infix and various assimilations.

WCh *kasa-nVgal- “sword”: Wrj *kasagāla*, Kry *kamsagal*, Cagu *kasaggalen*, Jmb *kasəngali*.

Compound consisting of *kas- “war” and *nVgal- “sickle”.

CCh *nVgil- < *nigal- “knife”: Gude *ngila*, Nza *ngəla*.

ECh *angul- “sickle”: Bid *angul*.

Irregular vocalism.

Related to *nVgil- “cut”.

1868 *ni^car- “prick, be sharp”

Sem *nV^car- “prick, knock”: Arab *n^cr* [-a-].

WCh *nar- “spear”: Tng *nar*.

Deverbativ. Contraction from *niHar-.

ECh *nyar- < *niHar- “sharp”: Mkk *nyerere*, Ndam *nyar*.

Partial reduplication in Mkk.

1869 *nihar- “flow”

Sem *nVhar- “flow”: Arab *nhr* [-a-].

Related to *nahar- “river”: Akk *nāru*, Ug *nhr*, Hbr *nāhār*, Aram *nahrā*, Arab *nahr-*.

ECh *nyar- < *niHar- “flow slowly”: Mkk *nyernyire*.

Reduplication.

1870 *niḥas- “snake”

Sem *naḥas- “snake”: Ug *nḥš*, Hbr *nāḥāš*.

Assimilation of vowels. Cf. Arab *ḥanaš-* “reptile, snake”?

WCh *nyas- < *niHas- “python”: Bks *nyeš*, DB *nis*.

1871 *niḱ- “grind”

Eg *nd* “grind” (OK).

Progressive palatalization of *-ḱ-.

WCh *niḱu- “grind”: Hs *niḱa*, Fyer *niḱ*, Bks *nuk*.

Cf. partial reduplication in *ni-nuḱ- id.: Sura *nuḱ*, Sha *nuḱ*, Klr *nyin*.

1872 *nik-/ *nuḱ- “lick”

Sem *yVnVḱ- “lick”: Akk *enēqu*, Hbr *ynq*.

Prefix *yV-.

Eg *snḱ* “suck” (pyr).

Causative in *s-*.

WCh *nVḱ- “lick”: Wrj *nəḱə*, Kry *nəḱə*.

CCh *nik- “lick”: Mba *nik*.

Dhl *nuuḱ*- “suck beer through a straw”.

Cf. LEC *nug- “suck”: Arb *nuug*-. Alternation *i ~ *u.

1873 *niḱif- “tree, bush”

Sem *niḱip- “bush”: Akk *niḱiptu*.

Eg *ndf.t* “tree” (OK).

Palatalization of *ḱ.

1874 *niḱud- “bird”

Sem *niḱūd- “swamp bird”: Akk *niḱūdu*.

CCh *nVgud- < *nVḱud- “dove”¹, “bird”²: Gbn *ḡgudiya*¹, Gaa *guḍiya*¹, Bud *ḡgudo*².

1875 *nim- “vessel”

Sem *inim- “goblet”: Akk *inimmū*.

*i- may be a prefix.

Eg *nm* “vessel” (NK).

1876 *nin- “be tired”

Eg *nny* “be tired” (MK).

Vocalic -y.

WCh *nin- “be tired”: Ang *nyin*.

ECh *linVy- “become tired”: Tum *lən*, Ndm *linya*.

With dissimilation of *n- > *l-.

Reduplication of *naw- “be tired”.

1877 *nin-/ *nun- “water”

Eg *nnw* “water” (pyr).

CCh *nin- “water, dew”: Msm *nina*, Msg *eneni*, Mba *nini-d*.

Alternation *i ~ *u. Any relation to Sem *nun- “fish”?

1878 *ninay- “man”

Eg *wnni.w* “people, men” (XVIII).

w- is a prefix.

WCh *ninVy- “man”: Pero *ninya*.

Omot *nVna[y]- “relative, nephew”: Ome *nainaa*, Gim *niania*.

Cf. ECh *nun- “(dead) body”: Mkk *nuune*?

1879 *niwiw- “plant”

Eg *nywyw* “kind of plant” (med).

CCh *nVwVw- “grass”: Gudu *nwu:wa*.

Partial reduplication?

1880 *noḥ- “tie”

Eg *nwh* “tie” (BD).

Vocalic -w-.

WCh *nwaH- “tie”: Bks *no*³, Sha *no*³.

1881 *noḱ- “water”

Sem *nVḱ- “pour out”: Akk *naḡū*.

Denominative verb?

Eg *nḱw.t* “liquid” (med).

Vocalic -w.

Ome *noḱ- “water”: Ari *noḱa*, *noka*, Dime *naayo*, Banna *nooqo*, Karo *nuḱo*.

1882 *nufas- “blow. breathe”

Sem *nVpVš- “blow, breathe”: Akk *napāšu*, Soq *nefoš*.

WCh **nufas*- “breathe”: Hs *numfāsa*, *lumfasā*, DB *nafos*, Kul *nos*, Sha *lufwos*.

Agaw **nVfVs*- “blow”: Aun *nefes-əḡ*.

1883 **nug*- “cry” (v. and n.)

Sem **nug*- “cry”: Akk *nagāgu* [-u-].

Eg *ngg* “cry (of a goose)” (pyr).

1884 **num*- “lie” (v.)

Sem **nim*-/**num*- “lie, gossip”: Arab *nm* [-i-, -u-].

WCh **num*- “lie”; Ang *nūm*.

1885 **nuta*²- “go, run”

Sem **nVta*²- “go out”: Arab *nt*² [-a-].

Eg *nt*² “run” (pyr).

WCh **nuHVt*- “pass (by)”: Ngz *nūtu*.

1886 **numur*- “leopard, hyaena”

Sem **namir*- “leopard” < * “spotted”: Akk *nimru*, Hbr *nāmēr*,
Aram (Syr) *nemrō*, Arab *nimr*-, *namir*-, Gz *namr*, Hss *nemr*.

WCh **murum*- “hyaena”: Bks *murum*, Sha *murum*, DB *murum*.

Assimilation of nasals. Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **nurum*-.

1887 **nūs*- “woman”

Sem **nīšw*- “woman”: Hbr *nāšīm* (pl.), Aram *neššē*, Arab *nīsw-at*.

WCh **nus*- “woman”¹, “female” (adj.)²: Fyr *nusi*¹, Sha *nisi*².

CCh **nus*- “woman”: Tera *nūšū*, Glv *nusa*, Gvo *nusa*.

LEC **a-nVs*- “sister”: Gel *anso*.

**a-* is a prefix.

Connected with **nūs*- “man”.

1888 **nūs*- “man”

Sem **nīš*- “man”: Akk *nīsū*, (pl.) *nīšī*, Ug *nš-m*, Aram (Syr) *nōšō*,
Arab *nās*- (coll.).

Eg *nswy.w* “servants” (MK).

WCh **nusi*- “brother”: Bks *nus*, DB *nīs*.

Agaw **nVs*- “male”: Kem *nāsiyā*.

Omot **nuš*- “husband”: Nao *nuuše*.

1889 **nVbir*- “increase”

Sem **nVbir*- “increase, grow”: Arab *nbr* [-i-].

CCh **nVbVr*- < **nVbVr*- “increase”: Glv *mbər*-, Nak *mbər*-.

Assimilation of the initial nasal.

1890 **nVca*^c- “tear out”

Sem **nVsa*^c- “tear out”: Ug *ns*^c, Hbr *ns*^c, Aram *ns*^c, Arab *ns*^c [-a-].

WCh **nVca*^c- “tear out, pull”: Krk *nza*, Paa *ca*.

1891 **nVčuw*- “wolf, jackal”

Eg *wnš* “wolf” (OK).

Metathesis.

WCh **nVčuw*- “wild dog”: Sura *nčuwe*, Ang *čewe*.

Secondary development of the root vowel before **w*. Assimilation of vowels in Ang.

Cf. Rift **inča(n)w*- < **ničaw*- “jackal” (Irq *inčagw*), Sem **layl*- “lion” (Akk *nēšū*, Hbr *layiš*, Arab *layl*-) and Dhl *naʿeete* “dog”.

1892 **nVĉag*- “inhale through the nose”

Sem **nVšag*- “introduce a medicine through the nose”: Arab *nšg* [-a-], Tgy *ns*^c.

Berb **nVγVz*- “swallow mucus from the nose”: Ghat *zu-nγəz*, Ayr *zə-nγəz*, Ahg *zu-nγəh*, Twl *zə-nγəz*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **nVġaĉ*-. Cf. also **noĉa*^c- id.

1893 *nVdaw- “speak, call”

Sem *nVdaw- “call”: Arab *ndw* [-a-].

WCh *nVd- “speak, say”: Diri *nda*, Miya *and*-, Mbu *nd*-.
Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

CCh *nVdVy- “ask”: Zgh *ndiy*^a.

1894 *nVfV^c- “go”

Sem *nVpV^c- “go”: Akk *nepū*.

Eg *nf^c* “go (from)” (MK).

1895 *nVg- “shine; light”

Sem *nVgVh- “shine”: Ug *ngh*, Hbr *ngh*, Aram *ngh*, Arab *ngh*, Gz *ngh*.

Based on biliteral *nVg-.

CCh *nVgya- < *nVgVy- “light” (n.): Mnd *gya*, Mnd *egya*.

Cf. ECh *nVg- “tomorrow”: Sok *nogo*.

1896 *nVgil- “cut”

Sem *nVgil- “mow, reap”: Arab *ngl* [-i-].

CCh *nVgVl- “cut”: Mafa *ngəl*-.
Derived from *gij- “strike, pierce”?

1897 *nVgol- “throw”

Sem *nVgil- “throw”: Arab *ngl* [-i-].

WCh *nVgwal- “throw”: Gln *ngwal*, Gera *ḡwal*.

1898 *nVguf- “cut, break”

Sem *nVgup- “hew, cut”: Arab *ngf* [-u-].

CCh *nVguf- “break (pottery)”: Mofu *nguf*.

Derived from *gij- “strike, pierce”?

1899 *nVgV^c- “break, strike”

Sem *nVgV^c- “strike, crack”: Hbr *ng^c*, Gz *nagwa^c*.

CCh *nVg- “break”: Daba *nga*, Log *ggē*, Bud *gai*.

Derived from *nig- “break”.

1900 *nVhaz- “pierce”

Sem *nVhaz- “pierce (with a weapon)”: Arab *nhz* [-a-].

CCh *nVγVz- “throw (a spear)”: Mafa *ngəz*-.
Cf. *nahas- id.

1901 *nVhor- “snore”

Sem *nVhir-/ *nVhur- “snore”: Arab *nhir* [-i-, -u-], Jib *ənherer*, *nahar*,
Hss *enherōr*, Mhr *enherōr*, Shh *enherer*.

WCh *nVhwar- “snore”: Krk *ngor*, Kry *ngər-an*, Cagu *ngwar*, Mbu *ngur-tə*.

ECh *nVγwar- “snore”: Sbn *ḡwəṛə*, Mobu *ongore*, Ngm *ongore*.

Derived from *nahūr- “nose”.

1902 *nVkVl- “be evil”

Sem *nVkVl- “have ill intentions, be perfidious”¹, “teach a lesson”²: Akk *nakālu*¹, Hbr *nkl*¹, Aram *nkl*¹, Arab *nkl*².

Eg *nkn* “cause evil, harm, damage” (MK).

1903 *nVmVs- “move”

Sem *nVmVš- “move, start”: Akk *namāšu*.

Eg *nms* “come” (XIX).

1904 *nVsog- “pull”

Sem *nVšVg- “pull, pull out hair”: Jib *nīsəg*.

CCh *nVsVγ- “pull”: Kap *nsxu-mte*, HF *nsəxu-so*, *sxu-nto*.

ECh *swag- “pull”: Tob *soge*.

ECh probably continues a root without prefix *nV-.

1905 *nVtVf- “spit, sprinkle”

Sem *nVtVp- “spit out”: Arg *ntf*.Eg *ntf* “sprinkle” (OK).

Derived from *tuf- “spit”.

1906 *nVwur- “light” (n.)

Sem *nūr-/nūr- “light” (n.): Akk *nūru*, Ug *nr*, *nyr*, Hbr *nūr*.
Contraction.CCh *nVwur- “light” (n.): Log *nūr*.

1907 *nVwVq- “rest” (v.)

Sem *nūḥ- “rest, be still”: Akk *nāḥu*, Ug *nwh*, Hbr *nwh*.Cf. Arab *nwh* “put a camel on its knees”.WCh *nVwVq- “rest” (v.): Sura *nook*, Mpn *nook*.Cf. Ang *nyok* “life, rest”.1908 *nVyV^c- “turn”Sem *nī^c- “turn”¹, “be bent”²: Akk *nē^u*¹, Arab *ny^c* [-i-]².Eg *n^cy* “turn” (OK).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *nV^cVy-.

1909 *nV3al- “flow, pour”

Sem *nVzVl- “flow”: Hbr *nzl*.WCh *nV3al- “pour”: Bol *nzolu-*, Krk *nzalu*, Ngm *nzal*, Kry *zal*.

*p

1910 *pa³- “dig, bury”CCh *paH- “bury”: Mus *pa*, Mba *pā*, Log *fā*, Tera *pa-ra*, Hwn *pa-ŋ*.Cf. reduplication in Mofu *pāpa* “till land with a spade”.Rift *po³- “dig (hole)”: Kwz *po³-otis*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. Dhl *p^uu^{cc}-uδ-* “drill hole”?1911 *pa³-/*paw- “fly, jump”Eg *p³* “fly” (*pyr*).WCh *paH- “fly”: Klr *phaḡ*.CCh *paw- “jump quickly”: Mofu *paw*.Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-w-.1912 *pa³-/*paw-/*pay- “split, tear”Sem *pV³ay- “split”¹, “pierce”²: Hbr *p³y*¹, Arab *f³y* [-a-]^{1 2}.Based on biconsonantal *pV³-.WCh *pay- “break in pieces”: Bol *poyy-*.Cf. Tng *pawa* “act of slaughtering”.CCh *puw- < *pawu- “split, tear into pieces”: Mofu *puw-*.

Secondary *u before a labial.

Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-.1913 *pa³ir- “mouse, rat”Sem *pa³r “rat”: Arab *fa³r-*.Cf. also reduplicated Akk *perūrūtu*.WCh *pyar- < *pa³ir- “mouse, rat”: Hs *ḫerā*.

Emphatic *p̄- continues *p- in contact with a laryngeal.

1914 *pa³uḲ-/payuḲ- “be thin”Sem *pīk- “be thin, be narrow”: Akk *pīāqu*.Eg *p³k* “thin” (NK).WCh *pak- “broad and thin”: Hs *fakā*.Contraction of *pa³Vk-.CCh *fuk- “thin”: Msg *fuki*.

Contraction?

1915 *pa³us- “axe”

Sem *pa³s- “axe”: Akk *pāšu*, Arab *fa³s-*, Soq *fo³s*, Shh *fu³s*, Mhr *fos*.

ECh *pa³as- “axe”: Jegu *fas*, Sok *pas*, Smr *bas*.

Borrowed from Sem?

HEC *fa³as- “axe”: Sid *faase*.

Borrowed from Sem?

Dhl *fat'so* “axe”.

Phonological details are not quite clear.

1916 *pac- “destroy, break”

Sem *pV_s- “destroy, break”: Akk *pasāsu*, Aram (Mand) *pss*.

ECh *pac- “break”: Tum *paž*.

Voicing of the auslaut affricate in Tum.

1917 *pač-/pič- “scrape, scrub”

WCh *pVč- “pare”: Dera *peče*.

CCh *pač- “sweep”: Mafa *pac-*.

LEC *fa[č]- “scrape away”: Som *fač-*.

HEC *fič- “comb” (v.): Kab *fiččo*.

Omot *pič- “scrub”: Mch *pičča*.

Secondary emphatic *ḥ-* in Mch.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

1918 *paĉ- “card, comb” (v.)

Sem *nVpuš- “separate wool with fingers, card”: Arab *nfš* [-u-].

Secondary *u. Prefix *nV-

Berb *fV_s- “separate, card”: Kby *əfsi*.

WCh *paĉ- “comb hair”: Mpn *paas*.

Related to *pVč- “distribute, divide”?

1919 *paĉ- “straddle, spread”

Eg *pšš* “straddle, spread” (*pyr*).

ECh *paĉ- “bifurcate” (v.): Bid *paačo*.

1920 *pag- “split, chop”

Sem *pag- “strike”¹, “split, furrow”²: Hbr *pg^c*¹, Arab *fgg* [-a-]².

-c- in Hbr seems to be an extension of a biconsonantal stem.

Eg *pg^j* “kill (enemies)” (XVIII).

ECh *pag- “chop”: Tum *pog*.

1921 *pag- “open”

Sem *pVg- “open”: Arab *fgw* [-u-].

Cf. Hss *feggēt* “broad spacing of the teeth”.

Eg *pg^j* “open” (MK).

Vocalic -j.

1922 *pagal- “vessel”

Sem *pagal- “vessel (for libations)”: Akk *pagalu*.

Eg *pg^j* “bowl” (MK).

-j < HS *-l-.

1923 *pa^cur- “dove”

Eg *p^cr.t* “dove” (NK).

WCh *par- < *paHVr- “quail”: Hs *ḥarwā*.

*ḥ- < *p- in contact with a laryngeal.

CCh *puruw- < *paru- “turtle dove”: Mwl *puruwo*, Nza *puruwe*.

1924 *paḥar- “dig”

Sem *pVḥVr- “dig (earth)”: Arab *fḥr*, Gz *fḥr*, Amh *farā*.

WCh *paHar- “making holes for seeds”: Ngz *paaru*.

Cf. SA *fara^c- “dig” (Saho *fara^c*) with a different laryngeal.

1925 *paḥoç- “scrape, cut”

Sem *pVḥaš- “scratch earth, dig”³: Arab *fḥš* [-a-].

WCh *pVwaç- < *paHwaç- “scrape, rub”: Ang *pos*, Mpn *pwās*, *pwēs*.

1926 *paḥ- “close, lock”

Sem *pVḥV²- “close, lock”: Akk *peḥū*.

Based on *pVḥ-.

WCh *paH- “close”: Sura *pā*, Ang *pō*, Bol *fa*, Krk *f*, Fyer *pa*, Bks *vo*, Sha *vu*, Klr *fu*, DB *voh*.

1927 *paḥ- “field”

Eg *phj.t* “field” (n).

Vocalic -j.

WCh *paḥ- “cleared open space, farm”: Hs *fagē*.

1928 *paḥal- “leg, thigh”

Sem *paḥal- “thigh”: Akk *paḥallu*.

WCh *pyal- < *paHal- “thigh”: Ang *pyāl*.

CCh *paχVl- “leg, thigh”: Daba *poχol*, Tera *boli*, Mus *bul*.

Related to *paḥud- “leg, thigh”.

1929 *paḥal- “break through, split”

Sem *pVlah- “split”: Hbr *plh*, Arab *flh* [-a-].

Metathesis.

Eg *phj* “split, break through” (MK).

-j < HS *-l-.

WCh *paHal- “break through”¹, “strike”²: Hs *hale*¹, Tng *pāle*², Pero *pāl*².

CCh *pal- “break”: Mafa *pal*.

ECh *palVw- “break”: Kera *palwe*.

From *palVH-, metathesis from *paHVL-.

1930 *paḥid- “fall, throw”

Eg *phd* “throw down” (NK).

WCh *paHid- “fall”: Hs *fādi*, Chip *pit*-, Ank *petta*.

1931 *paḥud- “leg, thigh”

Sem *paḥud- “thigh”: Hbr *paḥ^adayim* (dual.), Aram (Syr) *pūhd*-, Mhr *faḥed*, Shh *fuḥud*.

Cf. Arab *faḥd*- id., Hss *efḥād* id.

Eg *hpd* “thigh” (pyr).

Metathesis.

CCh *fVHud- “thigh”: Gaa *fud-ata*, Gbn *fəḍ-ətə*, Boka *fud-ətə*.

Irregular *f- instead of *p-.

ECh *paHud- “hip, thigh”: Jegu *paado*, Mubi *fūdi*, Brg *faadi*.

LEC *ba²ud- “hip”: Som *ba²udo*.

Note initial voiced *b-.

Omot *paHad-al- “inside of the thigh”: Ome *paadaallaa*.

Assimilation of vowels. Suffix *-al-.

Any connection with WCh *pund- “thigh” (Bol *pundo*, Krk *fəntau*, Dera *pundo*, Ngm *hundo*, Krf *fonḍo*, Gera *pindi*, Glm *pənda*)?

1932 *pak- “jaw, cheek”

Sem *pakk- “jaw”: Arab *fakk*-.

WCh *ka-pak- “cheek”: DB *ka-pak*.

Prefix *ka-.

CCh *pVk- “cheek”: HB *pəku*, HNK *pəki*.

1933 *pakuḥ- “hand, arm”

Sem *pakh- “palm”: Arab *fakh-at*-.

WCh *paku- “wing, arm”: Tng *paka*, Wrj *pak-ai*, Kry *pak*, Miya *pak*, Paa *puka*.

Cf. partial reduplication in Hs *fuffuke*, *fiffike* “wing”.

1934 *paḥ- “go (out)”

Sem *pūḥ- “let out”: Hbr *pwq*.

Based on the earlier *pVḥ-. Cf. *nVpVḥ- “go out”: Ug *nfq*,

Aram *npq*, Arab *nfq* [-a-, -u-]

WCh *pak- “follow”: Sha *pak*.

CCh *pVk- “walk”: Mofu *pək*-.

1935 *paḥV²- “bark, skin”

Sem *paḥ²- “placenta”: Arab *faq²*-.

CCh *paku- “husk”: Mofa *to-pokw*.

Dhl *pak'o* "tree bark, half beehive".

Cf. Kwz *pa³uko* "bark" with *-k-* < **-k-*?

1936 *pal- "fall"

Sem **nVpVI-* "fall": Akk *napālu*, Ug *npl*, Hbr *npl*, Aram (Syr) *nfl*.

Prefix **nV-*.

WCh **pal-* "fall": Sura *pal*, Chip *pal*, Dera *yupele*.

Prefix **yu-* in Dera.

1937 *pal- "break"

Sem **pVI-* "break, crush": Aram (Syr) *pll*.

CCh **pal-* "break (stone)": Mafa *pal*.

Connected with **pal-* "cut, divide"?

1938 *pal- "cut, divide"

Sem **pVI-* "strike with a sword, behead, wean"¹, "divide, separate"², "cut, split"³: Arab *fly*, *flw*¹, Gz *fly*², Amh *fälläl*³.

WCh **pal-* "cut off": Hs *falle*.

CCh **pal-* "cut": Zime *fal*.

ECh **pal-* "carve, cut, peel": Tum *pāl*, Sok *fal*.

SA **fVI-* "separate": Saho *-ifli-*.

LEC **fil-* "separate, comb": Arb *fil-*.

Vocalism is not clear.

Agaw **fal-* "divide": Bil *fäl-*, Kwr *fäl-*, Dmb *fäl-*.

1939 *palah- "earth, land"

CCh **palah-* "plain": Mofu *palah*, Gis *pala*.

Dhl *pa³la³-amo* "glade"

Cf. Sem **palah-* "land" (Arab *falah-at-*) if the latter is not derived from Arab *flh* "till" [*-a*].

1940 *palay- "cloth"

Eg *p³y* "cloth" (BD).

WCh **pāl-* < **payal-* "cloth": Wrj *pāla*.

Metathesis.

May be connected with a verb registered in Rift **pal-* "twist fibers into cord": Kwz *pal-*.

1941 *pan- "drive away"

Sem **pun-* "drive (camels)"¹, "let go"²: Arab *fn* [*-u-*]¹, Gz *fnw*².

Secondary **-u-*.

WCh **pan-* "drive away": Ang *pan*.

1942 *pan- "side, distance"

Sem **pVnV³-* "side, direction": Aram (Jud) *pānī-t-*.

Berb **fVn-* "opposite side": Sml *a-fna*.

SA **fan-* "interval": Saho *faan*, Afar *faan*.

Related to **pon-/ponV^c-* "turn, return".

1943 *pan-/pin- "face"

Sem **pan-* "face": Akk *pānu* (pl.), Ug *pn*, Phn *pn*, Hbr *pānīm* (pl.).

ECh **pVn-* "temple": Kera *pən-ay*.

Suffix *-ay* in Kera.

Agaw **fin-* "forehead, face": Aun *fen*, *feni*.

Rift **pand-* "lump on the head"¹, "forehead, brow"² (Irk *panda*¹, Alg *paanda*², Bur *paanda*²) may be also connected with this root if **-d-* is treated as a suffix. Note alternation **a* ~ **i*.

1944 *paHand- "bow"

WCh **pand-* < **paHand-* "bow": Krk *panda*, Krf *fanda*, Glm *panda*.

Wrz **paHant-* "bow": Dul *pahante*.

1945 *panek- "container"

Sem **panīk-* "big sack" (for earth)": Arab *fanīq-at-*.

Eg *pnk* "bucket" (OK).

WCh **pakyan-* "pot": Klr *fakyen*.

Metathesis. Klr *f-* < **p-* is not regular.

Any connection with WCh **pan-* “preserve, keep” (Ang *pan*)?

1946 **paq-* “tear”

CCh **pVqya-* “tear”: Hnk *pkya-xumte*, HF *pxya-xuntu*.

Agaw **paχ-* “tear, split”: Aun *pay-s-*, Dmt *pay-s-*.

1947 **paq-* “assemble, gather”

Berb **fVḵ-* “pick together, assemble”: Ahg *nə-fəḵḵi*.

WCh **paq-* “put one thing on the top of another”: Ang *pak*.

1948 **par-* “fetters”

Berb **far-* “fetters”: Ahg *te-ffar-t*, Twl *te-ffār-t*.

Eg *prw.t* “fetters” (pyr).

Suffix *-w*.

1949 **par-* “house, enclosure”

Berb **far(r)-* “enclosure”: Ahg *a-farra*, Twl *a-farra*.

Eg *pr* “house” (OK).

ECh **par-* “hangar”: Mig *para*.

1950 **par-* “cattle”

Sem **parr-* “(young) bull”: Ug *pr-m*, Hbr *par*, Arab *farr-*.

Eg *pry* “bull-fight” (MK).

CCh **par-* “cattle”: Mba *far-ay*.

Suffix *-ay* in Mba.

1951 **par-* “break, thresh”

Sem **pVr-* “break”: Akk *parāru*, Hbr *prr*, *pwr*, Aram (Jud) *prr*, Arab *fry* [-i-].

Reduplication in Amh *fārāfārā*, Hrr *fīrāfāra* “crumble”.

Berb **fVr-* “thresh, be threshed”: Snus *frurī*, Sml *frurī*.

WCh **par-* “smash”¹, “break into pieces”²: Ang *par-p*¹, Tng *puure*².

1952 **par-* “jump”

CCh **par(ya)-* “jump”: Bud *fer*, Msg *pər*, *bara*.

Bed *far* “jump”.

Agaw **pVr-* “jump”: Aun *pərr-ij*.

SA **pVr-* “jump”: Saho *pərr*, Afar *pərr*.

1953 **par-* “finger”

WCh **par-* “finger, nail”: Hs *far-če*, Gwn *apir-ači*.

ECh **pyar-* < **pari-* “finger”: Dng *pəer-me*, Mubi *fēri*.

SA **fer-* “finger”: Saho *fera*, Afar *fera*, *feera*.

Secondary vocalism?

LEC **par-/per-* “finger”: Som *far*, Rnd *farro*, Bay *pər*, Arb *farro* (pl.).

HEC **far-* “finger”: Kmb *far*.

Omot **par-* “finger”: Ome *par-taa*, *har-çaa*.

1954 **par-* “look, seek”

WCh **par-* “look for, find”: Bol *par-*, Tng *pari*.

CCh **pVr-* “look, watch”: Gis *pīr*, *pūr*, *pr*.

Agaw **par-* “be open (of eyes)”: Aun *parr-*.

Cf. Sem **pVHVr-* “seek” (Akk *pāru*) and Berb **fVrVy-* “feel”: Ahg *a-fri?*

1955 **par-/pir-* “go out”

Eg *pry* “go out” (MK).

Infinitive in *y*.

Bed *fira* “go out”.

SA **far-* “go out”: Saho *far*.

HEC **fir-* “go out”: Had *fir*.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*.

1956 **para^c-* “knife, axe”

Sem **parā^c-* “axe”: Arab *farrā^c-at-*.

Secondary formation.

Berb **fVr*- “dagger, sharp tool, sword”: Zng *te-feri*, Fgg *ta-fəru-t*, Izy *ta-flu-t*.

ECh **paHar*- “knife”: Mig *pēru*.
Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is **pa^car*-.

1957 **parVm*- “cut, split”

Sem **pVrim*- “cut”: Arab *frm* [-i-].

ECh **param*- “sickle”: Kera *pāram*.
Deverbative noun.

Rift **param*- “split (wood)”: Asa *param-es*-.

1958 **parok*- “tear, rip”

Sem **pVrVk*- “tear off”¹, “divide”²: Hbr *prq*¹, Mhr *ferōq*².

WCh **park*- < **parVk*- “rip and remove”: Hs *farkā*.

ECh **parwak*- “tear, pluck feathers”: Kera *parge*, Bid *porok*.

Cf. Dhl *poroh*- “pull apart”.

1959 **paruḥ*- “cut, break through”

Sem **pVruḥ*- “make a hole”¹, “break through (a wall)”², “cut, pierce”³: Akk *parāḥu*¹, Hbr *prḥ*², Aram (Jud) *prḥ*², Arab *frḥ* [-u-]³.

CCh **pVrVḥ*- “cut”: Mofu *pərḥ*-.

1960 **parüḥ*- “tear”

CCh **purs*- < **parus*- “tear off”: Mafa *purs*-.

Omot **pariḥ*- “be torn out”: Mch *pariḥa*.

Mch *p*- < **p*- under the influence of the following emphatic.

1961 **parVd*- “equid”

Sem **pVrd*- “donkey”¹, “mule”²: Akk *perdu*¹, Hbr *pered*².

Agaw **par(V)d*- “horse”: Bil *farda*.

LEC **par(V)d*- “horse”: Or *farda*.

LEC loanword in Agaw or Agaw loanword in LEC?

1962 **pasuq*- “arrow”

Sem **pašh*- “spear”: Akk *pašhu*.

WCh **pasuq*- “arrow”: Kr *fasku*, Pero *pužuk*, Dera *pek*.

1963 **pasVk*- “piece of wood”

Sem **pašk*- “log, splinter”: Akk *pašku*.

Berb **fVsVk*- “stick (in bull’s nostrils)”¹, “furniture”²: Twl *i-fəšk-ən*¹, Sml *i-fəšk-ən*².

1964 **pat*- “skin”

WCh **pat*- “skin”: Hs *fatā*, Gwn *patā*, Wrj *patai*.

CCh **pVi*- “skin”: HF *pta*, HGh *pta*, *wpta*.

Omot **fat*- “skin”¹, “snake skin”²: Ome *faata*¹, Nao *fatu*¹, Gll *footi*².

1965 **pay*- “go”

Eg *py* “go” (pyr).

Prefix **cV*-.

WCh **pay*-/**piy*- “return”¹, “go”²: Wrj *pəyi*¹, Kry *piy*¹, Diri *piy*¹, Sha *fay*², Klr *pa*².

CCh **p[a]y*- “cross”¹, “go out”²: Log *piya*¹, Lame *-pa*².

ECh **paHaw*- “outrun”: Tum *paaaw*.

Agaw **fVy*- “go away, go out”: Kwr *fee*-, Dmb *fee*-, *fii*-, Kem *fee*-, Aun *fi*-.

1966 **pay*- “flea”

Eg *py* “flea” (med).

ECh **pay*- “flying termite”: Mkk *peyyo*.

Cf. reduplication in WCh **pi-pi*- “flea”: Pero *pībi*.

1967 **pa3*- “metal”

Sem **paz*- “pure gold”: Hbr *paz*.

ECh **pa3*- “iron”: Tum *paa3*.

One more example of semantic syncretism in the early vocabulary of metallurgy.

1968 *pec- “mosquito”

ECh *pyas- “mosquito”: Mkk *presso*.

But cf. other ECh forms reflecting *bis-: Jegu *bīso*, Mig *bīse*.

LEC *pac- “mosquito”: Or *faaca*.

Assimilation of vowels in LEC.

Cf. also reduplicated Sem *pas-pas- “bug” (Arab *fas-fas*-).

1969 *ped- “call”

Sem *pid- “shout, call”: Arab *fdd* [-i-].

WCh *pyad- “call, speak”: Hs *faḏā*, Sura *pet*, *pit*, Mpn *pet*, Ang *pit*.

Cf. Dhl *puḏ-uḏ*- “tell”?

1970 *pehas- “wet, sprinkle”

Sem *pVhaš- “wet, moisten”: Arab *fhs* [-a-].

WCh *pyaHVs- “spurt water from one’s mouth”: Hs *fēsa*.

ECh *pyas- “(be) wet”: Sok *peso*.

1971 *per- “bird”

Sem *pirr- “quail”: Arab *fīrr-at*.

Reduplication in Gz *fērfer-t* id.

WCh *pyar- “small bird”: Hs *fērū*.

1972 *per- “refuse”

Sem *pVr- “forbid, refuse”: Hbr *pr̥r*.

CCh *pyar- “refuse”: Hil *pyeri*.

1973 *piʔa- “rain”

Eg *pʔc.t* “sky waters” (pyr).

CCh *piʔa- “rainy season”: Msg *pīaʔ*, Mofu *piya*, Mba *piya*.

1974 *pic- “hand”

Sem *pas-/*pis- “palm”: Aram (Bibl) *pas*-, (Jud) *pis-t*-.

Berb *fus- “hand”: Ahg *a-fus*, Ghat *a-fus*, Ghd *u-fəs*, Siwa *fuus*, Sml *a-fus*, Rif *a-fus*, Kby *a-fus*.

Irregular *s < HS *c. Secondary *-u- < *-i- after a labial.

ECh *pis- “hand, arm”: Dng *pise*, Mig *pesse*, Bid *pese*, Mubi *foso*.

1975 *pič- “cloth”

Sem *pVč- “cloth”: Hbr *pešet*.

Eg *psš.t* “mat” (MK).

-šš is an orthographic representation of *-č-.

WCh *pič- “shroud”: DB *pis*.

ECh *pVč- “apron”: Kera *pəsi*.

1976 *pič- “spit”

Sem *nVpit- “spit”: Ug *nft*, Arab *nft* [-i-, -u-].

Prefix *nV-.

Berb *fVs- “spit”: Ntf *s-ufs*, Izy *fs*, Snus *s-ufəs*.

WCh *pič/s- “spit”: Krf *fiš*-, Gera *fiisii*-, Glm *pəs*, Kry *pəcə*, Diri *pəḏa*, Paa *pəsu*, Cagu *pəč*, Jmb *fəs*.

CCh *pič- “spew”: Tera *pəḏə*, Bch *fīsə*.

ECh *pič- “spit”: Mig *pisaw*.

1977 *pig- “stretch”

Sem *pVg- “draw (the bow)”: Arab *fgg*.

Eg *pḏ* “draw (the string)”.

Progressive palatalization of *-g-.

WCh *pig- “pluck out, draw out (sword)”: Hs *figā*.

1978 *pil- “insect”

CCh *pilu- “mosquito”: Mba *fulay*, Mus *afili*.

Agaw *pil- “flea”: Kwr *peḏiya*, Kem *fāle*.

Omot *pil- “flea”: Kaf *pillo*.

Cf. Rift *paʔal- “flying termite”: Kwz *paʔal-iko*.

1979 *pilaḱ- “knife”

Sem *pilaḱ- “dagger” ¹, “axe, hoe” ²: Akk *pilaqqu* ¹, Aram (Syr) *pelq* ².

Berb **bVlVk-* “blade”: Ahg *ta-bləq*.

Irregular **b-* < HS **p-*.

1980 **piliç-* “divide”

Sem **pVlVs-* “divide, split”: Gz *fls*, Tgr *fls*, Tgy *fls*, Amh *fls*.

Agaw **filiç-* “divide”: Aun *felec-*.

1981 **pir-* “fly, soar”

Sem **pVr-* “fly”¹, “flee”²: Ug *pr*¹, Aram *pr*¹, Arab *frr*², Hss *fer*¹, Mhr *farr*¹, Soq *fer*¹, Tgy *frr*¹.

Berb **fVr-* “fly”: Ahg *fəra-t*, Sml *firri*.

Eg *pry* “soar, rise” (pyr).

Related to *pry* “go out”.

WCh **pir-* “soar”¹, “stretch the wings”²: Hs *fira*¹, Ang *pīr*².

CCh **pVr-* “bird’s flight”: Mafa *parr*, *perr*.

Bed *fir* “fly”.

Agaw **fir-* “fly”: Bil *fir y-*.

1982 **pir-* “lock” (n.)

Berb **fir-* “lock”¹, “iron horse-lock”²: Zng *ti-fer-an*¹, Izy *tay-ffər-t*².

Eg *pjy* “part of the doorlock”.

-j- < HS *-r-.

1983 **pir-* “fruit, corn”

Sem **pir-* “fruit”: Phn *pr*, Ug *pr*, Hbr *p^o rī*, Aram (Syr) *pērā*, Gz *fəre*.

Cf. Hss *ferrāt* “unripe fruit”, Mhr *ferrāt* id., Shh *ferrot* id.

Berb **far-* “corn”: Gua *a-faro*.

The vocalism may reflect a different alternation grade.

Eg *pr.t* “fruit, crop, seed” (OK).

Agaw **fir-* “fruit”¹, “corn”²: Bil *fir*¹, Xmr *fira*¹, Kwr *fira*¹,

Dmb *fira*¹, Kem *fir*².

SA **fir-* “flowers, fruit”: Saho *fire*.

LEC **fir-* “fruit”: Or *firi*.

1984 **pirah-* “sprout, flower”

Sem **pirah-* “sprout”¹, “flower”²: Akk *per^u*¹, Ug *prh*, Hbr *perah*, Aram (Syr) *parhō*², Arab *farh-*¹, Gz *farha*¹.

Eg *prh* “flower” (n).

Derived from **pir-* “fruit, corn”.

1985 **pirat-* “break, split”

Sem **pVrVt-* “break”: Amh *färrätä*

WCh **pirVt-* “split (firewood)”: Hs *firde*.

Cf. irregular *-rḏ-* < **-rṭ-*. Cf. also Hs *farḏā*, *farḏo*, *furḏa* “crack (nuts)”.

ECh **pyarVt-* < **pirat-* “break, crack”: Kera *perte*.

HEC **fir(V)t-* “cut, prune”: Bmb *firt-*.

1986 **piric-* “break, grind”

Sem **pVris-* “break”¹, “tear”²: Aram (Syr) *prs*¹, Arab *fṛs* [-i-]^{1 2}.

CCh **pVrVc-* “grind”: Mofu *pīrs-*.

ECh **pirVs-* “crush (grain)”: Mkk *pirza*.

Agaw **firis-* “be destroyed”: Aun *feres-əḡ*.

1987 **pirig-* “separate”

Sem **pVrig-* “open, enlarge, separate”: Arab *fṛg* [-i-].

ECh **pirVg-* “separate”: Bid *pirgay*.

1988 **pirVq-* “scratch”

Eg *pjh* “scratch (eyes)”.

-j- < HS *-r-.

ECh **pirVk-* “scratch”: Kera *pirki*.

1989 **pitaḥ-* “open”

Sem **pVtaḥ-* “open”: Akk *petū*, Ug *pṭh*, Hbr *pṭh*, Aram (Syr) *pṭh*, Arab *fṭh* [-a-], Gz *fṭh*, Hss *fetōh*, Mhr *fōteh*, Shh *fetaḥ*.

CCh **pVtVH-* “open (of eyes or anus)”: Mofu *pəth-*.

ECh **pit-* “open”: Bid *pit*, Sok *fitifiti*.
Reduplication in Sok.

1990 **piṭ-* “bark” (n.)

CCh **piṭ-* “bark”: Mofu *papot*, Mafa *pit*.
Partial reduplication in Mofu.

ECh **pyat-* “bark”: Kera *pete*.

Wrz **feṭ-* “bark”: Hrs *feṭe*.

1991 **poʾad-* “close, cover”

Sem **pVʾVd-* “close”: Akk *pādu*.

CCh **pwaʾad-* “wrap up”: Mofu *paḍ-*, Nza *paḍi*, Gis *foḍ*.

ECh **pwaḍ-* “cover”: Mobu *podde*.

1992 **poĉ-* “smear, scatter”

Sem **pVš-* “spread”¹, “smear”², “scatter”³: Akk *pašāšu*^{1 2},
Hbr *pšy*¹, Aram (Jud) *psy*¹, Arab *fšw* [-u-]^{1 3}, Soq *piši*¹, Tgy
*fss*¹, Tgr *fss*¹, Amh *fss*¹.

WCh **pwaĉi-* “anoint”¹, “scatter”²: Ang *pwis*¹, Tng *peḍa*².

Etymologically identical with **pVĉ-* “distribute, divide”?

1993 **poċ-* “give birth”

Eg *pʿpʿ* “give birth” (gr).

Reduplication.

CCh **pway-/pwaH-* “give birth”: Gude *pwes-ik*, FM *pɔyi*, FB *pwe*.

1994 **poḥaĉ-* “separate, split”

Sem **pVhaĉ-* “separate, split”: Arab *fhḍ* [-a-].

Eg *phḍ* “separate, split open”.

LEC **foHoĉ-* “separate”: Arb *foḍ-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

HEC **faʾaĉ-* “cut maize”: Kmb *faaĉ-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

1995 **pok-* “mug, bowl”

Sem **pak-* “bottle, mug”: Hbr *pak*.

**u* > **a* after a labial.

CCh **pwak-* “water pot”: Gaa *pokə-ta*, Gbn *pokə-tə*.

ECh **pV_k-* “bowl”: Kera *pəka*.

1996 **poḵ-* “peel, skin” (v.)

Sem **pV_kVʾ-* “peel, shell” (v.): Aram (Syr) *pqʾ*.

WCh **pwaḵ-* “skin, peel”: Ang *pok*.

ECh **pwag-/pwak-* “skin” (v.)¹, “shell, pluck feathers”²: Tum
*pəg*¹, Ndam *pə:gə*¹, Kera *poke*².

Connected with **paḵVʾ-* “bark, skin”.

1997 **poḵa^c-* “beer, sauce”

Sem **puḵā^c-* “beer, juice”: Arab *fuqqā^c*.

WCh **pwaḵ-* “sauce”: Sura *pok*, Ang *pwuk*, Mpn *puk*.

1998 **poḵV^c-* “cut, split”

Sem **pV_kV^c-* “split, break, wound”: Gz *fq^c*.

CCh **pok-* “chop”: Msm *pok*.

1999 **poliḵ-* “split”

Sem **pVliḵ-* “kill, slaughter”¹, “cut”²: Akk *palāqu*¹, Arab *flq*
[-i-]².

LEC **folV_k-* “break off”: Or *folloqa*.

Derived from **pal-* “cut, divide”.

2000 **pon-/ponV^c-* “turn, return”

Sem **pVn-* “turn”: Ug *pnn*, Hbr *pny*, Aram (Syr) *pnʾ*, *pny*.

Eg *pn^c* “turn” (pyr).

CCh **fwan-H-* “return”: Lame *fəŋ*, LPe *fəŋ*.

2001 *puc- “burn”

Eg *wps* “burn” (NK).

w- stands for a rounded root vowel.

CCh **pVc-* “roast”: FK*i wča*, HK *psa-*, HB *pceyo*, HG*h wsaže*, Mnd *pšapša*.

Reduplication in Mnd.

2002 *puc- “tear into pieces”

Sem **pVsa-* “tear into pieces”: Arab *fs* [-*a*].

Based on **pVs-*.

CCh **puc-* “tear into pieces, pluck”: Mafa *puc-*.

2003 *puč- “urine”

Sem **paŋt-* “horse urine”: Arab *fazz-*.

Berb **fVc-* “urine”: Ahg *ta-fəzz-a*.

Borrowed from Arab?

WCh **puči-ar-* “urine”: Hs *fičārī*, Wrj *cəpr-ai*, Kry *cipir*, Diri *axəbəla*, Miya *cəpur*, Paa *cipura*, Siri *čipəri*, Pol *bəs*, Geji *hasi*, Brm *has*, Say *hes*, Dwot *huzari*, Buli *hes*.

ECh **puči-* “urine”: Tum *bə:zər*, Ndam *buž*, Dng *pidye*, Mig *piži*, Brg *pidye*.

2004 *puč- “break, crush”

Sem **puš-* “break, crush”: Hbr *psps*, Arab *fdd* [-*u*].

Reduplication in Hbr.

CCh **puš-* “break”: Kap *puše*, HNk *pše*, HF *pso*.

2005 *pudağ-/*pudiğ- “break, split”

Sem **pVdağ-* “break”: Arab *fdğ* [-*a*].

CCh **pudiğ-* “split”: Mofu *pədk-*, Gis *pudik*.

From **pudiğ-* < **pudiğ-*.

2006 *puh- “strike”

Sem **nVpah-* “strike with a sabre”: Arab *nh* [-*a*]

Prefix **nV-*.

Dhl *puh-* “hit, strike (with sharp instrument)”.

Cf. also *pah-* “hit, shoot”.

Rift **puh-* “hit”: Kzw *puχ-umis*.

2007 *puhar- “jump”

Eg *phrr* “run” (pyr).

Note double -*rr*.

WCh **pura-* < **puHar-* “jump”: Hs *burā*, Ang *pyar*, Ank *pār*, Mpn *paar*.

Emphatization of **p-*.

ECh **paHar-* “jump”: Smr *pār*.

2008 *puk- “winnow”

Berb **fVk-* “winnow, peel (corn)”: Ahg *fukk-ət-*.

WCh **puk-* “winnow”: Tng *puk*.

2009 *pur- “cut”

Sem **pVrVy-* “cut”: Akk *parū*, Arab *fry* [-*i*].

Reduplication in Arab *fifr* “cut, split”.

Berb **fVr-* “shave, cut hair”: Ahg *əfr-ən*.

WCh **pur-* “prepare field by cutting trees”: Tng *pure*.

2010 *pur- “container”

Sem **parr-* “kind of vessel” ¹, “pot” ²: Akk *parūtu* ¹, Hbr *pārur* ².

Derivatives of **parr-* in Akk and Hbr.

Eg *pr* “box” (MK).

WCh **pur-* “large beer-pot”: Tng *puuri*.

2011 *pur- “tear”

Berb **fVrVy-* “tear”: Kby *fri*.

Based on **fVr-*.

CCh **pur-* “tear”: Daba *pur*.

Rift **puru-* “strip off”: Irq *puru-us-*, Alg *puru-*.

Secondary laryngeal.

2012 *pur- “flower, grass”

Berb *fVr- “kind of grass”: Sml *a-fər*, Rif *friw*.

WCh *pur- “tobacco flower”¹, “flower”², “grass”³: Hs *furē*¹,
Paa *pure*², Cagu *pəre*², Pero *pure*³.

CCh *fwar- “flower”: Dgh *fəra*, Bud *phōrio*.

Bed *far* “flower” (pl.)

Note the modified vocalism of pl.

LEC *fur- “kind of grass”: Or *fura*.

Omot *pur- “flower”: Yam *furaa*.

Connected with *pir- “fruit, corn”.

2013 *pur- “untie”

Berb *fVr- “untie”: Kby *ə-fru*.

CCh *pir-/ *pur- “untie”: Tera *pəra*, Wmd *piri*, Mtk *pər*, FBw *pir*,

Bch *para*, Mwu *upuran*, Gude *pur-giç*.

ECh *puwir- < *pu²ir- “untie”: Smr *ṣawər*, Nch *pure*, Lele *poor*, Kbl
puwər, Kera *fere*, Kwan *apre*, Dng *i- pire*, Mig *ṣi-piro*, Mkk *ṣeppire*.

Secondary laryngeal in the inlaut.

LEC *pur- “untie, disengage”: Som *furayya*, Or *furra*.

*u may reflect a different alternation grade.

2014 *purVs- “cut, separate”

Sem *pVrVš- “separate”: Aram (Syr) *prš*.

Berb *fVrVs- “separate”¹, “cut”²: Sml *fərs*^{1 2}, Twl *əfrəs*², Ahg
*əfrəs*².

ECh *purVs- “split”: Sok *purse*.

2015 *putir- “mat”

Sem *putr- “mat”: Arab *futr*.

Secondary *u?

WCh *ka-pVtir- “mat”: Wnd *kaptir*, Dwot *kaptur*.

Prefix *ka-.

2016 *puwad- “heart”

Sem *pawād-/ *pu²ād- “heart”: Arab *fawād*-, *fu²ād*-.

WCh *pūd- “heart”: Sura *puut*, Ang *put*.

Contraction from *puwad-.

ECh *puwad-pwad- “lungs”: Smr *pəḏəpəḏə*, Tum *podpod*, Ndam
pət-pət.

Reduplication.

2017 *pV²in- “break, grind”

Sem *pV²Vn- “grind”: Akk *pēnu*.

WCh *pVHin- “break”: Ang *pīn*, Mpn *pīn*.

2018 *pV²ud- “knee”

Berb *fud- “knee”: Nfs *u-fed*, Siwa *fūd*, Ghat *a-fud*, Ahg *a-fud*, Zng
o-ffud, Sml *a-fūd*, Ntf *a-fud*, Izy *a-fuḏ*, Rif *fud*, Mzb *fud*.

Eg *pṣḏ*, *pṣd* “knee” (med), *pd* (XVIII).

The ancient form of Eg seems to be preserved as *pṣḏ*. If so, the
unusual correspondence Eg *d* ~ Berb **d* needs further analysis.

2019 *pVê- “distribute, divide”

Sem *pVš- “distribute”: Aram (Syr) *pss*, Arab *fšš*.

Eg *pšš*, *pšs*, *pš* “divide” (MK).

Note *šš* and *šs* as graphic representations of a lateral.

2020 *pVd- “move”

Sem *pid- “march, go (of cattle)”: Arab *fdd* [-i-].

ECh *pad-/ *pud- “pass by”: Tum *pəḏ*, Ndm *pada*, Lele *pudu*.

The root vocalism of Sem and ECh is contradictory. Cf. also
Berb *fVd- “let in” (Sha *s-ifəd*) and Eg *ṣpd* “run, hurry”
(XVIII).

2021 *pVg- “take”

Sem *pūg- “take away”: Akk *puāgu*.

Based on biconsonantal *pVg-.

ECh *pVg- “take”: Tum *pəg*.

2022 *pV^cal- “work, make”

Sem *pV^cal- “work, do, make”: Phn *p^cl*, Hbr *p^cl*, Aram (Syr) *p^cl*,
Arab *f^cl* [-a-], SAr *p^cl*.

LEC *pal- “make”: Som *fal*-, Boni *fal*-.

Ome *pal- “create, make”: Kaf *hal*, Mch *palli*.

Dhl *fal*- “do”.

Contraction in all Cush forms.

2023 *pVh- “exchange, sell”

Sem *pVh- “exchange”: Akk *puhhu*.

CCh *pV^hwa- “sell”: HNk *pəxwi*, Kap *pəxwi*.

WCh *pay- < *paH(ē)- “commerce”: Tng *paya*.

Deverbative with modified vocalism.

2024 *pVhVr- “gather”

Sem *pVhVr- “assemble”: Akk *paḥāru*.

Cf. a nominal derivative *puh(V)r- “assembly, gathering”:

Akk *puḥru*, Ug *phr*.

ECh *pVr- “gather”: Kbl *pərrə*.

2025 *pVlah- “split, cut”

Sem *pVlah- “split”¹, “till, cultivate”²: Hbr *plh*¹, Aram *plh*²,
Arab *flh* [-a-]^{1 2}.

Berb *fVIVh- “cut, split”: Ahg *ə-fləh*.

Irregular laryngeal.

Derived from *pal- “cut”.

2026 *pVIVs- “split, pierce”

Sem *pVIVs- “pierce”: Akk *palāšu*.

Eg *pns* “cut” (pyr).

-n- < HS *-l-.

The alternative reconstruction is *pVsVL-.

2027 *pVri3- “cut, separate”

Sem *pVri3- “separate”: Arab *frz* [-i-], Mhr *ferōz*.

Berb *fVrV3- “cut”: Snus *əfrəz*.

2028 *pVt- “scorpion”

Eg *ptt* “scorpion” (l).

Partial reduplication.

CCh *pVt- “scorpion”: HF *ptu*, HB *wto*, FKt *ti*.

2029 *pVttis- “flatten”

Sem *pVttis- “flatten, forge”: Arab *fīs* [-i-].

Cf. *paṭiš- “hammer”: Hbr *paṭṭiš*, Aram (Jud) *paṭṭīs*-.

Eg *pds* “make flat, trample down”.

Regular -d- < *-t-.

2030 *pVtok- “split, cut”

Sem *pVtok- “break, split, separate”: Arab *fīq* [-u-].

Berb *fViVk- “open”¹, “cut”²: Siwa *əftək*¹, Ahg *əftək*^{1 2}, Izy
*frek*², Izy *frek*¹, Kby *eftek*¹.

Unexpected *k < HS *k.

CCh *pVtwak- “split”: Mofu *patkw*-.

-kw < *-k- under the influence of *-wa-.

LEC *fotok- “chip” (v.): Or *fottoqa*.

Assimilation of vowels.

*q

2031 *qab- “kill”

Eg *ḥb* “kill” (gr).

WCh *qab- “kill”: Tng *kabi*.

2032 *qafV^c- “hold”

Sem *ḥVp- “pack”: Akk *ḥapū*.

Eg *hʃ^c* “catch, grasp, pack” (pyr).

Cf. also *hʃ^c* “fist” (pyr).

WCh **qaf-* “security of hold”¹, “grasp, seize”²; Hs *kaf*¹, Say *ngəp*¹, Ngz *gafau*², Bade *gaf*².

Cf. Dhl *hap-* “snatch quickly”.

2033 *qam- “possess”

Eg *hʒm* “possess, hold” (MK).

Vocalic -ʒ-.

WCh **qam-* “grasp”: Hs *kāma*.

Dhl *kam-* “hold”.

Rift **kom-* “hold, have”: Irq *kom-*, Bur *kom-*, Asa *kom-*, Kwz *komos-*.

Secondary *-o- before a labial.

2034 *qapuĉ- “arm, shoulder”

Eg *hps̃* “arm” (MK).

WCh **qapuĉ-* “shoulder”: Bul *gapuša*.

2035 *qatam- “ring, seal”

Sem **ḥatm-* “ring”¹, seal (on a ring)”²; Hbr *ḥotēm*^{1 2}, Arab *ḥatm-*^{1 2}, Jib *ḥotem*¹, Hss *ḥōtem*¹, Shh *ḥotem*¹.

Eg *ḥtm* “stamp, seal” (OK).

WCh **qatam-* “ring”: Miya *katam*.

2036 *qaway- “be empty”

Sem **ḥūy-* “be empty”: Arab *ḥwy* [-i-].

WCh **qāy-* < **qaway-* “empty”: Tng *kaayi*, *gaye*.

2037 *qet- “tear”

Eg *htt* “tear off” (MK).

WCh **qyat-* “tear, rend”: Hs *kēta*.

2038 *qi²- “plaiting”

Sem **ḥi²-* “kind of clothes”: Akk *ḥi²u*.

Eg *hʒ.t* “kind of plaiting” (NK).

2039 *qirim- “separate, divide”

Sem **ḥVrim-* “separate, isolate”¹, “pierce”²; Akk *ḥarāmu*¹, Arab *ḥrm* [-i-]².

WCh **qirVm-* “stub with a knife, cut or bite head off”: Hs *kirma*, *kirme*.

2040 *qiš- “grind, rub”

WCh **qiš-* “thrash”: Hs *kilā*.

CCh **qiš-* “thrash, beat”: Mafa *kəš-*.

Rift **ḥiš-* “rub”: Alg *ḥiš-*.

2041 *qo²- “mix”

Eg *hʒw* “mix” (med).

Vocalic -ʒ-.

WCh **qwa²-* “mix”: Fyer *goo*.

2042 *qoĉ- “pierce”

Sem **ḥūs-* “pierce”¹, “penetrate, pierce camel’s nose with a stick”²; Arab *ḥwš* [-u-]¹, Jib *ḥešš*².

Inlaut *-w- reflects the original structure with *-o-.

Omot **koĉ-* “pierce”: Kaf *koĉĉ-*.

Irregular *-ĉ-.

2043 *qom- “gather, join”

Sem **ḥVm-* “gather”: Akk *ḥamāmu*.

WCh **qwam-* “join”: Grk *kwom*.

2044 *qor- “shout, say”

Sem **ḥūr-* “bellow”: Arab *ḥwr* [-u-].

Based ob biconsonantal **ḥVr-*.

Berb **kur-* “call”: Ahg *kur-ət*.

Eg *ḥr* “say” (OK).

WCh **qwar-* “groan”¹, “shout, cry, call”²: Ang *gwar*¹, Kry *kwā*², Miya *kwā*², Jmb *gwar-al*².

2045 **qot-* “take (by force)”

Sem **hVt-* “take somebody’s share”: Arab *ḥtt*.

WCh **qwat-* “take thing by force”: Hs *kwātā*, *kwāče*.

2046 **qot-* “elbow”

Eg *ḥt* “elbow” (MK).

WCh **qu-qwat-* “elbow”: Sha *kukwat*.

Partial reduplication.

2047 **quʾab-* “knife, sickle”

Eg *ḥʾb* “chisel” (BD).

WCh **quʾab-* “sword, knife”: Hs *takōbī*, Sura *kəp*, Ang *kūp*.

Prefix *ta-* in Hs.

2048 **qudam-* “pot”

Sem **ḥadām-* “night pot”: Arab *ḥaddām-at-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh **qudam-* “pot”: Bol *kudam*.

2049 **qul-* “hoe” (n.)

Eg *ḥnn* “hoe” (pyr).

Irregular laryngeal.

CCh **qul-* “hoe”: Wmd *kul*, Hld *kwulu*.

Cf. Rift **ḥwal-* “dig up, till”: Alg *ḥwal-*, Kwz *ḥohwal-*.

2050 **qur-* “voice, noise”

Eg *ḥrw* “voice, noise” (pyr).

Vocalic *-w*.

WCh **qur-* “scream, cry” (n.): Hs *kurūruwa*.

Rift **ḥur-* “rumble, roar”: Irq *ḥur-ay*.

Related to **qor-* “shout, say”.

2051 **qurap-* “beat”

Sem **hVrVp-* “strike back”: Akk *ḥarāpu*.

WCh **qurVp-* “whipping”: Hs *kurfō*.

ECh **karap-* “kick, trample”: Bid *ʾarap*, Dng *karpe*.

2052 **qüz-* “be angry”

Eg *ḥzy* “angry” (MK).

-y stands for a front vowel.

WCh **quz-* “be angry”: Tng *kuz-*.

2053 **qVbVʾ-* “break, destroy”

Eg *ḥbʾ* “destroy” (pyr).

WCh **qVHVb-* “break”: Tng *keeb*.

Metathesis.

Cf. **qab-* “kill”.

*q

2054 **qac-* “valley, river bed”

Berb **γVɜ-* “river bed, wadi”: Ahg *ta-γəzz-it*.

Rift **ḥas-* “valley or ravine without running water”: Irq *ḥasa*.

2055 **qac-/qVwVÇ-* “sand”

Sem **ḥūs-/ḥīṣ-* “sand, gravel”: Akk *ḥiṣṣu*, Gz *ḥoṣā*.

Secondary formation with inlaut **-w/*-y-*. Cf. Agaw.

WCh **qas-* < **qac-* “earth, sand”: Hs *qasā*.

Agaw **kūš-* < **ḥVwVš-* “sand”: Bil *kūšā*.

Omot **kaç-* “sand”: Kaf *kāčō*, Nao *kaşa*, Gim *kačay*, *kač*.

Cf., with a different anlaut laryngeal: Rift **haç-* “sand” (Irq *has-aq*, Kwz *has-inko*, Asa *haj-at*).

2056 *qac- “be friable”

Sem *hVç- “be friable”: Arab *ḥḍw*.

ECh *kVç- “crumble”: Bid *kodyody*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC *kaç- “walk on grain and spoil it”: Or *qaçaʿa*.

2057 *qalum- “boat”

Sem *halim- “raft”: Akk *hallimu*.

Eg *ḥmn.ty* “ship” (OK).

Metathesis.

CCh *qwalum- < *qalum- “boat”: Msg *ḥolum*, Log *γ'oam*.

Log *γ'oam* < *γ'walam.

2058 *qam-/*qayam- “tent, house”

Sem *ḥaym- “tent”¹, “hut, cabin”²: Ug *ḥm-t*¹, Arab *ḥaym-at*^{1 2}, SAr *ḥym*², Gz *ḥaymat*¹, Tgr *ḥaymāt*², Amh *haym-āt*², Jib *hom* (pl.)¹, Hss *ḥīm-ēt*^{1 2}.

Berb *γ(V)yam- “tent”¹, “village”²: Ayr *ta-γyam-t*¹, Ahg *ta-ḥyam-t*¹, Twl *ta-γyam-t*¹, Ntf *ta-ḥyam-t*², Kby *a-ḥḥam*¹.

Eg *ḥm* “temple” (pyr).

ECh *kam-kam- “camp”: Mig *kankama*, Bid *kamkama*.

Reduplication. Dissimilation of nasals in Mig.

2059 *qan- “tent, house”

Eg *ḥn* “tent” (pyr).

WCh *qan- “hut”: Wrj *kan-na*, Cagu *kan*, Jmb *gan*.

Cf. *qam-/*qayam- id.

2060 *qaniç-/*quniç- “leg”

Sem *ḥanṣ- “hip”: Akk *ḥanṣātu*, Hbr *ḥalāšāyim* (dual.), Aram *ḥarṣīm*.

Irregular sonants.

Eg *ḥnd* “part of the leg” (pyr).

CCh *quniç- “hip, knee”: Gis *mit-kinža*, Glv *runža*, Zgh *gwuže*,

Gava *gwiza*.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2061 *qar- “fish”

Eg *ḥṣ.t* “kind of fish” (a).

-ṣ < HS *-r-.

WCh *qar- “fish with sharp fins”: Hs *ḥarāyā*.

LEC *kar- “fish”: Gel *kaara*.

Wrz *ḥar- “fish”: Gaw *ḥaare*, Cam *ḥaar-ite*, Hrs *haar-icce*, Dob *haar-icce*, Gll *haare*.

Ome *kar- “fish”: Hmr *kara*, *kaara*.

2062 *qar-/*qawar- “burn”

Eg *ḥr.t* “flame” (reg).

Cf. also *ḥṣ* “roast” (n).

WCh *qawVr- “roast (without oil)”: Hs *ḥaurarā*.

Secondary *-w-?

Rift *ḥwar- “fry”¹, “hot”²: Bur *ḥweraʿes*⁻¹, Alg *ḥwereʿes*⁻¹, Asa *hareta*².

2063 *qaraw- “war, fight”

Eg *ḥrwyw* “war”.

Partial reduplication.

WCh *qar[a]w- “fight”: Hs *ḥārō*.

ECh *kVraw- “war”: Tum *kəraw*.

Cf. Kera *kuuri* “fight” (v.).

2064 *qayul- “equid”

Sem *ḥayl- “horse”¹, “mare”²: Arab *ḥayl*- (pl.)¹, Soq *ḥayl*-², Hss *ḥeyōl* (pl.)¹.

Berb *rayul- “horse”¹, “mare”², “donkey”³, “mule”⁴: Jrb *tə-yalli-t*⁴, Nfs *tə-yəll-ət*², Skn *t-yall-ən*¹, Sml *a-yyul*³, Sgr *a-yyul*³,

Mzab *t-yalli-t*¹, Wrg *a-yyul*³, Snd *a-yyul*³.

LEC *ḥay(V)l- “foal”: Som *qayl*.

2065 *qen- “go, walk”

Eg *ḥny* “walk” (l).

WCh *qyana- “enter, go”: Tng *kən*, Fyer *gan*.

ECh *gin- “go out”: Sok *gine*.

2066 *qof- “hoof”

Sem **hupp*- “hoof”: Arab *huff*-, Hss *hef*-, Mhr *hef*-, Shh *haf*-.
 WCh **qwaq*- “hoof”: Hs *kwāfa*-, Ang *kwēp*-.
 Partial reduplication.

2067 *qol- “testicles”

WCh **qwal*- “testicles”: Hs *kwālātai*-, Ang *gwal*-.
 CCh **qwal*- “penis”¹, “testicles”²: Bura *kwal*¹-, Klb *kwal*¹-, Mrg *kwal*¹-, FGH *kwelaku*¹-, Bch *kwaley*²-.
 ECh **kwal*- “testicles”¹, “penis”²: Kera *kələŋ*¹-, Kwan *kalasa*¹-, Mkk *kole*²-.
 Agaw **kwil*- “testicles”: Bil *kwelaa*-.
 Omot **kull*- “testicles”: Kaf *kuroo*-.
 Cf. Dhl *kʷall-iδ*- “have an erection”-.

2068 *qon- “river”

Eg *hnw* “rivulet” (XVIII).
 Vocalic -w.
 ECh **kwan*- “river”: Ndam *kwan*-.
 Reduplication?

2069 *qoq- “throat”

Eg *hḥ* “throat” (MK).
 WCh **qwaq*- “throat”: Hs *mākōko*-, Grk *γγa*-, Bgh *gway*-.
 Prefix in Hs.
 CCh **q[w]ay*- “throat”: Log *γ’ayī*-, Bud *wui*-, Gul *uē*-, Kus *uā*-.
 Dhl *k’ok’o* “throat”-.

Reduplication?

2070 *qor- “tooth”

WCh **ha-qwar*- “tooth”: Hs *hakōrī*-, Fyer *hagor*-, Bks *ʔagur*-, Sha *ʔagaha*-, Klr *ʔagwer*-, DB *gur*-.
 Prefix **ha*-.
 Bed *kwir* “tooth”-.

2071 *qor- “shell”

WCh **qwar*- “shell of tortoise”: Hs *kwarya*-.
 Rift **horor*- “cowry shell”: Irq *xoror-ami*-.
 Partial reduplication.

2072 *qor- “bird”

Eg *hʔr* “goose” (BD).
 -ʔ- stand for a vowel.
 HEC **kur*- “crow”: Ala *qura*-, Tmb *qura*-.
 Descriptive root.

2073 *qul- “vessel”

Berb **γVlal*- “wooden vase”: Ghd *a-ylal*-.
 Partial reduplication.
 Eg *hʔw* “vessel” (pyr).
 -w stand for HS **u* in the root.
 WCh **kulul*- “big pot”: Hs *kūlūlu*-.
 Assimilation of vowels. Partial reduplication.
 Partial reduplication in Berb and WCh.

2074 *qVyVb- “deceive”

Sem **hīb*- “deceive”; Arab *hyb*-.
 CCh **qVyVb*- “deceive”: Daba *kīb*-.
 Contraction. Emphatization is caused by **q*.

*r

2075 *ra²- “sing”

ECh **ra²-aw*-/**ra²-ay*- “sing”: Mubi *rewa*-, Brg *raaya*-, Bid *raa*-.
 Rift **ra²*- “sing”: Irq *da²*-, Alg *ra²*-, Bur *ra²-am*-, Asa *ra²-at*-.
 Cf. a reduplication in WCh: Hs *raira* “sing”, *rēra* id.

2076 *ra²- “water level”

Berb *Ha-ray- “water level (in a vessel)”: Ahg *t-āray- t*.

Prefix *Ha-.

Eg *rj* “water-line” (MK).

2077 *ra²-/*raw-/*ray- “be, become, make”

Eg *iry* “be, do, make” (OK), Copt **iri*: Fym *ili*, Akh *eire*, Boh *iri*, Shd *eire*.

WCh *ra²-/*raw- “become”¹, “work”²: Gwn *ra*¹, Bks *ro*².

CCh *ray- “become, build”: Lame *re*, *rey*.

ECh *riy- “become”¹, “work, make”²: Dng *orriye*¹, *riyo*², Bid *riy*².

Secondary *i before *y.

Rift *ra²- “stay, remain”: Asa *ra*²-.

Dhl *raw*- “stay, remain”.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-.

2078 *ra²ib- “dirt”

Sem *rā²ib- “dirty”: Arab *rā²ib*-.

WCh *rāb- < *ra²ib- “diarrhoetic excrement”: Hs *rābo*.

Contraction.

2079 *ra²ob- “rain”

WCh *ra²Vb- “dew”: Hs *rābā*.

SA *rVHob- “rain”: Saho *rob*, Afar *roob*.

LEC *rVHob- “rain”: Som *roob*, Or *rooba*, Boni *roob*, Kon *roopa*, Gid *roop*.

Cf. Sem *rVbīb- “rain” (pl.): Hbr *r^ebībīm*.

2080 *ra²up- “finish” (v.)

CCh *ruf- < *rafu- “finish, end”: Mafa *ruf*-.

Irregular *f.

HEC *rap- < *ra²Vp- “be finished”: Sid *raap*-.

Emphatic -p- in contact with a laryngeal.

2081 *raç- “go, run”

Sem *rVwVç- “run”: Akk *rāšu*, Hbr *rwš*, Aram *rhš*, Gz *rwš*.

Secondary formation in *-w-.

WCh *raç-/*riç- “go”: Hs *rāçe*, Dwot *ris*.

ECh *²a-ras- “walk in large steps”: Bid *aras*.

Prefix *²a-.

Dhl *rat*- “go, walk”.

2082 *raçaḥ- “pour, soak”

Sem *rVṣaḥ- “leak”: Arab *ršḥ* [-a-].

WCh *rVç- “moisten”: Ngz *rəžu*.

ECh *raç- “wet, soak”: Mobu *rase*, Ngm *rasī*.

Cf. *riç- “sprinkle”.

2083 *rad- “foot, trace”

Eg *rd* “foot” (pyr), Copt **rat* “foot, trace”: Akh *ret*, *reet*, Boh *rat*-, Shd *rat*-.

LEC *rad- “footprint”: Som *raad*.

Cf. also SA *radd- “descendant” (Afar *raddi*) and, probably, Omot *rot- “foot” (Hmr *roti*, *rroti*).

2084 *rad-/*rid- “go, run”

Sem *rVdVw-/*rVdVy- “go”¹, “walk, tread”², “beat the ground in running”³: Akk *redû*¹, Hbr *rdy*, *rdw*², Aram (Syr) *rdy*, *rdw*², Arab *rdy*³.

Cf. Arab *rud* “run to and fro”.

SA *rad- “run”: Afar *rad*-, *-erd*-.

LEC *rid- “run”: Som *ord*-, Boni *-irid*-, Rnd *-irid*-.

Connected with *rad- “foot”. Alternation *a ~ *i.

2085 *rado²- “be bad, be rotten”

Sem *rVdu²- “be spoiled, be bad”: Arab *rd²*, *rdw* [-u-].

WCh *rad- < *radVH- “rot”: Wrj *radə*, Kry *rad*-, Siri *rada*, Mbu *rad*-.

CCh *rwad- < *radwa(H)- “bad”: Nak *r^wad*.

2086 *raf- “dwelling”

Berb *rVf- “kind of room”: Ghd ə-rref.

CCh *raf- “hut”: Tera rafa.

2087 *rag-/ *rug- “tremble”

Sem *rug- “tremble”: Arab rgg [-u-].

ECh *rag- “tremble”: Kwan rake, Mobu lage.

Irregular Kwan -k- < *-g-.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2088 *ra^c- “sun, god”

Eg r^c “sun, Sun-god” (pyr), Copt *rē: Akh ri, Boh rē, Shd rē.

WCh *rayi- < *raHi- “sun”: Geji ri, Sha are.

ECh *raH- “sun, god”: Mkk ra, Bid rāya.

Any relation to Sem *ray^c- “daylight” (Arab ray^c-) and Eg r^cy “sky” (gr)?

2089 *ra^cad- “thunder”

Sem *ra^cd- “storm, thunder”: Akk rādu, Arab ra^cd-, Gz ra^cād.

Cf. also Hbr r^cd “tremble”, Arab r^cd [-a-, -u-] “thunder” (v.).

WCh *^carad- “thunder”: Pol haradu, Miya araduwa.

Metathesis.

CCh *raHad- “thunder”: Mnd řade, Log rāde.

2090 *rahaw-/ *rahay- “bird”

Sem *rahw- “crane”: Arab rahw-.

WCh *raHaw-/ *raHay- “bird”: Bol rayo, Krk rāyi, Ngm rāyi, Bele raawi.

ECh *rāy- < *raHay- “vulture”: Mig rāya.

LEC *raHaw- “large bird”: Arb raaw.

2091 *rah- “hand, arm”

Sem *rāh-/ *rīh- “hand, palm”: Akk rittu, Ug rht, Aram (Syr) lah² tō, Arab rāh-at-, Tgr rāhat.

WCh *raH-/ *riH- “arm”: Klr riyaw, Sha riyaw, Bks ra, DB ra.

CCh *raH- “arm”: Mtk řay.

2092 *rah-/ *rih- “mix”

Sem *rih- “mix”: Akk rahāhu, Arab rih [-i-].

WCh *rVy- < *raHi- “mix up”: Bks royi.

ECh *raHwa- “mix”: Mig rawwo.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2093 *rahil- “sheep”

Sem *rahil- “sheep”¹, “lamb”²: Akk lahru¹, Hbr rāhēl¹, Aram (Jud) rahl-¹, Arab rihl-, rahil-¹, Soq rehl-oh².

Metathesis of liquids in Akk. In Hbr the word is attested as a proper name. Arab -i- may be a result of the assimilation of vowels.

Eg rhny “Amon’s lamb” (NK).

Secondary h < *h in Late Eg. Vocalic -y.

Probably, connected with SA *reH- “she-goat” (Afar ree-ta) and LEC *reH- id. (Som rih, Or ree, Rnd riyyo).

2094 *rak-/ *rik- “be thin”

Sem *rik- “be thin, be weak”: Hbr rak, Arab rkk [-i-].

WCh *rak- “be thin”: Hs rāke, Dera rago.

ECh *rV^k- “become meager”: Mkk ʔerk-iyō.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2095 *rak- “bank, coast”

Sem *rak- “bank, coast”: Akk raqqatu.

Eg rw^d “bank, coast” (n).

Palatalization and inlaut -w- reflect a secondary formation *rVwV^k-.

2096 *ram- “land, field”

Eg mrm.t “kind of field” (pyr).

Reduplication.

WCh **ram-* ‘land, place’: DB *ram*.

2097 **ram-* ‘throw’

Sem **rVmVy-* ‘throw, shoot’: Akk *ramû*, Hbr *rmy*, Arab *rmy* [-i-].

Based on **rVm-*.

ECh **ram-* ‘throw’¹, ‘shoot’²: Ngam *ram*¹, Mobu *rame*¹, Smr *ram*².

2098 **ram-* ‘roar, speak’

Sem **rVm-* ‘roar’: Akk *ramāmu*, Arab *rmm* [-u-].

WCh **ram-* ‘tell’: Ngz *ramu*.

2099 **ramVk-* ‘(free) man’

Sem **ramk-* ‘priest’: Akk *ramku*.

Eg *rmṯ* ‘man’ (pyr).

Progressive palatalization of **k*.

2100 **rasVw-* ‘death, sleep’

Eg *rsw.t* ‘dream, sleep’ (n.) (MK).

WCh **ras-* ‘death’: Hs *rasūwa*.

2101 **raw-* ‘sky’

Eg *rw* ‘sky’ (pyr).

WCh **rVw-* ‘sky’: Krk *rəwi*, Fyer *ruruwe*.

Partial reduplication in Fyer. Cf. **ri²-* ‘cloud’: Bks *ri²*, DB *ri²*.

Rift **raw-* ‘sky’: Bur *raw*.

2102 **rawad-* ‘descend’

Sem **wVrVd-* ‘descend’¹, ‘come’²: Akk *warādu*¹, Hbr *yrd*¹, Arab *wrd*², Gz *wrd*¹.

Metathesis.

SA **ra[w]ad-* ‘descend’: Saho *raad-*, Afar *raad-*.

2103 **rawah-* ‘move, walk’

Sem **rūh-* ‘go away’: Arab *rwh* [-u-].

Berb **rVwVH-* ‘come’: Izy *tuḷud*.

WCh **raw-/ray-* ‘enter’¹, ‘run’²: Ank *ru*¹, Grk *ru*¹, Bol *rii-*¹,

Krk *raa*¹, Bele *rii-*¹, Krf *rii-*¹, Gera *rii-*¹, Glm *ry-*¹, Grm *rii-*¹,

Dira *riya*², Cagu *rey*², Ngz *rəwə*².

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

LEC **ra[w]ah-* ‘follow’: Rnd *raah-*.

2104 **re²-* ‘see’

Sem **rV²Vy-* ‘see’: Hbr *r²y*, Arab *r²y*, SAr *r²y*, Gz *r²y*.

Bed *reh-*, *erh-* ‘see’.

2105 **reb-* ‘all’

Eg *nb* ‘all, every’ (pyr), Copt **nib*: Fym *nibi*, Boh *nib-*, Shd *nim*.

Irregular *n-* < **r-*. Assimilation of consonants in Shd.

WCh **ryab-* ‘all’: Sha *ryap*.

2106 **reḥ-* ‘man’

Eg *rhy.t* ‘men’ (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*.

WCh **ryaH-* ‘male’ (adj.): Bks *re*.

Cf. CCh **raH-* ‘man’: LPe *ra²* (in a phrase *sum ra²* ‘person’
← ‘man’s name’)

2107 **reḵ-* ‘pour, soak’

Sem **rVḵ-* ‘pour out’¹, ‘sprinkle’²: Hbr *rwq*, *ryq*¹, Gz *rqy*².

WCh **ryaḵ-* ‘moisten’: Dera *reke*.

2108 **reḵ-/reḵay-* ‘climb’

Sem **rVḵay-* ‘climb, rise’: Arab *rqy* [-a-].

WCh **ryaḵVy-* ‘rise’: Klr *regy-*.

LEC **riḵ-* ‘climb’: Or *riqa*.

2109 *rekid- “jump”

Sem *rV_kVd- “jump”: Akk *raqādu*, Hbr *rqd*, Aram (Jud) *rqd*.

Cf. also Arab *raqad-ān*- “jump, leap”.

ECh *ryadik- < *ryadi_k- “jump”: Dng *redike*.

Metathesis.

Derived from *re_k-/*re_{kay}- “climb”?

2110 *rib- “vessel”

Sem *rīb- “vessel”: Akk *rību*.

Eg *rb.t* “copper pot”.

CCh *rVb- “pot”: Mrg *řřba*.

2111 *rič- “sprinkle”

Sem *rVš- “sprinkle”: Arab *ršš*, Hss *reš*.

Agaw *²a-rič- “sprinkle”: Aun *areč-əy*.

Prefix *²a-.

2112 *ridağ- “dirt”

Sem *radağ- “dirt”: Arab *radag-at*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh *ridaH- “dirt”: FG *řřda*, Kap *rrda*, HF ²*urda*, Gudu *ridē*.

Gudu reflects *riday- < *ridaH-.

2113 *rigad- “foot, leg”

WCh *gVrVd- “leg”: Wrj *gərdai*, Cagu *gərdē*.

Metathesis.

Bed *ragad* “foot, leg”.

Assimilation of vowels.

SA *rigid- “foot, leg”: Saho *rigid*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift *digir- “foot trace”: Irq *digir*.

Metathesis.

2114 *ri^c- “break”

Sem *rV^c- “break”: Hbr *r^c*.

CCh *riy- < *riH- “destroy”: Gis *riye*.

2115 *ri^c- “drive, chase”

Sem *rV^cay- “graze” ¹, “herd” (v.) ²: Akk *re²ū²*, Ug *r^cy²*, Hbr *r^cy¹*, Arab *r^cy* [-a-] ², SAr *r^cy¹*, Gz *r^cy²*, Hss *rō²*, Mhr *rō²*, Soq *re^ce²*.

Based on *rV^c-.

LEC *²a-ri²- “chase”: Or *ari²a*.

2116 *ri^c- “friend”

Sem *rī^c- “friend”: Akk *rū²u*, Hbr *rē^{ac}*.

ECh *rVHi- “friend” ¹, “husband” ²: Dng *roya*, Mubi *ro*.

Secondary vocalism?

2117 *rih- “evening”

Eg *rwh²* “evening” (n).

Reflects *riwah- based on *rih-.

CCh *riH- “evening”: Lame *riya*, Zime *ria*.

Lame -y- < *-H-.

2118 *rihim- “uterus, pregnancy”

Sem *rahm-/*rihm- “uterus”: Akk *rēmu*, Hbr *rehem*, Aram (Jud) *raham*-, Arab *rihm*-, *rahim*-.

LEC *riHim- “pregnant”: Or *riimaa*.

2119 *rim- “insect”

Sem *rimm- “ant, larva”: Akk *rimmatu*, Arab *rimm-at*.

ECh *²i-ri-rim- “insect”: Bid ²*iririmo*.

Partial reduplication.

SA *rimm- “worm”: Saho *rimme*.

LEC *rimm- “ant, termite”: Or *rimma*.

Cf. also Or *raammoo* “worm, parasite”.

Cf. WCh *ma-ryam- “scorpion” (Hs *maryamu*)?

2120 *rim- ‘‘rise’’

Sem *rūm- ‘‘be high’’: Hbr *rw̄m*.

Based on *rVm-.

WCh *rim- ‘‘stand (on hind legs)’’: Hs *rīmī*.

2121 *rim- ‘‘earth, clay’’

Sem *rimm- ‘‘wet earth’’: Arab *rimm*-.

Eg *īm* ‘‘clay’’ (MK).

Note *i*- < *r-, cf. *rūwun- ‘‘wind’’.

2122 *riman- ‘‘fruit’’

Sem *rimān- ‘‘granate’’: Akk *lurmu*, Hbr *rimmōn*, Arab *rummān*-.

Assimilation of sonants and metathesis in Akk.

Eg *rrm.t* ‘‘fruit’’ (NK).

Assimilation of *liquida* and metathesis.

2123 *ripan- ‘‘hair’’

Eg *nʾp* ‘‘hairlock’’ (pyr).

Metathesis *nirap- from *ripan-?

LEC *rifan- ‘‘hair’’: Or *rifen-sa*, Arb *riyfan*, Gdl *riyfan-ta*, Arb *ruufan*.

Wrz *rifan- ‘‘hair’’: War *rifo-ko*, Hrs *rifan-ko*, Dob *rifak-ko*.

2124 *riw-/*riy- ‘‘play’’

Eg *rw̄y.t* ‘‘kind of game’’ (MK).

WCh *ri-riy- ‘‘children’s game’’: Hs *rīriya*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh *riw- ‘‘play’’: Zime *riu*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2125 *riw-/*riy- ‘‘fire; burn’’

Eg *rw̄y* ‘‘flame’’ (n).

Vocalic -y.

CCh *ray-/riy- ‘‘burn’’: Daba *ri*, Masa *raia*-.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2126 *riyV^c- ‘‘grow’’

Sem *rī^c- ‘‘grow’’: Arab *ry^c* [-i-].

WCh *riy- ‘‘multiply’’: Tng *riy*.

2127 *ro³- ‘‘snake’’

Eg *rʾ* ‘‘snake’’ (NK).

WCh *rwa²- ‘‘cobra’’: DB *rwa*.

2128 *rob- ‘‘rhinoceros, hyppopotamus’’

Eg *irbʾ* ‘‘kind of animal, rhinoceros (?)’’ (OK).

Prefix *i*-.

LEC *rob- ‘‘hyppopotamus’’: Or *roobi*.

HEC *rob- ‘‘hyppopotamus’’: Sid *robee*, Had *lobe*.

Irregular *l*- in Had.

2129 *rog- ‘‘cereal’’

Eg *rḏrd* ‘‘cereals’’ (gr).

Reduplication. Progressive palatalization of *g.

WCh *rwag- ‘‘cassawa’’: Hs *rōgo*.

2130 *roq- ‘‘bird’’

Sem *ruhḥ- ‘‘fabulous bird’’: Arab *ruhḥ*-.

Eg *rhy.t* ‘‘kind of bird’’ (OK).

Suffix -y.

CCh *ruq- ‘‘ostrich’’: Lame *ruko*.

ECh *rwak- ‘‘heron’’: Mkk *rooke*.

2131 *rubud- ‘‘ashes’’

Sem *rubd- ‘‘colour of ash, ashen’’: Arab *rubd-at*-.

WCh *rubud- ‘‘hot fine ash’’: Hs *rubudī*.

Secondary emphatic. Another variant is Hs *ribidī*.

2132 *ruh- ‘‘breath, soul’’

Sem *rūh- ‘‘blow, breath’’¹, ‘‘spirit’’²: Hbr *rū^aḥ*¹, Aram (Syr) *rūh*-², Arab *rūh*-².

SA *roḥ- ‘‘breath, soul’’: Saho *roḥe*.
 LEC *ruḥ- ‘‘breath, soul’’: Som *ruuḥ*.

2133 *rukub- ‘‘knee, thigh’’

Sem *rukḥ- ‘‘knee’’: Arab *rukḥ-at-*.
 Cf. also Aram ʾarkūbā id.
 CCh *rukub- ‘‘thigh’’: Zgh *rukufe*.
 Zgh -f < *-b-?

2134 *rum- ‘‘lion’’

Eg ʾm ‘‘lion’’ (gr).
 WCh *ʾirum- ‘‘leopard’’: Diri ʾirum, Pol ʾorum.
 CCh *lum- < *HV-rum- ‘‘lion’’: Lame *lumu*, LPe *lumu*.

2135 *rusup- ‘‘ash’’

Sem *rVšp- ‘‘ashes, flame’’: Hbr *rešep*.
 WCh *rušp- ‘‘hot ashes’’: Hs *rušūš*.
 Metathesis. Note emphatic *ḫ.

2136 *ruy- ‘‘tree’’

Eg *wry.t* ‘‘trees’’ (XXII).
 Vocalic *w-*.
 WCh *ruy- ‘‘tree, forest’’: Krk *riya*, Ngm *royi*, Tng *riya*, Bele *ru*, Krf *ru*, Gera *ry*.

2137 *rū- ‘‘intestine’’

Sem *rī- ‘‘lungs’’: Hbr *rēʾā*, Arab *rī-at-*, *riyy-at-*, Hss *reyī*, Mhr *he-ryī*, Shh *rōt*.
 Berb *rV- ‘‘lung(s)’’: Izy *tuḷin* (pl.), Kby *turəṭ*.
 WCh *ruy- < *ruH- ‘‘intestine’’: Siri *ruya*.
 Cf. *raw- id.: Jmb *rawi*, Mbu *rawwi*, Cagu *roh-on*.

2138 *rūk- ‘‘be thin’’

Sem *rik- ‘‘be thin’’¹, ‘‘be shallow’’²: Akk *raqāqu*¹, Arab *raqq*

[-i-]¹, Gz *raqq*¹, Jib *rekḥ*², Hss *req*², Mhr *req*², Shh *req*².
 WCh *ruk- ‘‘become meager’’: Bol *rukḥ-*.

2139 *rüm- ‘‘be bad, be rotten’’

Sem *rim- ‘‘be rotten (of bones)’’¹, ‘‘be worn, be frayed’’²: Hbr *rmm*¹, Arab *rmm* [-i-]¹, Hss *rem*², Mhr *rem*², Shh *rim*².
 WCh *rVm- ‘‘bad’’: Bol *romo*.
 ECh *rum- ‘‘rot’’: Mkk *ruume*.

2140 *rūw- ‘‘water’’

Sem *riw-/*riy- ‘‘moistening’’¹, ‘‘abundant water’’²: Hbr *rī*¹, Arab *riway*².
 Eg *wrw* ‘‘pond’’ (pyr).
 Orthographic representation of *rVw-.
 WCh *ruw- ‘‘water, rain’’: Hs *ruwā*.

Cf. Rift *ra- ‘‘dew’’: Alg *raʿu*, Bur *raʿu*. Eg *wrrw* ‘‘pit filled with water, basin’’ (MK) may be a derivative.

2141 *rūwun- ‘‘wind’’

Eg *iwn* ‘‘wind’’ (pyr).
 Note *l-* < *r-.
 WCh *ruwun- ‘‘wind’’: Kry *ruwun*, Miya *ruwun*, Mbu *ruwən*.

2142 *rV-/ *rVw- ‘‘speak’’

Sem *rūy- ‘‘render other person’s words’’: Arab *ruy* [-i-].
 Eg *rʾ* ‘‘sentence, speech, language’’ (pyr).

Consonantal alternation *-ʾ- ~ *-w-.

2143 *rVhob- ‘‘be hot’’

Eg *rhb* ‘‘hot ashes’’ (BD), Copt **elhōb*: Akh *lhōb*, Boh *elhōb*, Shd *elhōb*.
 ECh *rVHwab- ‘‘hot ashes’’: Bid *roob*.

2144 *rVhVn- “leave”

Eg *rhn* “leave, lean” (MK).

CCh *lVn- < *rVHVn- “leave”: Gid *lən*.

2145 *rVsV^c- “evil; be evil”

Sem *rVšV^c- “treat severely”¹, “be evil, behave badly”², “be slack”³, “forget, neglect”⁴: Akk *ruššū*¹, Hbr *ršc*², Arab *rsc*³, Gz *rsc*⁴.

Eg *rš* “evil” (XVIII).

Metathesis. Irregular -š < *-s-.

An alternative reconstruction is *CrVs-.

*S

2146 *sa- “house”

Eg *s.t* “dwelling, place” (pyr), Copt *se “house”: Boh *se-*, Shd *se-*.

WCh *sV-saw- “hut”: Ngz *səsau*.

Reduplication.

2147 *sa²- “climb, stand up”

Sem *šV²Vw- “climb”: Arab *s²w* [-u-].

Based on *šV²-.

CCh *sa²- “stand up”: Log *sa*.

ECh *saw-/say- “stand up”: Smr *so*, Sbn *swā*, Tob *say*.

From *sa²-.

Dhl *saa-d-* “stand”.

2148 *sa²-/*saw- “tree”

Sem *ša²- “tree”: Akk *šāu*.

WCh *saw-/say- “tree with thorns”: Tng *saawe*, *saaye*.

CCh *syā²- < *say- “wood”: Gaa *še²a*.

ECh *sVw- < *sV²- “tree”: Sok *səwi*.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w-.

2149 *sa²af- “snare”

Berb *saf- “snare”: Shn *a-saf*.

Contraction.

WCh *sa²af- “snare”: Hs *safū*, *sahū*.

2150 *sa²ap- “hair”

Sem *ša²ap- “horse mane”: Arab *sa²af*.

LEC *sap- “pubic hair”: Or *sapii*.

Or -p- reflects the influence of a lost inlaut laryngeal.

2151 *sab- “bird”

Sem *šab-šab- “small bird”: Tgr *säbsab*.

Reduplication.

Berb *sVbib- “small bird”: Ahg *šəbib*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh *syab- < *sabi- “dove”: Kbl *te-seba*.

Prefix *te-* in Kbl.

2152 *sab- “be hot, burn”

Eg *šsb* “burn” (BD).

Initial š- may reflect a prefix or indicate the root vowel *a.

ECh *sab- “burn”: Tum *hab*.

2153 *sab- “go, walk”

Sem *šVb- “walk slowly”¹, “come”²: Arab *sbsb*¹, Tgr *šbb*².

Reduplication in Arab.

WCh *sabVH- “return”¹, “go out”²: Hs *sabō*¹, Diri *səbo*².

Suffix *-VH-.

CCh *sVb- “go out”¹, “drive”²: Daba *subu*¹, FBw *səbi*².

ECh *sab- “walk” (n.): Sbn *saba*.

2154 *sab- “wall”

Eg *sb.t.y* “wall” (XVIII).

SA *sab-sab- “wall”: Afar *sabsab*.

Reduplication.

2155 *sabV³-/*sabVy- “sin, lie”

Eg *shy* “rebellion” (MK).

WCh **sab*- < **sabV*³- “sin”¹, “evil”², “lie”³: Hs *sāḥō*¹, Tng *sabyo*², Pero *čaba*³.

Suffix *-VH-?

LEC **sob*- “lie” (v.): Or *soba*.

Secondary *-o- before a labial.

Consonantal alternation *-ʔ- ~ *-y-.

2156 *sab-sib- “hairlock”

Sem **šab-šib*- “dishevelled hair”: Arab (dial.) *sabāsib*- (pl.).

Berb **sVb-sub*- “hairlock”: Kby *a-šəbšub*.

Secondary *u?

Reduplication of the original **sab*- “hair”, cf. **sabib*- id.

2157 *sabaḥ- “bird”

Eg *shḥ* “kind of bird” (OK).

WCh **saHab*- “guinea fowl”: Cagu *sāḥ-un*.

Metathesis.

2158 *sabib- “hair”

Sem **šabib*- “mane, hair of the tail”: Arab *sabīb*-.

Berb **sVbVb*- “eyebrow”¹, “hair”²: Izd *a-šəpaḥ*¹, Kby *a-səbbub*².

Partial reduplication. Related to **sab-sib*- “hairlock”.

2159 *sabil-/*sabul- “iron, weapon”

Sem **šabal*- “bunch of spears”: Arab *sabal*-.

Berb **sVbul*- “long knife, dagger”¹, “long needle”²: Ghd *a-ssəbul-ət*¹, Sml *a-sbūl*², Ahg *tə-subl-a*², Snus *tī-ssubl-a*², Nfs *tə-ssubl-a*².

LEC **sibil*- “iron”: Or *sibillaa*.

Assimilation of vowels from **sabil*-.

HEC **sibil*- “iron”: Sid *sibillaa*.

Assimilation of vowels, cf. LEC. A LEC loanword?

2160 *sad- “rope”

Sem **ma-šad*- “bast rope”: Arab *masad*-.

Prefix **ma*-. Cf. denominative Arab *msd* [-u-] “plait”.

ECh **sad*- “rope”: Smr *sādi*.

2161 *saduf-/*siduf- “container”

Sem **šadup*- “box for tablets”: Akk *šaduppu*.

Eg *sdf* “measure (for figs)” (n).

CCh **sidVf*- “pot”: Mtk *šidef*.

Secondary vowel of the second syllable.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2162 *saf- “bird”

Sem **sVpV*^c- “falcon”: Arab *ʔasfa*^c-.

Derivative in **a*-.

Berb **saf*- “kind of bird”: Ayr *t-əssaf*.

Eg *sf.t* “kind of bird” (gr).

WCh **saHaf*- “falcon, hawk”: Hs *šāfo*, *šāho*.

Metathesis.

Any relation to HS **saf*/**suf*- “soar, jump”? Note that Sem and WCh reflect a derivative: **safa*^c- “bird”.

2163 *saf- “morning”

WCh **saf*- “early morning”: Hs *sāfē*.

LEC **saf*- “mid-morning”: Or *saafaa*.

2164 *saf-/*suf- “soar, jump”

Sem **šup*- “soar”: Arab *šff* [-u-].

CCh **saf*- “jump”: Mofu *safə*, Log *safə*.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2165 *safih- “fool”

Sem **šafih*- “fool”: Arab *safih*-.

WCh **saf*- “fool”: Hs *sāfā*.
Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

2166 **sag*- “bring”

Eg *sḏ* “bring” (pyr).
Progressive palatalization of **g*.
ECh **sag*- “bring”: Smr *sagə*, Mubi *sagu*.

2167 **sa*^c- “do, make”

Sem **šVay*- “do, act”: Arab *sʿy* [-a-].
Based on an earlier **šV*^c-.
CCh **saH*- “do, make”: Msg *sa*.

2168 **sa*^cab- “cut”

Eg *sʿb* “cut, castrate” (MK).
WCh **saHVb*- “cut (hair)”: Hs *saḫe*.
ECh **saHab*- “carve”: Kwn *sābe*.

Cf. ECh **samb*- “cut”: Mobu *sāmbə*, Ngm *sambe*. Derived from **sib*- “cut”.

2169 **saḫ*- “wind”

Sem **šahāḫ*- “wind”¹, “air, atmosphere”²: Akk *šēhu*, Arab *saḫāḫ*-.
Partial reduplication.
Eg *swḫ* “wind” (XXII).
Secondary formation with C² = -w- based on **šVḫ*-.

2170 **saḫan*- “break, cut”

Sem **šVhan*- “break”: Arab *šḥn* [-a-].
WCh **saHan*- “grind”: DB *šon*.
CCh **san-H*- “cut”: Msg *sag*.
Metathesis.

2171 **saḫ*- “bile, urine”

Eg *ṣḫ* “bile” (med).
Rift **saḫ*- “gall bladder”¹, “urine”²: Irq *saḫi*¹, Kwz *saha*².
Dhl *saḫaw*- “urinate”.
Verbal derivative.

2172 **saḫan*- “burn, be warm”

Sem **šVhan*- “be warm, be hot”¹, “be inflamed”², “warm”
(v.)³: Akk *šahānu*¹, Ug *šḥn*², Arab *šḥn* [-a-, -u-]¹, Gz *šḥn*¹, Tgy
*sāhanä*¹, Jib *šḫan*³.
WCh **saHan*- “warm (v.); be hot”: Bks *san*, DB *san*, Peo *čeno*.

2173 **saḫim*- “bat”

Eg *sḫm.w* “bat” (MK).
-ḫ- may reflect **a*.
CCh **sim*- “bat”: Msg *šimašim-et*.
Reduplication in Msg. **sim*- may reflect an earlier **šVHim*-.

2174 **sak*- “row”

Sem **šakk*- “row”: Arab *sakk*-.
WCh **sak*- “row”: Sura *saak*.
If not borrowed from Arab.

2175 **sak*- “ass”

Eg *sk* “young of an ass” (n), Copt **sēh* id.: Boh *sēh*, Shd *sēh*.
WCh **sak*- “ass”: Pol *šaki*.

2176 **sak*- “pour, flow”

Eg *st* “flow” (XVIII).
Palatalization of **k*.
WCh **sak*- “filter” (v.)¹, “pour”²: Ang *šak*¹, Diri *səka*², Miya
*səka*², Jmb *səka*².
CCh **šVk*- “pour”: HNk *ška-la*, FG *ška-mti*.

2177 *sak-/suk- “hoe” (v.)

Sem *šuk- “harrow” (v.): Akk šakāku [-u-].

Berb *sVk- “plough, till”: Mzab skka.

Eg skʔ “hoe” (v.) (pyr), Copt *skʔay: Boh skʔai, Shd skai.

Vocalic -ʔ.

WCh *sak-/suk- “plough” (v.): Sura sak, Tng suk.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2178 *saḵ- “weave, plait”

WCh *saḵ- “plait”: Hs sāḵa, Gwn saka, šaka, Ang sak, Brm sake.

CCh *sa-sak- “weave”: Msg sasaka.

Partial reduplication.

Agaw *saḵ- “plait, sew”¹, “weave”²: Bil saḵw-¹, Xmr saḵ-¹,

Kwr say-¹, Dmb šay-¹, Kem saax-², Aun sax-, say-¹.

Dhl sookʔ- “twist”.

Cf. also sakaʔ- “plait, twist”.

2179 *saḵ- “leg”

Sem *šāḵ- “leg”: Akk sāqu, Hbr šōq, Aram (Syr) šōqō, Arab sāq-.

WCh *saḵu- “leg”: Bks saku-r, Sha səkaʔu, Bol šeke, Ngm seke.

CCh *sak- “leg”: Mtk sak, Gude səke, Kus msake, Sok saka-dum.

2180 *saḵ- “cut”

Eg skk “cut” (NK).

WCh *saḵ- “cut (down)”¹, “carpenter”²: Hs sassakā², Gwn

šəšeke^{1 2}, Ang sak¹, Sha šak¹, Ngz sasku^{1 2}.

2181 *sala^c- “tear, break”

Sem *šVla^c- “pierce, split”: Arab sl^c [-a-].

Together with Hbr sl^c may go back to *sVla^c.

WCh *sal- “cut”: Gera šallə-.

2182 *salam- “tree”

Sem *šalām- “kind of tree”: Arab salām-.

ECh *sVlVm- “kind of tree”: Mig solmo.

2183 *salap- “plant”

Sem *šalap- “marsh plant”: Akk šalapānu.

Derivative in -ān-.

Eg srp.t “plant” (gr).

2184 *salaq- “skin” (v.)

Sem *šVlah-/šVluḥ- “tear out”¹, “skin” (v.)², “change skin (of serpents)”³: Akk šalāḥu¹, Hbr šlh², Arab slḥ [-a-, -u-]³.

ECh *salak- “skin” (v.): Mubi sallaka.

2185 *sam- “poison”

Sem *šamm- “poison”: Akk šammu, Arab samm-, simm-, summ-, Tgy sēmi, Har summi, Soq sam, Hss sem, Mhr sem, Shh sem.

CCh *sam- “poison”: Mba sam.

2186 *sam- “be high”

Sem *šVmVw- “be high, rise”: Arab smw [-u-].

Based on biconsonantal *šVm-.

WCh *sam- “lift (with both hands)”: Tng sami.

2187 *sam-sam- “insect”

Sem *šum-šum- “red ant”: Arab sumsum-.

Secondary vocalism.

ECh *sam-sam- “flea”: Lele samasama.

Reduplication. Cf. a non-reduplicated form attested in Hs šam “kind of insect”.

2188 *samaʔ- “sky”

Sem *šamāʔ-/šamāy- “sky”: Akk šamū, Ug šmm, Hbr šamayim, Aram (Syr) šemayyō, Arab samāʔ-, Gz samāy, Hss semē, Mhr semē^c.

WCh *sam- “sky”: Hs sama.

From Arab?

2189 *saman- “be still, sit”

Eg *smn* “remain still” (XVIII).

CCh *saman- “sit”: Msg *samana*.

2190 *sa(m)bir- “bird”

Berb **sVbibir*- “butterfly; small bird”: Kby *i-mə-šbibir*.

Reduplication.

WCh **sabir*- “kind of bird”: Hs *šābiri*.

Note the loss of the nasal element in the WCh reflex of *-mb-.

ECh **sabir*- “guinea fowl”: Smr *sibir*, Sok *sōir*.

Bed *šambar* “pelican”.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC **šimbir*- “kind of bird”: Som *šimbir*, Or *šimbira*, *simbira*.

Assimilation of vowels.

2191 *samf- “basket”

WCh **samf*- “basket made of grass”: Hs *samfo*.

LEC **sumf*- “basket”: Or *suumfa*.

Secondary *u before a labial.

HEC **samf*- “basket made of grass”: Had *samfo*.

Cf. also CCh “basket” **zamf*- (Masa *zamfa*) with an unexpected *z-.

2192 *san- “year”

Sem **šan*- “year”: Akk *šattu*, Ug *šnt*, Hbr *šānā*, Aram (Syr) *šattō*, Arab *san-at*-, Hss *senet*, Mhr *senēt*, Soq *sanah*.

WCh **sVn*- “rainy season”: Tng *sene*.

Cf. also a derivative **wa-sVn*- “year, rainy season” (Wrj *wasən-na*, Kry *wasən*, Diri *ašen*, Miya *wasəsen*, Siri *wasənuwa*, Mbu *wasən*, Jmb *wasun*, Pol *wašin*, Geji *wašin*, Say *wašun*). Bol *soni* “year”, Ngm *sani* id. may be Arab loanwords.

2193 *san-/sin- “brother”

Eg *sn* “brother” (pyr), Copt **son*: Fym *san*, Akh *san*, Boh *son*, Shd *son*.

WCh **sVn*- “brother”: Cagu *šən*.

Cf. Mpn *son* “relatives, clan”.

ECh **sin*- “(elder) brother”: Tum *həna*, Kwan *sēni*, Bid *sin-te*, Sbn *syān*, Kera *seenə*, Dng *sin*, Jegu *šin*, Mubi *sin*, Sok *šin-tu*.

Bed *saan* “brother”.

Agaw **šan*- “brothers” (pl.): Bil *šan*-, Kem *šan*.

Wrz **a-šin*- “nephew”: Gaw *ašin-ko*.

Alternation *a ~ *i in which *a seems to be connected with pl., as in Agaw.

2194 *san-/sin- “nose”

Agaw **a-san*-/**a-sin*- “nose”: Xmr *esiŋ*, Xmt *asən*, Kem *əssan*.

SA **san*- “nose”: Saho *san*, Afar *san*.

LEC **san*-/**sin*- “nose”: Som *san*, Boni *saga*, Rnd *sān*, Gel *soono*, Kon *soona*, Bus *sino*, Gdl *sina*, Arb *soono*.

HEC **san*- “nose”: Sid *sano*, Dar *sano*, Had *sane*, Ala *sano*, Bmb *sanna*, Kmb *sane*, Tmb *sana*.

Dhl *sina* “nose”.

Omot **sin*- “nose”: Ome *siŋan*, Gim *sən*, Nao *sin-us*, Maji *sinu*.

Alternation *a ~ *i. Some forms reflect a laryngeal in the auslaut (HS **san-H*-/**sin-H*-). The stem is present only in Cush but its derivatives in other families prove its HS status. Cf. also Wrz **sind*- id. (War *sindi*-, Gaw *sinde*, Gob *sənde*, Cam *sindi*-) and Omot **sinŋ*-/**sind*- id. (Ome *sinḏaa*, Mch *šiifo*, Anf *šinto*, Bwo *šinṭa*). Related to HS **sin*- “smell” (v.).

2195 *san-/sun- “be satisfied”

Sem **šVnVy*- “be satisfied”: Arab *sny*.

WCh **san-H*- “be glad”: Sura *šag*.

CCh **sVn*- “wish”: Lame *səna*.

Omot **šun*- “love”: Yam *šun*-, Kaf *šun*-, Anf *šun*-, Bwo *šun*-, Mch *šunn*-, Gim *šun*-.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2196 *sanb- “lungs, breath”

Eg *snb* “breath” (gr).

Bed *samb-ut* “lungs”.

Agaw **sanb-* “lungs”: Bil *sānbii*, Xmr *sebbaa*, Kwr *sambaa*, Kem *sambii*, Aun *saambii*.

LEC **samb-* “lungs”: Som *sambab*, Or *somba*, Arb *soñbot*.

HEC **samb-* “lungs”: Sid *šambo*, Dar *šoombu*, Kab *šombo*.

Omot **šomb-* “lungs”: Kaf *šombo*, Mch *šombo*.

Assimilation **-nb-* > **-mb-* in most Cush languages.

2197 **sani*²- “go, run”

Sem **šVnV*²- “trot” (v.): Akk *šanû*.

WCh **san-H-* “go out”: Fyer *saŋ*.

LEC **seHen-* < **saHin-* “enter”: Or *seena*.

Metathesis and contraction.

2198 **saniH-/siniH-* “know, remember”

Berb **sin-* “know”: Izy *isin*.

WCh **saniH-/siniH-* “know”: Hs *sani*, šina, Wrj *sən*, Kry *sən*, Diri *čən*, Miya *sən*, Paa *sinə*, Cagu *sən*, Siri *səniwi*, Mbu *sin*, Jmb *sən*, Say *yisəŋ*, Fyer *šaŋ*, Bks *šaŋi*, Sha *syen*, Klr *syen*.

CCh **san-H-/sin-H-* “know”¹, “remember”²: Hwn *sən*¹, Mrg *sini*², Hil *sini*¹, Gis *san*, *sin*¹, Bld *šij*¹, Log *sən*¹, Bud *hin*¹.

ECh **sin-* “know”: Ndam *asine*, Mobu *asəne*.

LEC **seHen-* “memory”: Or *seena*.

Metathesis. LEC goes back to **saHin-* with assimilation of vowels.

Alternation **a* ~ **i*. Related to **sun-* “know”.

2199 **san-sun-* “smell” (v.)

Eg *snsn* “breathe, smell” (MK).

WCh **san-sun-* “smell”: Hs *sunsunā*, *sansanā*, Paa *sasun*.

Reduplication of **sin-* “smell”.

2200 **saq-* “house”

Sem **ašah-* “barn”: Akk *ašahhu*.

Prefix **a-*.

WCh **sVq-* “house”: Krf *šoko*.

Cf. Berb **sVk-* “build”: Ghd *u-sək*.

2201 **saqam-* “knife”

Eg *šhm* “sword” (gr).

WCh **saqam-* “knife”: Tng *sakam*.

2202 **sar-* “wind”

Sem **šār-* “wind”: Akk *šāru*.

WCh **sarar-* “cold wind”: Hs *sarāra*.

Partial reduplication.

2203 **sar-/*sayar-* “go”

Sem **šir-* “go”: Arab *syr* [-i-], Hss *seyōr*, Mhr *seyōr*.

Based on the original **šVr-*. Cf. Arab *sry* “travel at night” [-i-].

WCh **sayar-* “go”: Sura *sor*.

CCh **sar-* “return”: Hil *šāř*.

ECh **sar-* “arrive”: Mig *saraw*.

2204 **sasog-* “tree”

Sem **šašūg-* “fruit tree”: Akk *šaššūgu*, *šaššūqu*.

Eg *ssq* “wood” (pyr).

Progressive assimilation of **-g-*.

Partial reduplication of **sog-* “tree, wood”.

2205 **sataw-/*satay-* “drink”

Sem **šVtVy-* “drink”: Akk *šatū*, Ug *šty*, Hbr *šty*, Aram *šty*, Gz *satya*,

Tgr *sātāyā*, Har *sāčē*.

CCh **sawat-* “be thirsty”: Mafa *sawat-*.

Metathesis.

Consonantal alternation **-w-* ~ **-y-*.

2206 *saṭü^c “morning”

Sem *šaṭi^c “dawn”: Arab *saṭi^c*.

WCh *saHuṭ- “morning”: Bol *sato*, Buli *swidi*, Say *suta*, Dwot *soḍo*.
Metathesis.

2207 *saw-/su²- “go, run”

Sem *šV²Vw- “run”: Akk *ša²u*.

Based on *šVw-?

Berb *sV- “come”: Kby *as*.

WCh *su²- “run”¹, “enter”², “go out”³: Sura *su*¹, Ang *su*¹,
Ank *su*¹, Grk *tu*¹, Pero *čü*¹, Pol *sā*², Fyer *sa*³.

CCh *saw-/su²- “come”¹, “return”², “enter, go out”³: HF
*šo*², Dgh *sawa*¹, Zgh *sawa*¹, Mofu *sawa*², Gis *sawa*¹, Bld
*sawa*¹, Log *sa-*, *so-*³.

SA *saH- “enter”: Saho *sau*, Afar *sau*.

LEC *se²- “go”: Arb *se²-aq-*.

Secondary *e.

2208 *sawaḥ- “bowl, basin”

Sem *šāḥ- < *ša[w]aḥ- “washing basin”: Akk *šāḥu*.

Eg *swḥ.t* “bowl” (MK).

2209 *sawis- “snake, worm”

Sem *šūs- < *šVwVš- “worm”: Arab *sūs-*.

Contraction.

LEC *šawis- “snake”: Or *šawwisa*.

Cf. CCh *sis- “snake”: HNK *šiši*, FK *šiši*, FG *šiši*, Kap *šiši*,
Zgh *šiši*.

2210 *sawVh- “egg”

Eg *swḥ.t* “egg” (pyr).

WCh *saHVw- “egg”: Wrj *cu-na*, Kry *šū*, Paa *asi*, Cagu *sohoi*, Siri
saw, Mbu *čū*, Jmb *ašū*.

Metathesis.

Etymologically connected with *sawaḥ- “bowl, basin”, cf. Skt
kośa- “container, cup” → “egg”.

2211 *sayab- “hair”

Sem *šayb- “horse hair”: Arab *sayb-*.

Berb *sVbV[y]- “tail”: Ayr *ta-sba-t*.

Metathesis.

ECh *syab- < *sVyab- “hair”: Kbl *ke-sebo*.

Prefix *ke-* in Kbl.

Cf. *sabib- “hair”.

2212 *sayaf- “knife, axe”

Sem *šayp- “sword”: Arab *sayf-*, Hss *sēf*.

WCh *sayaf- “axe”: Sura *sep*, Ang *sap*, *sep*, Mpn *səhəp*, Ank *s’ap*,

Chip *sep*, Mnt *sep*, Ank *sap*.

Omot *šVyVf- “sword”: Kaf *seefoo*.

Arab loanword?

Cf. Eg *zf* “knife” (MK) with unexpected *z-*.

2213 *sayal- “water flow”

Sem *šayl- “current”: Arab *sayl-*.

Cf. also Arab *syl* “flow” [-i-].

ECh *sēl- < *sayal- “basin”: Mkk *seelo*.

2214 *seb- “flow, pour”

Sem *šVb- “flow”¹, “draw (water)”², “be poured”³: Hbr *šḇ*²,
Aram *šḇ*², Arab *syb* [-i-]¹, Gz *sbb*².

Various formations based on *šVb-.

ECh *sVb- “pour”: Mok *zibbe*.

2215 *sebit- “cut”

Sem *šVbit-/šVbut- “cut, shave”: Arab *sbt* [-i-, -u-].

Secondary variant with *-u- after a labial.

WCh *syabVt- “strike with a knife”: Hs *šabta*.

Note Hs *ša-* < *sya-.

Derived from *sib- “cut, strike”.

2216 *sef- “snake”

Sem *šipp- “winged snake”¹, “centipede”²: Arab *siff*, *suff*-¹,
Tgr *səf*².

Eg *sfy* “snake” (reg).

Vocalic -y.

ECh *syap- “snake”: Kwan *sēpi*.

Omot *šef- “snake, lizard”: Kaf *šef-itloo*.

2217 *seḥ-/*seḥeḥ- “insect”

Eg *shyh.t* “kind of insect” (med).

Partial reduplication?

Bed *see*, *s²ee* “louse”.

Cf. ECh *swaw- (< *swaH- ?) “termite”: Mkk *soowo*.

2218 *sek- “pull”

Eg *st²* “pull” (pyr).

Progressive reduplication of *-k-.

Bed *seku*, *soku* “pull”.

Assimilation of vowels in *soku* < *seku*.

2219 *sek- “walk, run”

WCh *syak- “run away”: Hs *šeka*.

CCh *suk- “come”: HF *sko*, HNk *skəy*, HGh *sugəy*, FKl *sku*, FG
suki, Zgh *suyaya*.

From *syaku-?

HEC *šik- “approach”: Sid *šikki i-*, Had *šiika²*.

Related to *sak- “leg”.

2220 *sek- “drink, give a drink”

Sem *šV_k- “drink”¹, “give a drink”²: Akk *šaḳū*², Ug *šqy*¹, Jib
*šeke*².

WCh *syaku- “pour into vessel”¹, “give water (to a baby)”²: Hs
*šeka*¹, Tng *sokē*².

CCh *syaxwa- “drink”: HNk *sexwi*, FG *segwi*, Kap *sexwu*.

Irregular *-χ-.

2221 *sen- “mug, pot”

Eg *sn.w* “mug” (MK).

CCh *syān- “pot”: Gul *seni*.

2222 *ser- “grind”

Eg *s²y* “grind”.

-j- < HS *-r-.

CCh *syar- “grind”: Mba *ser*, Msg *səra*.

2223 *ser- “cough” (n.)

Eg *sry.t* “cough” (med).

-y stand for a front vowel.

CCh *syar- “cough”: Daba *šēri*.

Cf. Arab *sa^cr*- id.

2224 *sew-/*šew- “be dry”

Eg *šw* “dry” (med), *ššwy* “dry up” (pyr).

š- reflects an anlaut lateral.

WCh *syaH(a)- “become dry”: Bol *saa*, Krk *saa*, Dera *sēe*, Ngm *sa*.

CCh *sway- “become dry”: ZBt *soia*.

ECh *sVw- “dry up”: Mobu *səwe*.

Irregular correspondence of sibilants. WCh and CCh display considerable morphonological changes of the original stem:
WCh *syaH- < *syaw- and CCh *sway- < *swa²i-.

2225 *si- “go, come”

Eg *susy* “hurry, hasten” (sarc).

No traces of the laryngeal. Reduplication.

WCh *siy- “return”: Tng *siy*.

CCh *si- “come”: Chb *si*, Bura *si*, Klb *ši*, Wmd *ša*, Gude *ši*, Nza
ši, FJ *si*, FMch *ši*, Bch *ši*, Bata *si*, *sa*.

Cf. Sem *šV_{ay}- “go” (Arab *s^cy* [-a-], Soq *še^ce*, Jib *ša^ce*) that may be a derivation based on *šV_y-.

2226 *si²on-/ *siwan- “sleep”

Sem *wšVn- “sleep”: Hbr *yšn*, Arab *wsn*.

Metathesis. Cf. also *šin- “sleep” (n.): Akk *šittu*, Ug *šnt*, Hbr *šēnā*, Aram (Syr) *šenēlō*, Arab *sin-at*.

WCh *sVn- “sleep”: Bol *sunu*, Tng *sine*, Ngm *sun*, Krf *šan*-, Gera *sin*, Glm *san*, Wrj *sən*, Kry *sənasan*, Miya *sən*, Paa *asin*, Siri *sun-suni*, Mbu *sən*, Bks *sun-at*, DB *sunan*.

CCCh *si²wan- “dream”: Gbn *səna²-ata*, Boka *sin-ata*, Bura *sunī*, Chb *sini*, Klb *šə²ūnyi*, Mba *saṭ*, Mnd *šine*, Zgh *suwana*, Gvo *suwana*, Daba *šini*, Gude *sənin*, Gudu *syon-cii*, Nza *so²oni*, Log *san*, Lame *syene*, Bnn *siyena*.

ECh *suwan- “sleep, dream”: Lele *sōn*, Kera *soone*, Kwan *suwən*, Mig *sunīyi*, Jegu *suun*-, Mubi *suno*, Brg *soona*, Mkk *suun*-, Sok *sonisoni*.

SA *son- “sleep” (n.): Saho *sonoo*, Afar *sonoo*.

Contraction.

2227 *si²ub- “worm”

Eg *səb.t* “motley snake” (pyr).

ECh *sub- < *sVHub- “worm”: Lele *subo*.

LEC *siHib- “worm”: Or *siiba*.

Assimilation of vowels.

There exists a possibility of comparing the above forms with Sem *tu²b- “big snake” (Arab *tu²b-ān*- (note, however, an irregular *-^c-). If this comparison is valid, one should reconstruct HS *č- in the anlaut.

2228 *sib- “rope”

Sem *šibb- “belt” ¹, “rope, thin cloth” ²: Akk *šibbu* ¹, Arab *sibb* ².

ECh *sib- “string, rope”: Mkk *sibe*.

LEC *seb- “belt, leather strap”: Som *seeb*, Gel *seeb*.

HEC *sib- “string, rope”: Sid *sibo*.

Cf. Cush words for “sandal”: Bed *šib*, Rift *²išib- (Asa *išiba*)?

2229 *sib- “tree”

WCh *sib- “tree”: Chip *šip*, Mnt *šip*.

ECh *sub- < *sibu- “tamarind”: Sbn *subu*.

LEC *sib(b)- “kind of tree”: Or *sibbee*.

HEC *sib(b)- “kind of tree”: Kmb *sibbe-ta*.

2230 *sib- “cut”

Sem *šVb- “cut”: Hbr *šbb*, Arab *sbb*.

Eg *sby* “cut, castrate” (OK).

Infinitive in -y.

Agaw *sab-/ *sib- “pierce, stab”: Bil *sab*, Xmr *sib*, Dmt *siāb*, Kwr *sab*, Dmb *sab*, Kem *sāb*.

2231 *sib- “be angry”

Sem *šub- “insult” (v.): Arab *sbb* [-u-], Mhr *seb*, Jib *sebb*.

Secondary labialized vowel.

WCh *sib- “be angry”: Wrj *šib*-, Diri *šubu*.

Assimilation in Diri.

Bed *sebib* “punish, reprimand”.

Partial reduplication.

2232 *sibin- “oil, butter”

WCh *sibVn- “oil”: Wrj *šivəna*.

LEC *sibin- “butter”: Arb *siibin*.

Derived from a root preserved in WCh *sib- “oil”: Kry *šiv*, Miya *šu*, Diri *subu*. Cf. *siman- “oil, fat”.

2233 *siga^c- “speak, moan”

Sem *šVga^c- “moan” (v.): Arab *sg^c* [-a-].

WCh *siHVg- “talk”: Ang *šeuk*.

Metathesis.

2234 *sigul- “stamp, seal”

Sem *šigil- “roll, scroll, register”: Arab *sigill*-.
If not from Lat *sigillum*.

Eg *sdṣw.t* “stamp, seal” (OK).

Palatalization of *-g-.

A cultural term, probably, a Sem loanword in Eg.

2235 *si^cüm- “cereal”

Eg šm^cy “barley” (OK).

Metathesis. Vocalic -y.

CCh *siHum- “seed”¹, “millet”², “corn”³; Mba siyom¹, Bata sūme², Bud šimo³.

Mba -y- < *-H-.

ECh *siHVm- “sorghum”: Bid sīma.

Contraction.

2236 *siḥaf- “shave”

Sem *šVḥap- “shave (head)”: Arab šhf [-a-].

WCh *syaf- < *siHaf- “take off a thin shaving”: Hs šēfe.

Contraction.

2237 *siḥat- “cut, slaughter”

Sem *šVḥat- “slaughter”: Hbr šḥt, Aram šḥt, Arab šḥt [-a-], Soq šḥt, Hss seḥāt, Mhr seḥāt.

CCh *syat- < *siHat- “cut”: Mafa šet.

ECh *sēt- < *siHat- “cut”: Bid seet.

Cf. WCh *siṭat- “cut, sharpen”: Hs šittā, Bol sott, Ngz sētu.

2238 *siḥ- “milk”

Eg šḥ.w “milk” (gr).

ECh *siH- “milk”: Dor sī.

2239 *sik- “boat, ship”

Eg sk.ty “kind of ship” (n).

WCh *sik- “boat”: Ank šik.

2240 *sikun- “dwell, sit”

Sem *šVkun- “place, impose”¹, “stay, dwell”²: Akk šakā-nu¹, Hbr škn², Arab skn [-u-]², Jib skun¹, Hss sekōn².

WCh *sikun- “sit”¹, “rest”²: Jmb šinkə¹, Pol šəyən¹, Bgh sāgəne².

Rift *sukunun- “squat”: Irq sukununu-ʔat-.

Partial reduplication and assimilation of vowels.

Cf. Dhl sukk-eem- “remain still”.

2241 *silah- “sharp weapon”

Sem *šilāḥ- “weapon”¹, “javelin”²: Ug šlh², Hbr šelah², Aram šilhā¹, Arab silāḥ-¹.

Eg sḥ.t “knife” (gr).

Irregular laryngeal in a late Eg form.

WCh *sil- “axe”: Paa šila.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

CCh *sil- < *siHVI- “arrow”: Gul sīl.

Agaw *sil- “knife”: Xmr sil.

2242 *sim- “meet”

WCh *sim- “meet”: Tng sim-, simb-.

Secondary -mb-.

LEC *sim- “meet”: Or sima.

2243 *sim- “suck”

Berb *sVm- “suck”: Kby summ.

ECh *sim- “suck”: Smr šišom, Sbn sisəm, Sok ʔasime.

Rift *seʔem- “suck in air”: Kwz seʔem-.

Based on *sem-.

2244 *sim- “call, speak”

Sem *šVmVw-/šVmVy- “call, give name”: Arab smw, smy [-u-], Hss hēm, Mhr hmō, Shh šmi.

Based on *šVm-.

Berb *sVm- “call, name” (v.): Kby səmmi.

Eg *smy* "tell" (n).

Infinitive in -y.

CCh **syam-sim*- "whisper": Bid *sēsem*, Mig *semsimo*.

An onomatopoeia?

LEC **sim*- "welcome" (v.): Or *sima*.

2245 **sim*-/**sima*^c- "hear; ear"

Sem **šVma*^c- "hear": Akk *šemū*, Ug *šm*^c, Hbr *šm*^c, Aram (Syr) *šm*^c, Arab *sm*^c [-a-], SAR *šm*^c, Mand *šma*, Gz *sm*^c, Tgr *sām*^ca, Tgy *sām*^ce, Har *sāma*^a, Amh *sāmma*, Arg *sāmma*, Gaf *sāmmā*, Gur *sāma*, Hss *hōma*, Mhr *hēma*, Shh *ši*^c, Soq *hyema*^c.

Eg *sm.t* "ears" (n).

CCh **šim*- "ear": Tera *šim*, Bura *šim*, Chb *šoma*, Klb *himi*, Hil *χimi*, Mba *šumo*, HB *šoma*, Hwn *šome*, FKl *šimu*, FG *šimwu*, Kap *šimay*, Mnd *šima*, Zgh *šime*, Glv *χimiye*, Gdf *šima*, Nak *šimiya*, Mofu *šumay*, Bld *šamay*, Muk *šum*, Mnj *šimay*, Daba *šimi*, Gudu *šim*, Log *šim*, Kus *šmē*, Msg *šimē*.

Irregular **š*-, hypothetically, continuing **H-s*-. Several forms may reflect **šimay*- < **šimaH*-.

ECh **sim*-/**sum*- "ear": Smr *sumi*, Tum *hīm*, Ndam *ham*, Nch *semang*, Lele *suma*, Gbr *suma-in*, Kbl *sami*, Dor *sumami*, Mubi *somāmu*.

Partial reduplication in Dor and Mubi. Forms with -u- are secondary. The ECh word is contaminated with **sVm*- "name" < HS **sūm*-, cf. full neutralization of these meanings in Ndam *ham* "name, ear" and the like.

2246 **simah*- "tree, bush"

Sem **šimāh*- "thorny bush": Akk *šimāhu*, *šemāhu*.

HEC **sim*- "young ensete tree": Sid *sima*, Gel *sima*, Kab *sima*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

2247 **siman*- "oil, fat"

Sem **šamn*- "oil" ¹, "fat, grease" ², "fatness" ³, "melting butter" ⁴: Akk *šamanu*, *šamnu* ¹, Hbr *šemen* ², Aram (Syr) *šumnō* ³, Arab *samn*- ⁴, Jib *šamnun* ².

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh **sinam*- "oil": Diri *sinama*.

Metathesis.

CCh **sVmVn*- "thick, fat": Log *s'amən*.

ECh **siwan*- "oil": Smr *swānē*, Ndam *swān*, Kwan *suwāne*, Bid *seweŋ*, Mig *sewen*, Brg *sewen*, Sok *sunne*.

Note transformation of intervocalic *-m- > *-w-.

Presumably, derived from **sim*- id. preserved in Berb **sVm*- "fat" (Kby *ɾassəmt*).

2248 **sin*- "tongue"

Eg *sn.w* "tongue" (gr).

WCh **sin*- "tongue": Diri *šin-ḏu*.

CCh **sin*- "tongue": Hwn *šene-wura*, Masa *sinano*, Bnn *sin-da*.

Partial reduplication in Masa.

2249 **sin*- "earth, clay"

Eg *syn* "clay" (OK).

Vocalic -y.

WCh **sin*- "field": Wrj *sənan*, Kry *sin*, Diri *səna*, Siri *sinawi*, Paa *sina*, Cagu *sinan*.

CCh **sin*- "field": Lame *šini*, LPe *šine*, Masa *senena*.

ECh **sinya*- "earth" ¹, "sand" ²: Smr *sinya* ¹, Ndam *həny* ¹, Tum *həŋ* ¹, Jegu *šeny*- ², Mubi *sin-ok* ², Brg *sanyo* ², Sok *sinē* ².

2250 **sin*- "tooth"

Sem **šinn*- "tooth": Akk *šinnu*, Ug *šn*, Hbr *šēn*, Aram (Syr) *šennō*, Arab *sinn*-, Gz *sənn*, Tgy *sənni*, Arg *sən*, Har *sən*, Gur *sən*, Gaf *sənā*.

Berb **sin*- "tooth": Ahg *esin*.

WCh **sin*- "tooth": Pol *šin*, Geji *šij*, Zem *šan*, *šin*, Brw *šen*, Say *šin*, Dwot *šin*, Bol *šin*.

CCh **šin*- < **ha-sin*- "tooth": Gaa *šena*, Gbn *šene*, Hwn *šana*, Mba *šəŋ*, HNK *šine*, FG *šəini*, Kap *šəne*, Gis *šəŋ*, Bld *sluj*, Mtk *šenne*, Bnn *sina*.

Note the secondary lateralization of *-s- preceded by a laryngeal.

ECh **siHan*- < **Ha-sin*- "tooth": Smr *san-dē*, Tum *hiin*, Ndam *han*,

Gbr *k-song*, Dor *ga-sena*, Dng *saajo*, Mig *sa:nu*, Jegu *sajo*, Bid *seenō*, Mubi *siḡaju*, Brg *sajo*, Sok *sən*.

Rift **siḡin-* ‘tooth’: Irq *siḡino*, Alg *siḡino*, Bur *siḡino*.

Metathesis from **ḡV-sin-*.

2251 *sin- ‘smell’ (v.)

Eg *sn* ‘smell’ (pyr).

ECh **sunVn-* ‘smell’: Tum *hunən*.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

SA **sin-* ‘smell’: Saho *siin-*.

Related to **san-/*sin-* ‘nose’.

2252 *sinak-/*sinak- ‘tongue’

Eg *snk* ‘tongue’ (XVIII).

WCh **sinak-* ‘tongue’: Wrj *šinḡə-*, Kry *sinakə*, Miya *šinaki*, Paa *šinḡi*, Cagu *šinḡ-an*, Siri *šənaḡi*, Mbu *šinḡə*, Jmb *sənakə-lan*.

Irregular correspondence Eg *k* ~ WCh **ḡ*. Derived from **sin-* ‘tongue’.

2253 *sip- ‘river, river-bed’

Sem **šip-* ‘bank, coast’: Arab *sīf-*, Jib *sif-t*.

Berb **sif-/*suf-* ‘valley’¹, ‘river, rivulet’²: Ahg *a-suf*¹, Sml *a-sif*², Mzab *suf*², Snd *suf*², Shau *suf*², Kby *ta-sif-t*, *a-sif*².

-u- < **-i-* before a labial.

WCh **sip-* ‘river’: Ank *šip*.

2254 *sip- ‘blow’

Sem **šVpVy-* ‘raise dust (of the wind)’: Arab *sfy* [-i-].

Based on **šVp-*.

CCh **sip-* ‘blow’: Gaa *šipənči*, Gbn *sipənči*, Boka *šipa-da*.

Cf. Dgh *safa* ‘breathe’, Mafa *saf-* id.?

Any connection with Sem **nVšVp-* ‘blow’ (Akk *našāpu*, Hbr *nšp*, Aram *nšp*) and Eg *nšp* ‘breathe’ (gr)?

2255 *sip- ‘rope’

Eg *sp* ‘ropes for ship building’ (OK).

ECh **sip-* ‘string, rope’: Mig *sippu*, Sok *sipo*, šifi.

LEC **šep-* ‘leather strap’: Som *šēep-ako*, Or *seep-ani*.

2256 *siq- ‘knife’

Sem **ših-* ‘big knife’: Arab *ših-*.

WCh **siq-* ‘knife’: Mnt *šik*, Ank *šik*.

2257 *sir- ‘kite’

Eg *syʔ.w* ‘kite’ (gr).

-y- stands for a front vowel.

WCh **sirwa-* ‘kite’: Hs *širwā*.

has *sir-/*sur- ‘sing’

Sem **šir-* ‘sing’: Ug *šyr*, Hbr *šyr*, Aram *šyr*.

Based on biconsonantal **šVr-* < **sir-*.

ECh **sir-* ‘sing’: Kwan *sire*.

Omot **sur-* ‘sing’: Yam *sur*.

Alternation **i* ~ **u*.

2259 *sirVf- ‘warm’

Eg *stf* ‘warm’ (pyr).

CCh **sirVf-* ‘covered with sweat’: Mafa *širf-eʔe*.

For the semantic development, cf. HS **daf-* ‘heat, sweat’.

2260 *sireḡ- ‘river’

Eg *šrh* ‘rivulet’ (gr).

WCh **siryā-* ‘river, spring’: Siri *səra-ngi*, Jmb *sirya*.

2261 *sisa²- ‘night, darkness’

Eg *šsʔ.t* ‘night’ (pyr).

š- < **s-* before a front vowel.

WCh *sis- “shadow”: Zaar šis.

CCh *sisa²- “evening”¹, “shadow”²: Gul *saassa*¹, Msg *ššē*²,
Nza *furi-ššš²i*².

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels in Gul.

2262 *sisim- “cloth”

Eg *ssmy* “cloth” (gr).

Vocalic -y.

CCh *sisVm- “woman’s bodycloth”: Hwn *šisəm-ař*.

2263 *sitay- “vessel”

Eg *styy* “bottle” (n).

ECh *²a-sVtay- “pot”: Kwan *aste*.

2264 *siṭ- “go, come”

Sem *šVṭVw- “make large steps”: Arab *štw* [-u-].

Based on biconsonantal *šVṭ-.

WCh *siṭ- “enter”: Ang *sīt*.

CCh *sVt- “pass by”: Log *sto*.

2265 *so²- “back”

Eg *sṭ* “back” (pyr).

CCh *swa²- “back”: Gdf *so*.

Cf. also *suṣwa- id. (Glv *suṣa*, Nak *suṣwa*).

2266 *so²- “barn”

Eg *sṭ* “barn” (gr).

WCh *sway- < *swaH- “house, barn”: DB *swey*, Glm *soo*, Grm *soo*.

CCh *sya²/*swa²- “compound”¹, “house”²: Fmb *seṭi*¹, Lame
*syo*², LPe *syo*, *so*², Zime *sō*, *uso*².

2267 *so²it- “dirt, be dirty”

Eg *sṭt* “dirt” (NK).

CCh *swat- “dirt”: Bnn *sōto*, BM *sotiya*.

Metathesis.

ECh *sit- “be dirty”: Sok *šita*.

Contraction.

2268 *sof- “cut wood”

Eg *sfsf* “cut with a knife” (XVIII).

Reduplication.

LEC *sof- “plane wood”: Or *sof*.

HEC *sof- “plane wood”: Sid *sof*.

2269 *sog- “tree, wood”

CCh *swag- “firewood”: Mafa *soegwe*.

LEC *sog-sog- “kind of acacia”: Som *sogsog*.

Reduplication.

2270 *so^c- “cereal”

Sem *šuc^c- “cereal”¹, “corn”², “wild wheat”³: Akk *šūu*¹, Ug
*s^c-t*², Arab *su^c-*³.

HEC *so²- “barley”: Had *so²o*, Gel *so²a*, Kab *so²a*.

Note HS *^c- > HEC *²- in the intervocalic position.

2271 *so^car- “set fire, burn”

Sem *šV^car- “set fire”: Arab *s^cr* [-a-].

WCh *sawar- < *swaHar- “roast”¹, “burn”²: Hs *sōya*¹, Ang
*sūr*¹, Bol *surru*¹, Krk *surū*¹, Ngm *sur*¹, Krf *šuru*¹, Pero *čuuuro*¹,
Dera *wuri*¹, Gera *sur*¹, Glm *sar*¹, Brm *sure*².

CCh *sawar- < *swaHar- “roast”: Tera *zurr*, Hwn *sar-aj*, Boka
sura-ḏa, Kap *suṭ-ke*, Mafa *sawar*, Gudu *sarā*, Fmb *šir*, Bch *sarā*.

Unexpected -i- in Fmb. Note voiced anlaut in Tera.

ECh *sur- “roast”: Mkk *zuriye*.

Cf. Eg *wsr* “fire” going back to *sor-.

2272 *soh- “pit, hole”

Sem *šūh- “pit, hole”: Ug *šh*, Hbr *šūhā*.

WCh *sway- < *swaH- “hole, spring”: Bks *swey*, DB *swey*.

2273 *sol- “be quiet”

Sem *šVl- “be quiet”¹, “be careless”²: Hbr šly¹, Aram šlh².
 ECh *swal- “keep silence”: Sok sōlē.

2274 *sol- “pull”

Sem *šul- “pull, draw”¹, “drag away”²: Hbr šly¹, Arab sll [-u-]¹, Jib sell².
 WCh *sol- “pull”: Ang šwal, Tng sol, Krf šollu.
 CCh *sVl- “pull”: Mofu səl-.
 Partial reduplication in Mba sisal id.

2275 *so(m)b- “pubic hair”

Sem *ʔiʃb- “pubic hair”: Arab ʔiʃb-.
 Derived from *šVb-.
 HEC *šomb- “pubic hair”: Sid šoobba, Had šoomba, Kab šäbbä, Kmb šobba-ta.

One of the cases in which prenasalized clusters appear as voiced stops in Sem.

2276 *son- “river”

Eg swn.w “waters” (BD).
 Vocalic -w-.
 Dhl sooni “river”.
 Rift *soʔon- “river”: Asa soʔon-k.
 Secondary inlaut -ʔ-.
 Cf. CCh *sin- “river”: Mrg sina.

2277 *sop- “speak, ask”

Sem *šVpVH- “ask”: Akk šepū.
 Based on *šVp-.
 WCh *swap- “speak”: Tng sɔp.

2278 *soq- “pull”

Sem *šVhVw- “pull”: Jib šxe.
 Derived from biconsonantal *šVh-.

CCh *sVq- “pull”: HNk askəy, Kap nsxu-mte, HF sɣu-nto.
 ECh *swag- “pull”: Tob soqe.
 Note *-g- < *-q-.

2279 *soyam- “grass”

ECh *swawam- < *swayam- “grass”: Bid sooma.
 LEC *soyam- “kind of plant”: Or sooyama.

2280 *su³im- “hair”

Eg smɔ “hair” (pyr), Copt *smau “temple”: OCopt smau, Boh smau, Shd smau, smaau.
 Metathesis.
 WCh *suHim- “growth of hair”¹, “hair”², “pubic hair”³: Hs sūmā¹, Ngm som², Tng simī-ne³.
 Omot *som(m)- “hair”: Yam somme.
 Contraction.
 Rift *sV³Vm- “hair”¹, “hairdress”²: Irq seʔemi¹, Asa sem-ug².

2281 *su³um- “sell, buy”

Sem *šV³Vm- “buy”¹, “sell”²: Akk šāmu¹, Jib šɛ:m², Soq s³m².
 CCh *sum- “buy”: Mafa sum.
 Contraction.
 ECh *su³um- “sell”: Dng suumiye, Brg suumi.

2282 *suf- “smell” (v.)

Sem *šūp- “smell, sniff (around)” (v.): Arab swf [-u-].
 Based on *šūp-.
 LEC *suf- “smell” (v.): Or suf-.

2283 *su^cVR- “tree, forest”

Eg s^cr “forest” (n).
 WCh *sur- “kind of tree”: Ang sur, Mpn sur.

2284 *suh-/*suhay- “shout”

Eg *sw̄hy* “shout” (XVIII).

CCh **suw*- < **suH*- “shout, cry”¹, “answer”²: Log *suwe*¹, Hld *š̄uwa*².

ECh **sway*- < **suHay*- “shout”: Smr *swōy*, Jegu *soy*.

2285 *suh- “flow”

Sem **šuh*- “flow, pour”: Arab *sh̄h* [-u-].

Cf. *syh* [-i-] “flow, spread upon the surface”.

WCh **suHi*- “pour”: Bks *šu*, DB *šin*, Fyer *ši*.

ECh **saHay*- “wet”: Kera *saaye*.

2286 *suk- “spear”

Eg *sk* “spear” (MK).

CCh **suk*- “spear”: Gaa *šuk-ta*, Gbn *suk-te*.

Connected with **suk*- “slaughter”?

2287 *suk- “slaughter”

Sem **šuk*- “cut (ears)”: Arab *skk* [-u-].

WCh **suk*- “slaughtering (a camel)”: Hs *suka*.

Agaw **suk*- “slaughter cattle (after funeral)”: Bil *suuk*-.

2288 *suk- “push, pull”

Sem **šūk*- “push”: Arab *swq* [-u-].

Based on **šV̄k*-.

WCh **sa-suk*- “drive away”: Hs *sāsuka*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh **swak*- “push”: Kera *soka*.

Dhl *š̄uuk*- “pull, draw”.

2289 *suka^c- “beat”

Sem **šV̄ka^c*- “knock”: Arab *sq^c* [-a-].

HEC **suk(k)*- “beat, hit”: Had *suk̄k*-.

Wrz **šok*- “hit”: Gaw *šog*.

Related to **suk*- “push, pull”? The auslaut laryngeal is lost in Cush.

2290 *sukul- “foot, leg”

ECh **sugul*- “thigh”: Sok *sugul*.

Omot **sukul*- “foot”: Ome *sukule*.

Assimilation of vowels. No traces of the emphatic.

Derived from **sak*- “leg”.

2291 *sulak- “bird”

Sem **šulak*- “chicken (of a partridge)”: Arab *sulak*-.

ECh **sulV̄k*- “guinea fowl”: Kera *sulku*, Kwan *sulkō*.

2292 *sulVh- “wall”

Sem **šalh*-/**šulh*- “wall”: Akk *šalhu*, *šulhu*.

Eg *sw̄h̄.t* “fortified site” (MK).

-w- stands for a rounded vowels.

2293 *su(m)bVI- “band, plait”

Sem **šubl*- “hem”: Hbr *šōbel*.

Eg *sb̄n* “band, bandage” (I).

ECh **sV̄mbVI*- “plait”: Mobu *səmbəle*.

HS cluster *-mb-?

2294 *sun- “know”

Eg *sw̄n* “know” (I), Copt **sow(u)n*: Boh *sōoun*, Shd *sooun*.

Berb **sV̄n*- “know”: Tua *essen*, Sgh -*ssən*, Kby *issin*.

CCh **sun*- “know”: Daba *sun*-.

2295 *sunah- “know, imagine”

Sem **šV̄nah*- “appear in somebody’s mind”: Arab *sn̄h* [-a-].

ECh **suHan*- “know”: Tum *han*, Mkk *suun*-.

Metathesis.

Derived from **sun-* “know”.

2296 **sunb-* “cloud, sky”

Eg *sbn.t* “sky” (gr).

Metathesis.

CCh **ḫa-sumb-* “cloud”: Gbn *ḫusamba*, Hwn *hašumbē*.

Prefix **ḫa-*.

2297 **supay-* “spear”

Sem **šVpāy-* “sharp driving stick”: Aram (Syr) *špāi-*.

WCh **suyap-* “spear”: Mnt *šuyep*.

Metathesis.

Cf. CCh **sap-* “spear”: Bnn *sappa*.

2298 **sur-* “rope”

Sem **šurr-* “umbilical cord”: Hbr *šor*, Arab *surr-*.

Eg *wsr.t* “rope” (XX).

Vocalic *w-*.

Wrz **sur-* “rope”: Gaw *surre*.

An alternative parallel for Eg *wsr.t* is Sem **watal-* id. (Arab *watal-*) from **wačal-*.

2299 **surV-* “eye”

Sem **šurV-* “eyelid”: Akk *šurV*.

Eg *wsr.t* “eye” (gr).

Vocalic *w-*. Loss of the laryngeal in late Eg.

2300 **susan-* “grass, lotus”

Sem **šūsān-* “grass” ¹, “lotus, lily” ²: Akk *šišnu* ¹, Hbr *šōšān* ², Arab *sūsān* ².

Borrowed from Eg?

Eg *ššn* “lotus” (pyr), *ššn* id. (MK).

Dissimilation.

2301 **suwak-* “go, come”

Sem **šūk-* “march and stumble”: Arab *swk* [-u-].

WCh **suk-* “galloping”: Hs *suka*.

Contraction.

ECh **suk-* “come”: Mubi *suk*.

LEC **sok(k)-* “go away”: Or *sokka*.

Cf. also reduplication in Or *suksuka* “run, trot”.

Cf. **sek-* “walk, run”. Cf. also Bed *sak-* “go”; Agaw **sVk-* “approach” (Bil *sək^w-r-*), LEC **sok(k)-* “leave” (Or *sokka*), Omot **šak-/šik-* “approach, come” (Ome *šik-*, Kaf *šakk-*).

2302 **süf-* “wool, cotton”

Sem **šip-* “wool”: Akk *šipātu*.

WCh **suf-* “wool cloth”: Hs *süfi*.

Bed *suf* “cotton”.

2303 **sük-* “sow”

Eg *sty* “sow” (pyr).

From **sik-*, with palatalization of **-k-*.

WCh **suk-* “sow”: Hs *šuka*.

Omot **šok-* “sow”: Kaf *šok*, Bwo *šok*.

2304 **süm-* “name”

Sem **šim-* “name”: Akk *šumu*, Ug *šm*, Hbr *šēm*, Aram (Syr) *šēmō*, Arab (dial.) *sim-*, SAR *s¹m*, Shr *šum*, Gz *səm*, Tgr *səm*, Tgy *səm*, Amh *səm*, Arg *səm*, Gur *səm*, Gaf *səm^wä*.

WCh **sumi-* “name”: Hs *sünā*, Sura *sum*, Ang *süm*, Mnt *sum*, Ank *sum*, Grk *təm*, Bol *sun*, Krk *səm*, Tng *sumə*, Ngm *sun*, Maha *sum*, Bele *hin-ti*, Krf *šimi*, Gera *səma*, Glm *šim*, Grm *šimi*, Diri *šin*, Paa *sim*, *sun*, Cagu *siman*, Mbu *šin*, Pol *sum*, *səm*, Geji *šin*, Brw *šim*, *šin*, Bgh *isum*, Kir *wusum*, *wusəm*, Tala *sum*, *səm*, Klr *sim*, DB *sum*.

CCh **šim(ya)-* “name”: Tera *lim*, Gaa *šima*, Gbn *šima*, Hwn *šima*, Chb *šima*, Mig *šim*, Mba *šim*, FKl *šəm*, Daba *žimi*, Gude *ləma*, Gudu *lim*, FJ *žimu*, Log *šemi*, Bud *hemi*, LPe *šem-de*, Masa *šema*, Msm *sem*.

Irregular lateral resulting from the contamination with the word for “ear”.

ECh *sVm- “name”: Smr *sumi*, Tum *hīm*, Ndam *ham*, Mig *seme*,
Mubi *same*, Mkk *suma*.

Connected with *sim- “call, speak”.

2305 *süp- “pole, beam”

Sem *šip- “beam”: Akk *šipu*.

WCh *sup- “pole, support”: Mpn *sup*, Tng *suup*.

2306 *süt- “woman”

Sem *šitt- “lady”: Ug *št*, Arab *sitt*.

Berb *sut- “women”: Kby *sur*.

WCh *sut- “sister”: Tng *sut*.

CCh *sut- “girl”: Mwu *suti*.

2307 *sVf- “break”

Sem *šup- “grind”: Hbr *šwf*, Aram *šwf*.

Based on *šVp-.

Ef *sfsf* “break” (XVIII).

Reduplication.

2308 *sVfif- “snake”

Sem *šVpīp- “kind of snake”: Hbr *šē pīp-ōn*.

Berb *sVfuf- “snake”: Zng *te-sfuf-oh*.

*-u- < *-i- between labials.

Partial reduplication of *sef- “snake”.

2309 *sVhal- “weave”

Sem *šVhal- “make a cloth (of separate threads)”: Arab *šhl* [-a-].

WCh *sVHVL- “mat”: Ang *sō:l*.

2310 *sVκ- “smell” (v.)

Sem *šVhVκ- “blow”: Arab *shk* [-a-].

Based on *šVκ-.

Eg *sty* “smell” (n.) (pyr).

Suffix -y.

CCh *sVκ- “smell”: Gbn *sək-tə*.

2311 *sVκVr- “strike, pierce”

Sem *šVκVr- “pierce”: Akk *šaqāru*, Gz *sqʷr*, Tgy *sāqʷārä*.

Eg *skr* “strike” (pyr).

2312 *sVp- “plait, sew”

Sem *šup- “tie”¹, “plait”¹, “sew”³: Akk *sepū*¹, Arab *sff* [-u-]²,
Gz *sfy*², Hrr *sāfa*³, Gur *sefä*³.

Eg *spy* “bind up (a ship)” (pyr).

Suffix -y.

ECh *sVp- “spin, twist”: Mig *sipiyo*.

LEC *sup(p)- “darn”: Or *suppa*.

Wrz *šap- “tie, sew”: Gaw *šap-*, *šapp-*.

Omot *šip(p)- “plait, sew”: Kaf *šipp-*, Mch *šippi-*, Gim *sif-*.

Chaotic correspondences of vowels. Derived from *šip- “rope”.

2313 *sVtVp- “cut, slaughter”

Sem *šVtVp- “cut out”: Akk *šatāpu*.

Eg *stp* “slaughter” (pyr).

*š

2314 *šA²-/šAW- “wish, like”

Sem *šA²- “wish”: Arab *šy* [-a-].

Based on *šV²-.

Dhl *hlaw*- “love, like”.

Rift *šA²- “like”: Irq *šaa²-*, Alg *šaa²-*, Bur *ša²-*.

For the semantic development, cf. Sp *querer* “wish” → “love”.

Note a consonantal alternation *šA²- ~ *-w-.

2315 *šab- “mix, knead”

Sem *šūb- “mix”: Arab šwb [-u-].

Based on *šVb-.

Eg šbb “mix, knead” (OK).

Partial reduplication.

WCh *šab-/ *šamb- “mix, knead”: Bol lomb-, Tng lamb-, Wrj laḥə, Kry laḥə, Miya lah, Paa ḷaḥu, Siri šaḥa.

Secondary emphatization. Note a nasal infix in Bol and Tng.

Bed šaawi “mix, collect”.

-w- < *-b- in the intervocalic position.

2316 *šab- “rib”

ECh *šVb- “rib”: Kbl ka-səba.

Prefix *ka-.

Rift *šab- “diaphragm”¹, “rib”²: Irq šawi¹, Bur šabi².

Cf. Som laab id. with l- as a reflex of the lateral?

2317 *šab- “axe, sword”

Sem *šabaw- “blade (of a sword)”: Arab šabā-t-.

Derived from *šab-.

WCh *šab- “sword”¹, “axe”²: Hs zābō¹, zābi².

Cf. CCh *šamb-/ *šimb- “axe”: HNk šimbwe, Mofu šamba, Gis šimbe.

2318 *šab- “plant”

Eg šḃb “kind of plant” (pyr).

Vocalic -ḃ-.

WCh *šab- “grass”: Tng laba.

Dhl hlaaḃ-une “leaf”.

Irq *šab- “bush”: Ala šaba.

2319 *šabab- “reed flute”

Sem *šabab- “reed flute”: Arab šabbab-at-.

Cf. Akk šabt-t- “musical instrument”.

Berb *sab(V)b- “flute”: Mns ta-sabbuṭ.

Eg šbb “reed, reed tube” (med).

Partial reduplication of *šab- “plant”?

2320 *šabaḥ- “cut”

Sem *šVbaḥ- “split”: Arab šbh [-a-].

WCh *šabVḥ- “wound, stab (with a knife)”: Hs zabga.

Connected with *šab- “axe, sword”.

2321 *šabVb- “tie, weave”

Sem *šVbVb- “bind, tie”: Arab šbb.

WCh *šabVb- “weave”: Bol loḥḥ-.

Secondary emphatization.

Partial reduplication of unattested *šab-.

2322 *šado²- / *šadoy- “pull out”

Eg šdy “pull out” (med).

WCh *ša-šadwa²- “draw out”: Hs zazzaḏō.

Partial reduplication.

Consonantal alternation *-ḏ- ~ *-y-.

2323 *ša^c- “cow, bull”

WCh *šaH- “bull”¹, “cow”²: Dera la², Pol ša^{1 2}, Geji ša², Dwot ša², Ngz ša².

CCh *ša- “cow, bull, cattle”: Tera ša, HG ša, Glv ša, Gis ša, Msg ḡe, Gul ḡa, FJ ša-ḡ, Mtk še, Mrg ša, Gbn ša-ta, Boka la-tə, Ksr sā, Bud hā.

Bed ša² “cow”.

SA *ša^c- “cattle”: Saho sa^ca, Afar saa^c.

LEC *ša^c- “cow”: Som sa^c, Or saa²aa, Arb se².

HEC *ša²- “cow”: Sid sa²aa, Had saayya, Kmb sayaa.

Rift *šeH- / *šaHe- “cow”: Irq šee, Alg šee, Bur šee, Asa še-ok, Kwz šae-ko.

Cf. an isolated form in Berb: Kby rištan “kine”.

2324 *šak- “feather, wing”

Sem *šūk- “become fully fledged”: Arab *šwk*.
 Derived from a noun. Secondary inlaut *-w-.
 CCh *žakwa- “feather”: Glv *žākwa*, Gdf *žakwa*.

2325 *šam- “plant, flower”

Sem *šamm- “plant”: Akk *šammu*.
 Eg *šmṣw* “flower” (med).
 Vocalic -j- and suffix -w.

2326 *šam- “bird”

Eg *šm* “kind of bird” (XXII).
 CCh *ʔa-šam- “falcon”: Gis ʔašam.
 Prefix *ʔa-.

2327 *šam- “be possible, be able”

WCh *šam- “do, make, be possible”: Ngz *žamu*.
 CCh *žam- “can”: Log *žam*.
 Rift *šam- “allow”: Asa *šam*-.
 Semantically, “allow” ← “make possible”.

2328 *šam- “burn; lightning”

Eg *šm*, *šmm* “be hot, be burning” (OK).
 Berb *šam- “lightning”: Ahg *e-ssam*, Ndir *i-ssim*, Fgg *u-səm*.
 Secondary -i- in Ndir.

2329 *šam- “sun”

Sem *šamš- “sun”¹, “sun-heat”²: Akk *šamšu*¹, Hbr *šemeš*¹,
 Aram (Syr) *šemš*-¹, Arab *šams*-¹, SAr *šmš*¹, Tgr *šämš*¹, Soq
*šam*¹, Jib *šum*².
 Partial reduplication and dissimilation from *šamš-.
 Eg *šm.t* “moon-disc” (gr).
 šš- reflects *š-.
 WCh *šam- “sun”: Ang *lem*.
 Related to *šam- “burn; lightning”.

2330 *šap- “receive”

Eg *šzp* “receive” (pyr).
 šz- may reflect a lateral.
 WCh *šap- “receive”: Sura *lap*, Ank *lāp*, Grk *lāp*, Mpn *lap*.
 Cf. Rift *ša[p]- “get”: Irq *šaw*-, Bur *šaw*-?

2331 *šar- “clothes”

Eg *šr.t* “clothes” (gr).
 WCh *šarar- “rags”: Hs *zarāra*.
 Partial reduplication.
 SA *sar- “clothes”: Saho *sara*, Afar *sara*.

2332 *šat- “tie, weave”

Sem *šVt- “tie, weave”: Akk *šatū*, Jib *seṭṭ*.
 WCh *šat- “spin”: Bks *lat*.

2333 *šeb- “wind”

Sem *šib- “wind”: Akk *šub-tu*, Soq *šiboh*.
 CCh *šVb- “storm”: FKt *žəva*.
 ECh *šyab- “wind”: Kera *ke-seba*.
 Prefix *kya-.

2334 *šihar- “open”

Sem *šVhar- “be open, open (mouth)”: Arab *šḥr* [-a-].
 Cf. Arab *šrh* “open”, š^c id.
 WCh *šiHar- “open”: Cagu *žar*, Mbu *žir*.

2335 *šimar- “green plant”

Sem *šimār- “dill”: Akk *šimru*, Arab *šamār*-.
 Assimilation in Arab.
 HEC *šimar- “cabbage”: Had *šimmaro*°, Kab *šimmara*.

2336 *šip- “light, day”

Eg ššp “light” (MK).

Note šš- < *š-.

Berb *sVf- “day”: Ghd *a-sef*, Ahg *essef*.WCh *šip- “light”: Ang *mege-lap*, Pero *lip*.

Related to *šVp- “shine, be light”.

2337 *šob- “set fire”

Sem *šub- “burn, be hot”¹, “set fire”², “warm” (v.)³: Akk *šabābu*¹, Arab *šbb* [-u-]², Soq *šbb*³.WCh *ša(m)b- “take fire”¹, “set fire”²: Ang *lap lap*¹, Tng *lamb*-².

Secondary *-a- < *-wa-.

ECh *šwab- “flame” (v.): Bid *ʔolob*.

2338 *šuf- “heat, boil”

WCh *šafaf- “heat up, make hot”: Hs *zāfafā*.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

Rift *šuf- “boil”: Asa *šuf*-.

2339 *šur- “pour”

Sem *šur- “pour”: Arab *šrr* [-u-].WCh *šur- “pour”: Paa *šur*.CCh *šVr- “pour out”: Mofu *šər*.

2340 *šVp- “shine, be light”

Eg ššp “be light” (pyr).

šš- reflects *š-.

WCh *šVp- “shine”: Sura *lap*.

2341 *šVw- “light, lightning”

Eg šw “light, sun” (NK).

CCh *šVw- “lightning”: Daba *ašəw*.

Prefix *šV-.

*t

2342 *ta²- “gate, house”

Eg tʃ “gate” (XIX).

CCh *ʔi-ta²- “hut”: Daba *ita*.

Prefix *ʔi-.

ECh *ʔa-ta²-ay- “kitchen”: Kera *ataaya*.

Prefix *ʔa- < *ʔi-, cf. CCh.

2343 *ta²- “eat”

Sem *tV²-/*tVw- “eat”: Akk *ta²u*, Jib *te*, Sok *te²* (imp.), Hss *tewō*, Mhr *tewō*, Shh *te²*.WCh *ta²-/*ti²- “eat”: Hs *čī*, Gera *tii*, Bol *tii*-, Maha *tī*, Krf *tii*-, Glm *č*-, Dera *twi*, Krk *tu*, Ngm *ta*, Wrj *ta*, *tau*, Diri *ču*, Mbu *tī*, Jim *tī*, *tā*, Siri *tū*, Cagu *čū*, DB *čuh*, Sha *ci*, Klr *ci*, Ngz *ta*.CCh *ti- < *ta²i- “eat”: Lame *tī*, LPe *tī*, Msm *tī*.ECh *ta(y)-/*ti(y)- “eat”: Jegu *t-*, Mig *tiyaw*, Bid *taa*, Mubi *tuwa*, *tiya*, Dng *tē*, Brg *taya*.

2344 *ta²-/taw- “ash”

Eg tʃ.w “ash” (med).

Cf. tʃ “be hot” (OK).

WCh *taw-taw- “ash”: Klr *atoto*.

Reduplication.

Consonantal alternation *ʔ- ~ *-w-.

2345 *ta²-/taw-/tay- “go, run”

Sem *ʔtVw-/ʔtVy- “arrive, come”¹, “return”²: Ug *ʔtw*¹, Aram *ʔty*¹, Arab *ʔty* [-i-]¹, SAr *ʔtw*¹, Gz *ʔtw*².

Prefix *ʔV-.

WCh *ta-/taw- “enter”¹, “go”²: Ang *te*¹, Geji *tewi*¹, Dwot *təx*¹, Dera *tawi*².CCh *ta²-/tay- “follow”¹, “go”²: Bud *tea*¹, Zime *ta*², Msm *ta*².ECh *ta²-/tay- “drive”¹, “go”²: Lele *tee*¹, Kbl *tayi*¹, Mkk *taa²e*².

Agaw *tu²- ‘enter’: Aun *tu-ŋ*.

LEC *ti²- ‘run’: Bay *ti-*.

A different alternation grade or a case of phonetic development from *iVj-.

Consonantal alternation *-j- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-.

2346 *ta²ay-/taway- ‘cloth’

Eg *tjy.t.t* ‘cloth’ (pyr).

ECh *taway- ‘kerchief’: Jegu *tawaaye*.

Consonantal alternation *-j- ~ *-w-.

2347 *tab-/tib- ‘foot, heel’

WCh *tab- ‘palm or sole’: Bks *taba*.

ECh *tab- ‘foot’: Kbl *taba*, Mobu *taba*.

SA *tibi^c- ‘foot, heel’: Afar *tibi^c*.

Unexpected *-c-.

LEC *teb- ‘foot’: Arb *teb*.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2348 *taba^c- ‘follow’

Sem *iVba^c- ‘follow’: Hbr *tb^c*, Arab *tb^c* [-a-], Jib *te^c*, Hss *tōba*, Mhr *tōba*, Shh *tē^c*.

ECh *taHab- ‘follow’: Lele *tāb*, Kbl *ta.bi ka:si*.

Metathesis.

2349 *taf- ‘hand’

WCh *taf- ‘hand, palm’: Hs *tāfi*, Bol *tafi*, DB *taf*.

CCh *tufi- ‘hand’: Nza *tivi*, Bch *tufa*, *tufey*.

Contamination with *tuf- ‘five’.

ECh *taf- ‘hand’: Sok *tafa*.

Agaw *taf- ‘hand’: Aun *taf-*.

2350 *taf- ‘clap’

WCh *taf- ‘clap (the hands)’¹, ‘take a handful’²: Hs *tāfa*¹, *tafē*².

Omot *taf- ‘clap’: Kaf *tap*.

Derived from *taf- ‘hand, arm’.

2351 *taf- ‘go’

Eg *tŋy* ‘move away’ (n).

Suffix -y.

WCh *taf- ‘go, go out’¹, ‘follow’²: Hs *tafi*¹, Gwn *tafi*¹, Bol *taf*¹, Krk *taf*¹, Dera *tai*¹, Wrj *taw*², Paa *taf*², Siri *taf*², Ngz *tafu*¹.

Alternation *a ~ *i. Cf. Dhl *lipp-eem*- ‘come from’?

2352 *taf-taf- ‘henna’

Eg *tŋf* ‘henna’.

WCh *taf-taf- ‘henna’¹, ‘Cochlospermum tinctorium’²: Hs *taftaf*¹, Ngz *taftaf*².

Reduplication.

2353 *tag- ‘go, run’

WCh *tag- ‘run away’: Glm *tāg-*.

LEC *tag- ‘go’: Som *tag*.

Omot *teg- ‘go’: Nao *teg*, Shk *tag*.

Secondary *-e-?

2354 *ta^c- ‘flow’

Sem *ti^c- ‘flow’¹, ‘pour (of rain)’²: Arab *ty^c* [-i-]¹, Tgr *ṭā-twa*².

Based on *ta^c-.

WCh *ta-/ti- ‘ooze’¹, ‘rain’ (v.)²: Ang *ta*¹, Tng *ti*².

LEC *to²- ‘draw water’: Or *to²a*.

The source of *o is not clear.

Dhl *t’a-δ-* ‘wet’ (v.).

Is *t’*- a regular reflex of *t-?

2355 *ta^cab- ‘‘be tired, be ill’’

Sem *tV^cab- ‘‘be tired’’: Arab t^cb [-a-].

WCh *taHab- ‘‘be ill’’: Hs ta^hu.

ECh *ta^aab- ‘‘become tired’’: Mubi ta^aaba.

Cf. SA *tib- ‘‘be still’’: Saho tib, Afar tib?

2356 *ta^h-/*tu^h- ‘‘belly’’

Sem *tā^h- ‘‘inside, intestines’’: Akk tā^hu.

WCh *tuH-/*tuH-ki- ‘‘belly, inside’’¹, ‘‘body’’²: Hs čiki¹, Cagu cuke², Kir tuwok¹, Geji tuki¹, Pol tu¹, Zem tuko¹, Brw tu¹, Say tu¹, Brm tuk¹, Dwot tu¹, Ngz tēka².

*-ki is a morpheme of parts of the body.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2357 *tak- ‘‘fly, moth’’

Sem *takk- ‘‘moth’’: Aram (Jud) takk-.

Eg tkk.t ‘‘ichneumon fly’’.

Dhl takkwa^a ‘‘dung beetle’’.

2358 *takoc- ‘‘trample, pound’’

Sem *tV^kVs- ‘‘trample’’: Aram (Jud) tks.

WCh *takwac- ‘‘pound’’: Ngz takwsu.

Derived from *tuk- ‘‘beat, press’’.

2359 *takon- ‘‘suck blood’’

WCh *takwan- ‘‘bleed (smb.)’’: Mbu takwana, Diri takwan, Miya takwam, Siri takwana.

Agaw *tV^kwan- ‘‘bugs’’: Bil tēx^wan, Xmr tēx^wan, Kwr tuukaan, Kem tuxaanaa.

SA *tV^kwan- ‘‘bugs’’: Saho tēk^wan, Afar tēk^wan.

LEC *tukan- ‘‘bug’’: Or tukana.

Metathesis of vowels. An Agaw loanword?

Note nominal forms in Cush. Derived from *tak- ‘‘fly, moth’’?

2360 *ta^k- ‘‘lizard, chameleon’’

Berb *tV^k-tV^k- ‘‘lizard’’: Ahg e-mə-təytəy.

Reduplication.

WCh *ta^k- ‘‘chameleon’’: Siri tā^ki, Jmb ataya.

Prefix a- in Jmb.

2361 *ta^kar- ‘‘stick, pole’’

Sem *ta^kr- ‘‘stick, sceptre’’: Aram (Syr) taqr-.

WCh *ta^kar- ‘‘long bamboo pole’’: Ngz takarwa.

2362 *tal-/*tul- ‘‘speak’’

Sem *tul- ‘‘pronounce distinctly’’¹, ‘‘recite’’²: Akk tēlu¹, Arab tlw [-u-]².

WCh *tal- ‘‘ask’’: Sura tal, Ank tal-.

Alternation *a ~ *u. Cf. also ECh *tulul- ‘‘cry’’ (n.): Kera tulul.

2363 *talim- ‘‘brother’’

Sem *talīm- ‘‘privileged brother’’: Akk talīmu.

CCh *twalim- < *talim- ‘‘brother’’: Msg tollimma.

2364 *tam-tam- ‘‘strike, press’’

Sem *tVm-tVm- ‘‘strike, knock’’: Tgy tāmtāma.

Eg tmtm ‘‘press, grind’’.

CCh *tam-tam- ‘‘slap’’: Mafa tamtam.

Reduplication of *tum- ‘‘break, beat’’.

2365 *tamu²- ‘‘speak, shout’’

Sem *tVmV²- ‘‘swear’’: Akk tamū.

WCh *tamu(H)- ‘‘tell’’: Ank tum, Krk tam.

Rift *ta^aam- ‘‘shout’’: Kwz ta^aam-.

Metathesis and assimilation of *tamu²- or secondary development of *tam-.

2366 *tamVs- “pound, squeeze”

Sem *tVmVš- “squeeze”: Tgr *tāmsā*.

WCh *tamVs- “pound”: Hs *tamsa*.

LEC *tamVs- “spread out, scatter”: Or *tamsa*²*a*.

Derived from *tum-.

2367 *tan- “snake, worm”

Sem *tannīn- “big serpent, crocodile”: Hbr *tannīn*, Arab *tinnīn*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh *tan- “earth worm”: Hs *tānā*.

2368 *tan- “container”

Sem *tann- “wooden bowl”: Akk *tannu*.

Eg *tn.w* “basket” (gr).

2369 *tanhal-/*tanhil- “container”

Eg *tnhr* “box” (sarc).

Note -r < *-l-.

WCh *tanHal- “pot”: Bgh *taḡal*.

CCh *tinHil- < *tanHil- “pot”: Gis *tingile*.

Assimilation of vowels.

An old compound? Cf. a similar morphonological structure in *dawḡal- “vessel” and *tuḡal- “container”.

2370 *taq-/*tiq- “strike”

Sem *tiḡ- “strike (with a stick)”: Arab *tyḡ* [-i-].

Based on *tVḡ-.

WCh *taq-/*tiq- “strike, kick”: Hs *tīka*, Ngz *təku*.

2371 *tar- “collect, mix”

WCh *tar- “collect”: Hs *tāra*, Krk *taru*, Say *tarə*.

Dhl *tar*- “mix”.

2372 *tar- “tear, cut”

Sem *mVtur- “cut”: Arab *mtr* [-u-].

Prefix *mV-. Modified vocalism.

WCh *tar-/*tur- “tear”¹, “break”²: Glm *tar*¹, Klr *tur*², DB *tar*².

LEC *tarar- “cut, scratch”: Or *tarara*.

Partial reduplication.

2373 *tar- “pull, draw”

Sem *mVtur- “pull”: Arab *mtr* [-u-].

Prefix *mV- in Arab. Modified vocalism. Cf. Jib *terr* “drag, lead away”.

CCh *tyar- < *tari- “draw”: Bud *teri*.

ECh *tar- “be stretched”: Tob *tārē*.

2374 *tarah- “hole, pit”

Sem *tarah- “slope of a mine”: Akk *tarahhu*.

CCh *taray- “hole”: Bud *taragā*.

2375 *taruw- “kind of tree”

Berb *tVrVw- “kind of pole”: Aks *a-tru*.

WCh *taru- “kind of tree”: Hs *taruwā*.

2376 *tarVc- “break, tear”

Sem *tVrVs- “break”: Gz *tārāsā*, Gur *tārrāsā*.

WCh *tarVc- “break into pieces”: Hs *tarçe*.

LEC *tarVs- “be torn”: Or *tarsa*²*a*.

Derived from *tar- “tear, cut”.

2377 *tat- “sow, plant”

CCh *tVt- “sow”: Tera *təta*.

Rift *tat- “plant” (v.): Kwz *tat*-.

Reduplication.

2378 *taw- “hip, thigh”

Eg *twɔ.t* “hip, thigh” (gr).

Vocalic -ɔ.

ECh *taw- “hip, thigh”: Kera *tawa*.

2379 *taw- “forget”

Berb **tVw*- “forget”: Izy *ettu*, *əttu*.WCh *taw- “forget”: Wrj *taw*, Dirj *tawa*, Ngz *tuwaye*.Cf. Eg *thy* “be forgetful (of heart)” (MK).

2380 *taw-/tay- “hoe”

Berb *taw- “spade, hoe”: Ghat *ta-law-t*, Ahg *tallawt*.WCh **tVy*- “hoe”: Miya *tiyi*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2381 *taw-/tay- “hunger”

Sem **tawan*- “hunger”: Arab *tawan*-.

Derivative in -an-?

ECh **tay*- “hunger”: Kera *tay*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2382 *taw-/tay- “speak, shout, call”

Eg *tyɔ* “shout (of pain)” (med).

Vocalic -ɔ.

WCh **tay*- “greet”: Tng *tay*.CCh **taʔ*/**taw*- “speak”¹, “shout”²: Heba *atau*¹, Glv *ta*¹, Kus *to*².ECh **tay*- “call”: Lele *tey*, Tob *te*.Omot **taw*- “tell, speak”: Kaf *taw*-, Bwo *tau* (imper.).

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2383 *tawar-/tayar- “pole, stick”

Sem **tVwVr*- “crossbeam”: Tgr *tor*.Eg *twr* “reed” (med).WCh **tayar*- “stick”: Gera *teera*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2384 *tayaʔ- “pierce, break”

Sem **tāz*- “pierce and tremble (of arrow)”: Arab *tyz* [-i-].Berb **tVyVʔ*- “notch”: Izd *tizi*.WCh **taʔ*- “split”: Hs *tazge*.

Suffix -ge?

ECh **ta[y]aʔ*- “break”: Tum *tāʒ*.Agaw **tayVʔ*- “strike, hit”: Xmr *tays*-, Xmt *taz*, Aun *tas*-, Dmt *taš*-.

2385 *tayVs- “goat”

Sem **tayaš*- “goat”: Hbr *tayiš*, Aram (Syr) *tayšā*, Arab *tays*-, Soq *teš*,Jib *tuš*, *teš*, Hss *tāyeh*, Mhr *tāyeh*, Shh *tuš*.Cf. Akk *dašsu* id.ECh **tVyVs*- “goat”: Mubi *tēs*.

If not an Arab loanword.

2386 *teʔ- “earth”

Eg *tʔ* “earth” (pyr), Copt **to*: Boh *tʔo*, Shd *to*.CCh **tyaʔ*/**tyay*- “sand”: Mwu *teo*, Bch *tiyey*.ECh **tyaw*/**tyay*- “earth”¹, “clay”²: Lele *tēy*¹, Kera *tiuwə*².LEC **taʔ*- “fertile soil”: Or *taaʔoo*.From **teʔ*-?

2387 *teḥal- “spleen, liver”

Sem **tiḥāl*- “spleen”: Hbr *ṭḥōl*, Arab *ṭiḥāl*-.Emphatization of HS **t*- or an old emphatic.ECh **tyaHal*- “liver”: Tum *telu*, Ndam *ta:lū*.

2388 *tek- “take”

Eg *tkk* “grasp, seize” (MK).

Partial reduplication.

WCh **tyak*- “take”: Sha *tək*, DB *tyek*.CCh **tyak*- “take”: Msg *taka*, *lega*.

2389 *ter- “weapon”

Sem *tir- “stick with a hook”: Tgr *tir*.

Eg *ti* “kind of weapon” (NK).

Graphic representation of *tir-.

ECh *iVr- “knife”: Kera *tər-tə*.

LEC *ter- “spear”: Som *teeri*.

Cf. a corresponding verb in Dhl *taar-* “pierce”.

2390 *ti-/ *tiw- “bread, flour”

Eg *t* “bread” (pyr).

WCh *tuw- < *tiw- “food made of flour, tuwo”: Hs *tuwō*.

ECh *ti- “flour”: Tob *ti*.

2391 *tiʔ-/ *tVy- “dominate”

Berb *iVy- “excel”: Sml *āti*.

WCh *tiʔ- “dominate, possess”: Tng *ti*.

Rift *tiʔ- “be prominent, emerge”: Ir *tiʔ-it-*, Alg *tiʔ-itis-*.

Connected with *iVy- “father, chief”? Note the consonantal alternation *-ʔ- ~ *-y-.

2392 *tiʔin- “tree”

Sem *tiʔn- “fig tree”: Akk *tittu*, Hbr *ṭēnā*, Aram (Syr) *tēttā*.

CCh *tiyin- < *tiʔin- “mahogany”: Hwn *tinə*, Gaa *tin-da*, Gbr *tiyin-da*.

2393 *tibin- “brain, marrow”

Eg *tbn* “marrow” (med).

CCh *tiḫin- “brain”: Gbn *tiḫin-de*.

Secondary emphatic.

2394 *tič- “break”

Eg *tyšš* “grind” (OK).

Note -šš < *-č-.

WCh *tič- “thresh”¹, “squeeze”²: Hs *tisa*¹, Bks *tis*².

Omot *tič- “break”: Kaf *tičč-*, *tiš-*, Mch *tiččii*, Bwo *tič*.

2395 *tihin- “strike”

Sem *hVtim- “strike”: Arab *htm* [-i-].

Metathesis.

Eg *thm* “push, pierce” (med).

WCh *tiHim- “strike”: Hs *tīmā*.

2396 *tahir- “warrior, courtier”

Sem *ti[h]ir- “courtier”: Akk *tiru*.

Eg *thr* “Asiatic warrior” (XVIII).

A cultural loanword?

2397 *tihur- “tear”

Sem *hVtur- “tear, rip”: Arab *ht* [-u-].

Metathesis.

WCh *tiHur- “tear, pluck”: Ang *tūr*, Gera *tūr*.

2398 *tik-/ *tiyak- “neck, occiput”

Sem *tik- “neck, occiput”: Akk *tikku*, *tiku*.

WCh *tiyak- “occiput”¹, “neck”²: Sura *tō:k*¹, Ang *tok*², Chip *tōk*², Mnt *tok*², Ank *tiyak*².

2399 *tuḫ- “strike, break”

Berb *iVḫ-tVḫ- “break, be broken”: Ahg *təytəy*.

Reduplication.

LEC *tuḫ- “strike”: Or *tuq-*.

2400 *ti(m)b- “navel”

WCh *timb- “navel”: Bol *tumb-*, Krk *timbi*, Ngm *timbo*.

Agaw *i-tib- “navel”: Bil *itibaa*.

Cf. Bed *teefa* “navel” and ECh *dif- (Sok *diff-in*)?

2401 *tin- “tendon, muscle”

Sem *watīn- “aorta”: Arab *watīn*-.
Prefix *wa-.

Agaw *tin- “kind of muscle”: Kem *tināa*.

2402 *tinuq- “stay, dwell”

Sem *tVnuḥ- “stay, dwell”: Arab *tnḥ* [-u-].

WCh *tinuq- “stay, dwell”¹, “sit”²: Sura *ton*¹, Ang *tong*^{1 2}, Ank *tong*², Grk *tung*², Krk *tiṅg*-², Krf *tingu*², Glm *tungw*-².

Agaw *tinu[χ]- “dwell”: Kwr *tānkw*, Dmb *tenku*, Kem *tānkə*.

2403 *tir- “liver, vein”

WCh *tir- “liver”¹, “kidney”², “vein”³: Pol *wa-tera*^{2e}¹, Paa *tir-kwasa*², Miya *tir*³.

SA *tiraw- “liver”: Saho *tiraw*, Afar *tiroo*.

Suffix *-aw-.

LEC *tir(aw)- “liver”: Som *tiro*, traw, Or *tiruu*, Gel *čira*, Kon *tira*, Gat *tira*, Gdl *šira*, Arb *tira*.

Suffix *-aw-.

Wrz *tir- “liver”: War *čira*, čire, Gaw *tire*, cire, Gob *čir*-, Hrs *ciire*, Dob *ciire*.

Omot *tir-/*tur- “liver”: Ome *tire*, Gll *tu²ri*, Ari *turi*.

Cf. a derivative in *tiro[w]- “liver”: Hmr *tirooboo*.

2404 *tir- “building”

Sem *tir- “part of the building”¹, “wall, fence”²: Akk *tēru*¹, Hbr *tīrā*².

Eg *lir.t* “temple” (OK).

l- is a prefix or a sign for a root vowel.

ECh *tir- “house”: Smr *čire*, Kwn *tər*.

2405 *tir- “run”

Sem *tir-/*tur- “run fast”¹, “hurry, hasten”²: Arab *trr* [-i-, -u-]¹, Tgy *trr*².

Secondary *-u-.

Berb *tVr-tVr- “drive, make run”: Ahg *tərtər*.

Reduplication.

ECh *tVr- “run”: Kera *təra*, Kwan *tara*.

2406 *tir- “sew, plait”

WCh *tir- “sew”: Kry *tər*, Miya *tir*, Fyer *tōr*.

Fyer may go back to *taru- or *tiwar-.

CCh *tir- “plait”: Daba *tir*, Mofu *tər-d*.

SA *tar-tar- “sew”: Saho *tartar*-, Afar *tartar*-.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

2407 *tis- “sit”

Eg *tys* “sit” (l).

Vocalic -j-.

WCh *tVs- “sit”: Tala *təsu*.

Cf. Sha *təs* “put down”.

2408 *tiya²-/*tiyaw- “be true, be right”

Eg *tyw* “true” (MK).

WCh *tVyV²- “right” (adj.): Kry *atey*, Miya *te²e*, Mbu *tehu*.

ECh *tiyaw- “right” (adj.): Mig *tiyawa*.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w-.

2409 *tof- “tie”

Eg *ntf* “untie” (n).

Prefix *nV-.

WCh *twaf- “tie up”: Sha *tof*, Klr *tof*.

Cf. Sura *te:p* “plait”, Chip *te:p-ka* id.

CCh *twaf- “sew”¹, “tie”²: Gis *tof*¹, Mofu *tef*-^{1 2}.

2410 *tok- “speak, ask”

Berb *tVk- “inquire”: Ayr *sə-təkk-ət*, Twl *sə-təkk-ət*.

WCh *twak- “talk”¹, “ask”²: Ang *tok*¹, Paa *taku*².

2411 *tor- “clean (v.)

Eg *twr* “clean” (MK).

Vocalic -w-.

CCh **twar*- “sweep”: Masa *tor-amo*, Msm *tor*.

2412 *tuč- “spit”

Berb **tuc*- “cough”: Sml *ttusu*.Eg *ntš* “sprinkle” (med).Prefix **nV*-.WCh **tuči*- “spit”: Sura *tus*, Ang *tis*.

2413 *tuf- “spit”

Sem **tup*- “spit”¹, “spit blood”²: Aram (Jud) *tp̄p*¹, Arab *tff* [-u-]², Gz *tʃ*¹, Tgy *tʃ*¹, Amh *tff*¹, Gaf *tff*¹, Hrr *tʃ*¹, Gur *tʃ*¹.Eg *tʃ* “spit” (pyr).WCh **tuf*- “spit”: Hs *tōfā*, Bol *tuf*, Dera *tuvi*, Ngm *tup*, Fyer *tuf*, Sha *tuf*, DB *tuf*, Ngz *təpku*.CCh **tuf*- “spit”: Mba *tuf*, Zgh *tfa*, Glv *taf*-, Mofu -*təf*-, Daba *tif*, Bch *tufə*, Log *tufi*, Zime *tufo*, Masa *tuf*- *nā*.ECh **tuf*- “spit”: Kera *tufi*, Kwan *atəpē*, Mubi *tuffa*, Brg *čifi*.Brg *čifi* < **tufi*-.Agaw **tif*- “spit”: Bil *tif*, Xmr *tif y-*, Kem *təff y-*.Secondary -i-? Unexpected *t-* in Bil.Bed *tuf* “spit”.LEC **tuf*- “spit”: Som *tuf*, Or *tufe*, Arb *tuf*-.HEC **tuf*- “spit”: Sid *tufi*.

2414 *tug- “strike”

WCh **tug*- “pound, thresh”: Tng *tuge*.CCh **twagVy*- “strike”: BM *togiya*, Masa *toia*.ECh **twaga*- “strike”: Nch *tagi*, Gbr *togoi*.Omot **tug*- “strike”: Kaf *tuug*, *tuuge*.

2415 *tuhal- “container”

Sem **tuhal*- “basket”: Akk *tuhallu*.WCh **tuHal*- “pot”: Sura *tugul*, Ang *tūl*, Mpn *tūl*, Kry *n-dul*, Miya *duwal*, Siri *n-duli*.ECh **VHVL*- “pot”: Mkk *toolo*.Agaw **tul*- “kind of earthenware”: Kem *tolaa*.

2416 *tuk- “beat, press”

Sem **tuk*- “press”¹, “destroy, cut”²: Akk *takāku*¹, Arab *tkk* [-u-]².Berb **tVk*- “knock”: Ahg *tək-ət*.WCh **tak*-/**tuk*- “trample, step on”¹, “beat”², “push”³: Hs *tāka*¹, Ngm *tako*², Bks *tuk*³, DB *tuk*³, Ngz *tak-du*¹.CCh **tukwa*- “clap”¹, “strike”²: Gis *tukwa*-¹, Log *tku*².SA **tak*-/**tok*- “strike”: Afar *tak*-, -*ootok*-.Omot **tuk*- “hit, strike”: Kaf *tuk*-.

2417 *tuka- “burn; ash”

Eg *tkʃ* “burn” (reg), Copt **tōk*: Boh *t'ōk*, Shd *tōk*.WCh **tuʔak*- “ash”: Hs *tōkā*.

Metathesis.

2418 *tuḵ- “go, run”

Sem **tVḵ*-*tVḵ*- “advance quickly”: Arab *tqtq*.

Reduplication.

Berb **tVḵVy*- “mend one's pace”: Ahg *təyiy-ət*.WCh **tuḵwa*- “go away”¹, “run”²: Hs *tūka*¹, Dera *tako*¹, DB *tok*².CCh **tVḵwa*- “follow”: Hwn *təkuwa*.HEC **tok*- “run away”: Sid *tok*-.Initial **t-* < **t-* under the influence of **-k-*.

2419 *tul- “pierce”

Eg *wtn* “pierce” (n).

Vocalic w-.

CCh **tul*- “pierce”: Chb *ntəli*, Nza *təl*-, FJ *tula*-, Mwu *utulo*.Rift **tul*- “split into two”: Kwz *tul-as*-.

2420 *tul- ‘‘hang’’

Sem **tVlVy*- ‘‘hang’’: Akk *tullû*, Hbr *tly*.

Based on **tVl*-.

ECh **tul*- ‘‘hang’’: Ndam *tula*, Lele *tuul*.

2421 *tum- ‘‘break, beat’’

WCh **tumi*- ‘‘destroy’’¹, ‘‘break’’²: Mnt *tam*, *tum*¹, Wrj *təm*²,

Kry *tum*², Cagu *tam*², Mbu *tīm*², Jmb *tuma*².

CCh **tum*- ‘‘hit’’: Msm *tum*, Mafa *tvm*.

LEC **tum*- ‘‘beat, pound’’: Som *tum*-, Or *tuma*, Rnd *tum*, Arb *tum*-.

2422 *tupah- ‘‘apple’’

Sem **tupāh*- ‘‘apple’’: Hbr *tappū^h*, Arab *tuffāh*-.

Berb **tVfah*- ‘‘apples’’: Izy *etteffah*.

From Arab?

2423 *tuq- ‘‘pour’’

Sem **tuh*- ‘‘pour, pour too much’’: Akk *taḥāḥu* [-*u*-].

WCh **taq*- < **tuqa*- ‘‘pour’’: Sura *tak*.

CCh **tuqa*- ‘‘pour out’’: Bud *tuka*-.

2424 *tur- ‘‘push’’

Sem **tVr*- ‘‘push gently’’: Soq *ter*.

Cf. **tar*- ‘‘blow’’ (n.): Arab *tār*-.

WCh **turi*- ‘‘push’’: Hs *tūra*, Gwn *tūraa*, Grk *tir*, Krf *tuuru*-, Gera *tuurə*-, Say *turi*.

ECh **tur*- ‘‘push’’: Dng *ture*.

2425 *tur- ‘‘lift’’

Sem **tVrV²*- ‘‘lift’’: Akk *tarû*.

Based on biliteral **tVr*-.

Eg *twj* ‘‘lift’’ (pyr).

Vocalic -*w*-.

CCh **turi*- ‘‘lift’’: Gaa *itiri*, Gab *tiri*, Boka *tiri*, Hwo *turaḡ*.

Cf. also Tera dial. *dīra* id.

2426 *turVb- ‘‘earth, sand’’

Sem **turb*- ‘‘earth, dust’’: Akk *tarbu²tu*, Arab *turb*-, *turb-at*-, *turāb*-.

Cf. Hss *terōb* ‘‘do the ritual ablutions with sand’’.

WCh **turVb*- ‘‘sandy soil’’: Hs *turḫāyā*.

Secondary emphatic.

2427 *tuwur- ‘‘turn’’

Sem **tūr*- ‘‘turn’’: Akk *tāru*, Arab *twr* [-*u*-].

CCh **tuwur*- ‘‘turn’’: Daba *tuwur*.

2428 *tü²al- ‘‘tree, bush’’

Sem **tü²al*- ‘‘white cedar’’: Akk *tü²alu*.

CCh **tuwal*- < **tü²al*- ‘‘sheanut tree’’: Hwn *tūwala*.

ECh **twal*- < **tü²al*- ‘‘bush’’: Kwan *tolā*.

2429 *tül- ‘‘hill’’

Sem **tall*-/**till*- ‘‘hill’’: Akk *tīlu*, Ug *tl*, Hbr *tēl*, Aram (Syr) *tellō*, Arab *tall*-.

WCh **tul*- ‘‘hill-top’’: Hs *tull-uwā*.

LEC **tul*- ‘‘hill’’: Or *tuluu*.

HEC **tul*- ‘‘hill’’: Sid *tullo*.

2430 *t[ü]m- ‘‘fish’’

Eg *tm.t* ‘‘kind of fish’’ (med).

CCh **tum*- ‘‘fish’’: Msg *tum*.

ü* is reconstructed on the basis of forms appearing in HS compound **tüm-meḥas*-. This root serves as a second component of a Cush composite for ‘‘fish’’: LEC **kur-tum*- (Or *qurtummi*, Gdl *kurtum-et*) and HEC **kir-tum*-/kur-tum*- (Sid *kilti²mi*, Dar *kultu²me*, Had *kurṭume*, Ala *kurčum-et*, Bmb *kur-ṭume*, Kmb *kurtum*).

2431 *tüm-meḥas- ‘‘crocodile, snake’’

Sem **tümšāḥ*- ‘‘crocodile’’: Arab *tümšāḥ*-.

Haplology and metathesis.

Eg *tšmm* “crocodile” (gr).

Metathesis and loss of the laryngeal in Late Eg. Note irregular
-š- < *-s-.

CCh **iṁyas-* < **tūmyaHas-* “horned viper”: Mofu *timeš*.

ECh **tumVs-* “crocodile”: Mubi *tumsa*, Mkk *tumsa*.

Borrowed from Arab?

Compound with the original meaning “snake-fish” of **i[ū]m-*
“fish” and **meḥas-* “big snake, crocodile”.

2432 *tVb- “move upwards”

Sem **tVb-* “rise”: Akk *tebū*.

Berb **tVb-* “lay off, raise”: Ahg *a-təb*.

Eg *ibtb* “pull up, raise”.

Reduplication.

Cf. **tab(b)-* “uphill, slope”: Or *tabba*.

2433 *tVfal-/*tVfil- “spit”

Sem **tVpil-/*tVpul-* “spit”: Arab *tfl* [-i-, -u-], Jib *tfol*, Hss *tefōl*, Mhr
tefōl, Shh *tfol*.

CCh **tVfal-* “spit”: Muk *tfala*.

Derived from **tuf-* “spit”.

2434 *tVk-tVk- “trample, knock”

Sem **tVk-tVk-* “trample”: Arab *tktk*.

Berb **tVk-tVk-* “knock slightly”: Ahg *təktək*.

Eg *tktk* “trample (enemies)”.

Reduplication of **tuk-* “beat, press”.

2435 *tVm-tVm- “speak indistinctly”

Sem **tVm-tVm-* “stammer”¹, “grumble”²: Arab *tmtm*¹, Jib
*ettəmtim*².

Berb **tVm-tVm-* “whisper” (n.): Izd *a-təmtəm*.

Reduplication.

2436 *tVrVk- “beat, strike”

Sem **tVrVk-* “beat”: Akk *tarāku*.

Berb **tVrVk-* “strike”: Ahg *ə-trək*.

2437 *tVwVr- “flow”

Sem **tūr-* “flow”: Arab *twr* [-u-].

Berb **tVwVr-* “be full (of liquid)”: Ahg *ə-twər*.

Eg *twr* “waters” (BD).

Deverbative?

2438 *tVy- “father, chief”

Berb **tVy-* “stepfather”: Ahg *tey*.

Eg *ity* “father, monarch, prince” (OK).

*ṭ

2439 *ṭa²-/*ṭaw- “fold, spin”

Sem **tūy-* “spin”¹, “fold, wrap”², “turn”³, “plait, twist”⁴:
Akk *ṭawū*¹, Hbr *ṭwy*¹, Aram *ṭwy*¹, Arab *ṭwy* [-i-]², Gz *ṭwy*³,
Tgr *ṭāwa*^{3 4}, Hrr *ṭewō*², Gur *aṭwayyā*⁴.

Based on biconsonantal **ṭVw-*.

WCh **ṭat-* “spin”: Ang *tat*.

Reduplication.

Berb **ṭVw-/*ṭVy-* “be folded”¹, “fold, bend”²: Ahg *a-ḏə*¹, Twl
*a-ḏu*², Sgr *a-ḏi*².

Bed *ḏa²* “plait, weave”.

LEC **ḏaw-* “spin”: Or *ḏaw-*.

Consonantal alternation *ṭ- ~ *-w-.

2440 *ṭa²-/*ṭaw- “go, come”

Sem **tū²-* “go and come”¹, “come”²: Arab *ṭw²* [-u-]¹, Hss *ṭewō*².

Based on **ṭVw-*.

WCh **ṭa²-* “go”: Wrj *ṭa-n*, Siri *ṭa*, Jmb *da*.

CCh *tuw- < *tVw- “go”: Bnn *tuwwa*.

ECh *tawi- “go, walk”: Tum *tiw*, Sok *teui*.

Agaw *taw- “enter”: Bil *tuw*, Xmt *taw*, Kwr *tuw*, Dmb *tuw*, Kem *tuw*, Aun *tuu*, Dmt *tow*.

Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-w-.

2441 *ta³-/*taw-/*tay- “cloth”

WCh *tay- “mat”: Hs *tailai*, *tailayī*.

Reduplication.

Bed *da³* “cloth”.

LEC *daw- “cloth”: Or *daw*-.

Omot *[t]aH- “clothes”: Anf *ta-ho*.

Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-w- ~ *-y-.

2442 *ta³um- “speak”

WCh *ta³um- “sing”: Mnt *tam*, Wrj *təm*, Mbu *təm*, Kry *tuma*, Paa *təma*, Miya *tām*, Jim *duma*.

HEC *ta³Vm- “ask”: Sid *ta³m*-, Kab *ta³m*-, Had *tam*-.

2443 *ta³ür- “bird”

Sem *ta³ir- “bird, fly”: Arab *ta³ir*-.

CCh *tūr- < *tV³ur- “partridge”: Gis *tūro*.

ECh *tur- “hen”: Nch *turo-ba*, Kbl *turo*.

Contraction.

Bed *an-qiro* “hen”.

Prefix *an*-.

Cf. Berb *tir- “falcon”: Izy *ettīl*, Izd *ə-ttir*.

2444 *tab- “tribe”

Sem *tVb- “tribe”: Gur *təb*.

Berb *tab- “crowd, meeting”: Ahg *ə-ttabu*.

2445 *tab- “plug, bolt”

Sem *tabb- “plug”: Arab *tabb-at*-.

Berb *tab- “lock, bolt”: Siwa *ə-ttāb-ət*.

Cf. WCh *tVb- < *tVb- “close, cover”: Kry *təbə*, Jmb *dəbə*.

2446 *tab- “cut, tear”

Sem *tVb- “skin” (v.): Gog *tābba* ², Gur *tābba* ², Slt *tābā* ².

Eg *dbdb* “pierce, tear” (l).

Reduplication.

WCh *tab- < *tab- “rip (garment)”: Hs *tābe*.

Shift of emphatization.

2447 *tab- “catch, seize”

Eg *dbdb* “catch, seize”.

Reduplication.

WCh *tab- < *tab- “catch, seize”: Hs *tabē*, Glm *tab*, Gera *taw*, Geji *doḫi*.

CCh *tVb- < *tVb- “take”: Mofu *təb*-.

ECh *tiḫ- < *tib- “plunder”: Mkk *tiḫa*.

2448 *tab- “container”

Eg *tb.t* “box” (gr).

WCh *tab < *tab- “sack, bag, quiver”: Bol *taba*, Ngz *taḫa*.

Cf. Ang *tip* “sack”.

CCh *tiḫ- < *tib- “calabash”: Gaa *tiḫa*, Gbn *tiḫe*.

Cf. also *timb- id.: Lame *tēmbi*, LPe *timbi*, ZBt *timbi*. Secondary *-i-?

HEC *tab- “clay plate”: Had *taaba³u*, Kmb *taba-ta*.

2449 *tabaḳ- “container”

Sem *tabaḳ- “tray, pan”: Aram *tabāq*-, Arab *tabaq*-.

CCh *tabaḳ- < *tabaḳ- “bag”: Gis *tabaḳ*-.

If not an Arab loanword.

Derived from *tab- “container”.

2450 *tabVI- “drum”

Sem *tabl- “drum”: Akk *tabalu*, Aram (Syr) *tabl-*, Arab *tabl-*, Gur *tabl-*, Hss *tabl*, Mhr *tābel*, Shh *tel*.

Berb *tVbVI- “drum”: Ahg *e-ttebel*, Twl *e-ttebel*, Kby *a-ttēbol*.

Sem loanword?

Eg *tbn* “drum” (gr).

Derived from *tab- “container”.

2451 *ta^c- “fly” (v.)

Sem *tūs- “fly”¹, “jump up”²: Hbr *twš*¹, Jib *tešš*².

Based on *tVš-.

WCh *ta^c- “fly”: Hs *tāši*.

2452 *tag-/*tug- “ear”

ECh *tug- “ear”: Kwan *tuga*.

SA *dag- “eardrum”: Afar *daaga*.

LEC *deg-/*dog- “ear”: Som *deg*, Rnd *dogo*.

Vocalism is not clear.

HEC *tag- “ear”: Bmb *daga*.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2453 *ta^c-ta^c- “trample”

Sem *tV^c-tV^c- “trample”: Arab *t^ct^c*.

WCh *tat- “kick”: Ang *tat*.

LEC *da^c-da^c- “march, trample”: Som *da^cda^c*.

Reduplication.

2454 *ta^cam- “taste, eat”

Sem *tV^cam- “taste, eat”: Hbr *t^cm*, Aram *t^cm*, Arab *t^cm* [-a-], Gz *t^cm*, Jib *ta^cam*, Soq *ta^cam*, Hss *tām*, Mhr *tām*, Shh *t^cam*.

SA *da^cam- “taste” (v.): Saho *da^cam-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC *da^cam- “taste” (n.): Som *da^can*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Dhl *lem-* “try, look at”.

-e- results from a contraction.

2455 *ta^cahan- “grind, forge”

Sem *tV^chan- “grind corn, pound”: Hbr *ṭhn*, Arab *ṭhn* [-a-], Jib *ṭahan*, Soq *ṭahan*, Hss *ṭehān*, Mhr *ṭehān*, Shh *ṭhān*.

WCh *ta^cHan- “press down”¹, “forge”²: Ang *ten*¹, Tng *toni*².

Contraction.

2456 *ta^cahin- “tooth”

Sem *tāhin- “molar”: Arab *tāhin-at-*.

WCh *tV^chin- “tooth”: Wrj *təyn-*, Kry *tin*, Miya *tiyim*, Paa *udini*, Cagu *dīne*, Mbu *ṭīno*, Jmb *dīna*.

Connected with *ta^cahan- “grind, forge” (cf. a similar motivation of IE *g^ʷombhos “tooth” ← *g^ʷem- “grind”).

2457 *tal- “give birth”

SA *dal- “give birth”: Saho *dal*, Afar *dal*.

LEC *dal- “give birth”: Som *dal*, Or *dal*.

Isolated verbal stem on which more widespread derivatives are based, cf. *tal- “young animal”.

2458 *tal- “young animal”

Berb *tVl- “calf”: Twl *ā-dēl*.

WCh *tal- “young animal following its mother”: Hs *tāl-iyō*.

Derived from *tal- “give birth”. Cf. Sem *talay- “boy” (Aram *talay-*), “she-goat” (Gz *tāli*).

2459 *tal- “dew, drop”

Sem *tall- “dew, drizzle”: Hbr *tal*, Aram (Syr) *tall-*, Arab *tall-*, Gz *tal*, Hss *tel*, Mhr *tel*, Shh *tehl*.

CCh *tVl- “drop” (n.): Bud *tolo*.

Cf. a derivative in LEC *dol- “big white cloud”: Som *dol?*

2460 *tal-/tul- “flow, pour”

Sem *tul- “sprinkle”¹, “moisten”²: Hbr *tlp*¹, Arab *ṭll* [-u-]², Gz *ṭll*².

WCh *tal- “flow”: Bks *tal*.

Alternation *a ~ *u.

2461 *tana- “weave, sew”

Sem *tVnV- “weave”¹, “tie, plait”²: Akk *tenu*¹, Hbr *tn*².

WCh *ta²an- “sew”: Sura *taan*, Mpn *taan*, Ang *ten*, Mnt *tan*, Ank *tan*.

Metathesis. Cf. WCh *tyan-H- “rope”: Sura *teṅ*, Ang *tang*, Mnt *teng*, Ank *tieng*, Mpn *teṅ*.

2462 *taraḱ- “snare”

Sem *tarḱ- “trap, net”: Arab *ṭaraq-*, *ṭarq-*.

WCh *tarVḱ- “snare, trap”: Hs *tarko*.

A Sem loanword?

2463 *tarer- “drip”

Berb *tVrVr- “sprinkle”: Ahg *e-drer*.

ECh *tarVr- “water flow”: Mig *tarro*.

LEC *ḍarer- “dripping”: Som *ḍarer*.

2464 *tarip- “tree”

Sem *tarpa²- “tamarind”: Akk *ṭarpa²u*.

ECh *tirip- “kind of tree”: Bid *tirip*.

Assimilation of vowels.

2465 *tas- “dish”

Sem *tass- “dish”: Arab *tass-*, *tās-*.

Berb *tas- “dish”: Izd *a-ttas*, Kby *a-ttas*.

WCh *tas- “dish”: Hs *tāsā*.

Berb and WCh forms may be Arab loanwords.

2466 *taw- “roof”

Eg *twṣ.t* “temple roof” (gr).

Vocalic -ṣ.

WCh *taw- “roof”: Fyer *taw*, Wrj *tuwai*.

2467 *tem- “hide, close”

Sem *tVm- “close (ears)”: Akk *tummumu*.

D stirpes.

Eg *tmm* “close” (pyr).

CCh *tyam- “hide”: Bud *tema-hi*.

2468 *ti²uḥ-/tiwuḥ- “kill, destroy”

Sem *tūḥ- “perish”: Arab *ṭwh*.

Eg *tṣḥ* “kill” (gr).

WCh *ti²uḥ- “kill”: Sura *tu*, Ang *tu*, Chip *to*, Wrj *təy*, Kry *tə:γ-*,

Diri *tu*, Miya *təy*, Cagu *tiyu*, Siri *təy*, Mbu *təy*, Jmb *tiy-*, Brm *tuge*.

Consonantal alternation *-ṣ- ~ *-w-.

2469 *tiba^c- “push”

Sem *tVba^c- “put a seal”: Arab *ṭb^c* [-a-].

LEC *ḍīb- < *ḍiHab- “push”: Or *ḍiiba*.

Metathesis.

2470 *tif- “drop, rain”

Sem *tipp- “drop”: Hbr *tippā*, Aram (Bibl) *tipp-*.

WCh *taf- < *tifa- “rainy season”: Bks *tafu*.

CCh *ta-tVf- “drizzle”: Mofu *tatəf*.

Partial reduplication.

2471 *tif-tif- “drizzle, drops”

Sem *tip-tip- “drizzle” (n.): Tgr *tiftif*, Tgy *tiftif*.

Eg *dfdf.t* “drops” (XX).

Reduplication of *tif- “drop, rain”.

2472 *ṭin- "earth, dirt"

Sem *ṭin- "clay, earth, dirt": Aram (Syr) *ṭinō*, Arab *ṭīn*-, Jib *ṭun*, Hss *ṭayn*, Mhr *ṭayn*, Shh *ṭin*.
 Eg *itn*, *iwn* "earth" (a).
 CCh *ṭVn- "earth": Log *tən*.

2473 *ṭir- "mug, pot"

WCh *ṭyarVr- "small basket": Hs *tērērē*.
 Partial reduplication.
 ECh *ṭir- "mug": Kera *tirə*.
 LEC *ṭer- "pot": Som *ṭeri*.

2474 *ṭob- "leather strap"

WCh *ṭwab- "loin cloth": Hs *tōbī*.
 CCh *ṭVb- < *ṭVb- "rope": Mafa *təḫa*.
 Shift of emphatization.
 Omot *ṭub- "hide used as a shroud": Kaf *ṭubboo*.

2475 *ṭub- "young person"

CCh *ṭub- "younger sibling": Gis *tuba*.
 LEC *ṭob- "young person": Or *ṭobbee*.
 Note Or *ṭ*-.

2476 *ṭub- "drip, be wet"

Sem *ṭVb- "drip": Tgr *ṭab bāla*, Gur *ṭab balā*.
 Cf. also Gz *nṭb* id.
 Berb *ṭVb- "drip": Ahg *əṭṭəb*.
 ECh *ṭubi- "humid": Smr *tuba*, Nch *tibi*.
 LEC *ṭub- "soak": Or *ṭuuba*.

2477 *ṭub- "cover"

Berb *ṭVb- "cover": Ayr *ə-ḏəb*, Twl *ə-ḏəb*.
 WCh *ṭub- < *ṭub- "cover": Kry *təḫə*, Jmb *duḫa*.

2478 *ṭuč- "cacare, pedere"

Sem *ṭVṬ- "cacare": Arab *ṭṭ*.
 From biconsonantal *ṭVṬ-.
 WCh *ṭučī- "pedere" ¹, "cacare" ²: Hs *tūsa* ¹, Bgh *ti:s* ².
 LEC *ṭuš- "pedere": Som *ḡus*, Or *ḡuufa*.

2479 *ṭučar- "container"

Sem *ṭušar- "bag": Akk *tušaru*.
 Eg *dšr.t* "vessel" (pyr).

2480 *ṭu'an-/*ṭu'un- "pierce, pinch"

Sem *ṭV'an- "pierce with a spear" ¹, "thrust at" ²: Arab *ṭ'an* [-a-] ¹,
 Hss *tōn* ², Mhr *ṭān* ², Shh *ṭ'an* ².
 WCh *ṭuHun- "pinch": Mpn *tuun*.

2481 *ṭu(m)f- "fill, be full"

Sem *ṭVp- "be full": Akk *ṭapāpu*.
 WCh *ṭumf- "fill up": Hs *tumfaye*.
 Secondary nasal infix?

2482 *ṭup- "jump"

Sem *ṭVp- "jump": Hbr *ṭpp*.
 HEC *ṭop(p)- "jump": Had *ṭopp*-.
 Omot *ṭup(p)- "run away" ¹, "jump" ²: Kaf *ṭup* ¹, Mch *ṭuppi* ².

2483 *ṭup- "clap, grasp, take"

Sem *ṭVp- "take, grasp" ¹, "clap" ², "give" ³, "stretch hand" ⁴:
 Arab *ṭff* [-u-] ¹, Gur *ṭf*, *ṭff* ², Soq *ṭef* ³, *ṭayif* ⁴.
 Berb *ṭVf- "grasp, seize": Nfs *əṭṭəf*, Siwa *əṭṭəf*, Ghat *əṭṭəf*, Ahg *əṭṭəf*,
 Zng *yo-ḏəf*, Rif *əṭṭəf*, Kby *əṭṭəf*.
 HEC *ṭep- "stretch hand": Sid *ṭeep*.
 Secondary *-e-?

2484 *turaḥ- “throw, fall”

Sem *tVraḥ- “throw”: Arab *trḥ* [-a-].

CCh *turVH- “fall”: Ngw *tiri*, HF *turi*, HNk *təṣe*, HGh *təre*, FKl *təru*², FG *təṣəyo*.

2485 *tVn- “call, speak”

Sem *tin- “buzz, tinkle”¹, “call”²: Arab *ṭnn* [-i-]¹, Gur *ṭāna*, *ṭānna*².

WCh *twan- “speak”: Grk *ke-ton*, Sha *ton*.

Irregular correspondence of vowels.

2486 *tVr- “take away”

Sem *²Vr- “take away”: Akk *eṭēru*.

Other laryngeals may be postulated in the anlaut.

The initial *HV- appears to be a prefix.

Eg *dr* “take away” (pyr).

Eg *d* < HS *t is regular.

*W

2487 *wa- “burn, roast”

CCh *wa- “roast”: Mwu *u-wo*.

Cf. reduplicated *wa-wa- “fire, heat; burn” (Mofu *waw*, *awaw*, Mnd *wawa*).

ECh *wa- “roast”¹, “be hot”²: Smr *wa*¹, Tum *woi*².

Agaw *wa- “burn, be hot”: Kwr *waa*.

2488 *wa³- / *way- “be glad”

Eg *iwā* “be glad, rejoice” (n).

Prefix *i-*. The meaning is not quite definite.

WCh *way- “be glad”: Tng *way*.

Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-y-.

2489 *wa³- / *way- “go, come”

Eg *wāy* “come” (MK).

Vocalic -³-.

WCh *wa³- “return”¹, “go (away)”², “come”³: Ang *wē*¹, Mnt *wa*², Dera *wa*-³, Tng *wa*-³, Fyer *wu*², Bks *wa*².

CCh *wa³i- “go”¹, “come”²: Hwn *wi*, Mba *wo*².

ECh *wa³- “run”: Smr *wa*, Sbn *wa*.

Omot *waH- “come”: Kaf *waa*, Anf *waa*, Bwo *waa*, Gim *wo*.

Consonantal alternation *-³- ~ *-y-.

2490 *wa³ar- “dance” (v.)

Eg *wār* “dance” (v.) (gr).

The meaning is not quite definite.

ECh *waHar- “dance” (v.): Bid *waar*, Mig *waaro*.

2491 *wa³aš- “be happy”

Eg *wāš* “be happy” (a).

ECh *waHaš- “be happy”: Kera *waale*.

2492 *waçV^c- “bird”

Sem *waç^c- “little bird”: Arab *waç^c*.

Eg *wāç^c* “grey crane” (OK).

2493 *waĉ- “man”

Eg *wāš.t* “description of men” (pyr).

Vocalic -³-.

WCh *waĉ- “father-in-law”: Bks *was*, DB *wāš*.

2494 *waĉ- / *³oĉ- “hen”

Eg *wāš.t* “poultry” (MK).

Vocalic -³-.

ECh *³was- “hen”: Mkk *ṣosso*.

Consonantal alternation in the anlaut.

2495 *wačač- “stand up”

Sem *wVšVč- “climb, mount”: Arab wšč.

ECh *wač- “stand up”: Mig wačaw, Sok wəsə.

2496 *wad- “love, want”

Sem *wad- “love, want”: Ug ydd, Hbr ydd, Arab wdd [-a-], Gz wdd.

CCh *wad- “want”: Mofu -wud-, Gis wad, wud.

Secondary emphatic.

2497 *wad- “cook, roast”

Eg wdd “be cooked” (med).

Partial reduplication.

WCh *wad- “cook”: Grk uat, Krk waḏu, Dera wuri, Ngm woḏ-,

Gera wad-, Glm wary-.

Secondary emphatic.

LEC *wad- “roast”: Or waada, Kon waat-, Arb wad-, waad-.

Wrz *wat- “roast”: Gaw waat-.

2498 *wadak- “fat, grease”

Sem *wadak- “fat, grease”: Arab wadak-.

WCh *duk- “fat, grease”: Pol duku.

From *dVwVk-.

CCh *dwak- < *dVwak- “fatness”: Gbn ndoku-ri, Hwo ndəw-rara,

Glv ndəyu-ga, Zgh ndəya, Gava ndəya, Gaa daku-raba.

Metathesis in WCh and CCh.

2499 *wagal- “fright, fear”

Sem *wVgal- “be frightened”: Arab wgl [-a-].

ECh *walVg- “fright, fear”: Kera walga.

Metathesis.

Cf. *wagar- “be afraid” and *wahal- “be afraid”.

2500 *wagar- “be afraid”

Sem *wVgar- “be afraid”: Hbr ygr, Arab wgr [-a-].

ECh *urVg- “fear”: Mkk ʔurg-.

Metathesis.

2501 *wač- “beast of prey”

Sem *wač-wač- “jackal, fox”: Arab wačwač-.

Reduplication.

Eg wč.ty “lion” (gr).

2502 *wačab-/yačab- “wash”

Eg wčb “wash” (pyr), Copt *wop id.: Shd ouop.

CCh *yaHab- “wash”: Kus ubau, HNK yəḃu-, Kap yaḃu-, FGI ʔyeḃa-,

HGH yaḃa-, Bch yəḃwə.

Consonantal alternation *w- ~ *y- in the anlaut.

2503 *wačan- “conifer”

Eg wčn “conifer” (XVIII).

CCh *waHan- “wood, firewood”: Log wahan, Gul wān.

2504 *wačar- “go, run”

Sem *wVčr- “walk, go”: Akk âru, wâru.

Eg wčr “run away” (MK).

CCh *wVraw- < *wVraH- “return”: Zgh wrawa.

Metathesis.

HEC *waHar- “come”: Had waar-.

Etymologically connected with *wačVr- “leg”.

2505 *wačül- “antelope”

Sem *wačil- “antelope”¹, “ibex”²: Ug yčl¹, Hbr yāčāl¹, Aram yačlā¹, Arab wačil-, wačul-², SAR wčl¹, Gz wəčla¹, Mhr wēl¹, Hss wāl¹.

WCh *wul- < *wVul- “antelope”: Geji wulli, ulli.

ECh *wayil- < *wačil- “antelope”: Lele ol, Kbl yilə.

LEC *ʔaw(V)l- “gazelle”: Som ʔawl-kii.

Metathesis.

2506 *wa^cVR- “leg”Eg *w^cr.t* “leg” (MK).WCh *war- < *waHVR- “leg”: Ank *warr*.CCh *wVR- “leg”: Msg *werē*.Cf. Sem *warr- “hip-bone” (Arab *warr*-)?

2507 *wahig-/ *yahig- “burn”

Sem *wVhig-/ *yVhig- “burn and shine (of fire)”: Arab *whg, yhg* [-i-].ECh *Hig- < *wVHig- “burn”: Mig *’iggo*, Bid *’egey*.Rift *yog- “fire”: Asa *yogo*.

Note initial *y-.

Consonantal alternation *w- ~ *y-.

2508 *wahal- “be afraid”

Sem *wVhal- “be afraid”: Arab *whl* [-a-].WCh *wawal- < waHal- “be afraid”: Paa *wowal*.ECh *yal- “be afraid”: Sok *yele*.

2509 *wah- “break”

Eg *wh³* “break stones” (OK).Vocalic -*3*.CCh *wa[x]- “break”: Gis *wah*.Cf. Mofu -*uh*- id.

2510 *wah- “die; death”

Eg *wh³* “deadly illness” (med).Deverbal. -*3* stand for the root vowel *a.WCh *wah- “perish”: DB *wah*.CCh *waH-/ *way- “death”: Gude *wa*, Nza *wo*, Bch *wey*.

2511 *wah- “put”

Eg *w³h* “put” (pyr), Copt *wōh: Fym *ouōh*, Akh *ouōh*, Boh *ouoh*, Shd *ouōh*.WCh *wuH- “put”: Dera *wui*.

Secondary *u.

ECh *waH- “lay down”: Jegu *’oo*.2512 *wahi^c- “fish, catch”Eg *wh^c* “fish” (v.) (n).WCh *waHi- “fish, catch” (v.): Tng *oi*.2513 *wahV^c- “loosen, uncover”Eg *wh^c* “loosen” (pyr).WCh *waH- “loosen, uncover, open”: Sura *wō*, Ank *wau*.

2514 *wah- “want”

Sem *wVhVy- “tend, plan, suggest”: Arab *wh^y* [-i-].Eg *wh³* “want, look for” (MK), Copt *wōhe: Fym *ouōš*, Akh *ouōhe*,Boh *ouōš*, Shd *ouōš*.CCh *way- < *waH- “want, look for”: Mnd *waya*, Zime *wa*.ECh *wVH- “look for”: Mkk *wi²e*.

2515 *wah- “be dark, be black”

Eg *wh³*, *wh³* “dark” (MK).Vocalic -*3*.WCh *wuH- < *waHu- “black”: Grk *wuu*.

2516 *wakib- “go”

Sem *wVkVb- “go slowly”¹, “enter”²: Arab *wkb* [-i-], Hss *wekōb*², Mhr *wekōb*², Shh *ekob*².WCh *kwab- < *kawVb- “come, pass by”: Mnt *kop*, Bol *koḥ*-, Tng *koobe*.

Metathesis. Secondary emphatic in Bol.

Derived from *kab- “go, follow”.

2517 *waḲ- “be afraid”

Sem *wVḲVy- “be afraid”: Ug *wqy*, Arab (VIII) *wqy*.

Based on *wVḱ-.

WCh *waḱ- 'frighten': Sura *wuk*, Ang *wok*.

2518 *waḱa- 'fall'

Sem *wVḱa- 'fall': Arab *wq* [-a-].

WCh *wuk- 'fall': Dera *wukot*, Tng *wuge*, *uk*.

Secondary *-u-?

CCh *wak- 'fall': Mofu *wak*.

Cf. Kus *akai* id. < *wakaH-?

2519 *wal- 'lamentation; weep'

Sem *wal-wāl- 'lamentations': Arab *walwāl-at*.

Reduplication.

WCh *wal-/wil- 'cry, sob': Ang *wāl*, Chip *wil*.

ECh *wal- 'funeral song': Sok *olu*.

2520 *walad- 'boy, child'

Sem *walad- 'boy, child': Akk *ildu*, Ug *yld*, Hbr *yeled*, Arab *walad*-, Gz *wald*.

Cf. Akk *līdu* id.

LEC *wadal- 'brother'¹, 'young man'²: Rnd *walal*¹, Bay *wadala*².

Metathesis. Assimilation of consonants in Rnd.

Derived from *wiled- 'give birth'.

2521 *wala- 'love' (v.)

Sem *wVla- 'be infatuated': Arab *wl* [-a-].

WCh *waHal- 'love': Sura *wal*, Mpn *wāl*.

Metathesis.

2522 *walem- 'right (side)'

Eg *wnmy* 'to the right' (pyr), Copt *winam: Fym *iōnam*, Boh *ouīnam*, Shd *ounam*.

Vocalic -y.

ECh *walyam- 'right' (adj.): Kbl *uolema*.

Cf. Smr *oama* id. < *olama?

2523 *wama- 'swear, call'

Sem *wVma- 'swear, make a sign': Akk *wamā'u*, Aram *'imō*, Arab *wam* [-a-].

LEC *waHam- 'call, invite': Or *waama*.

Metathesis.

2524 *wan- 'open'

Eg *wn* 'open' (pyr).

WCh *wan-H- 'open': Sura *waj*, Mpn *waj*, Fyer *waj*.

Note a laryngeal suffix.

ECh *wVn- 'open': Mubi *wen*.

2525 *wan- 'light' (n.)

Eg *wny* 'light' (gr), Copt *wōyini: Boh *ouōini*, Shd *ouoein*.
Suffix -y.

WCh *wun- 'day': Hs *wuni*, Ngz *wəni*.

Secondary *-u-?

CCh *wan- 'day': Daba *wan*, Mus *waj*.

Secondary laryngeal in Mus.

2526 *war- 'throw'

Sem *wur- 'throw': Ug *yry*, Hbr *yry*, Arab *wrr* [-u-], Gz *wrw*.
Secondary vocalism after a labial.

ECh *war- 'throw, cast': Kbl *wəri*, *wəri*, Dng *ore*.

Agaw *wa-wVr- 'throw': Aun *wowər-əṭ*.

Partial reduplication.

2527 *war- 'bull, cow'

Eg *wr*- 'kind of cattle' (OK), *wr.t* 'sacred cow' (MK).

WCh *warar- 'vicious bull': Hs *wārārī*.

Partial reduplication.

2528 *war- “burn; flame”

Sem *wVrVy- “be lit up (of fire)”: Arab *wry*.

Based on *wVr-.

Eg *wr.t* “definition of the flame” (gr).

Cf. Eg *wṣwṣ.t* “fire” (XVIII).

CCh *war- “roast”: Zime *wor*.

2529 *war-/ʷur- “be big, be strong”

Sem *wVrVy- “be fat”: Arab *wry*.

Based on biconsonantal *wVr-.

Eg *wr* “big; strength” (pyr).

WCh *war- “strength”¹, “surpass”²: Ank *warr*¹, Glm *war*-²,
Gera *wur*-².

Cf. Ang *war-ŋ* “big”.

Rift ʷur- “big, large”: Irq *ur*.

Consonantal alternation ʷ- ~ *w-.

2530 *was- “cut”

Eg *wṣy* “saw (wood)” (OK).

Suffix -y.

WCh *was- “cut”: Bol *wasš*-.

2531 *wasa^c- “be big”

Sem *wVsa^c- “be spacious, big”: Arab *ws^c*, *ys^c* [-a-].

WCh *was- “swell”: Paa *wasu*.

ECh *waHas- “swell, become bigger”: Mig *waase*, Bid *waas*.

Metathesis.

2532 *wat- “roll up”

Eg *wt*, *wyt* “roll up” (pyr).

WCh *wat- “unfold”: Sura *wat*.

2533 *wat- “walk”

Eg *swtwt* “walk” (XVIII).

Reduplication with causative s-.

WCh *wat- “come”: Pero *wat*, Tng *wato*, Say *wət*.

2534 *wat- “call, speak”

WCh *wat- “call”: Pero *wat*.

CCh *wat- “call”: Tera *wat*.

Omot *wat-/ʷat- “say, speak”: Ome *ot*, *yot*, *iwet*-, Yam *it*-, Gim
ayt-.

2535 *way- “say”

CCh *way- “answer”: HF *wε*, Kap *wey*, FJ *wey*.

ECh *way- “say”: Smr *way*-.

Omot *way- “say”: Sezo *wε*.

2536 *way- “be far”

Eg *wṣy* “be far away” (pyr), Copt *wey: Fym *ouēi*, Akh *oue*, Boh
ouei.

WCh *yi-way- “far”: Wrj *yiwei*.

Prefix *yi-.

2537 *wayal- “decline, forget”

Eg *wyn* “decline” (MK), *wyṣ* (NK).

Note *-l- > -n and, later, -ṣ.

ECh *wayal- “forget”: Mubi *wayal*, *wayil*.

LEC *walal- “not know”: Or *walPaala*.

Assimilated from *wayal-?

2538 *wažam- “intestines”

Sem *waḡam- “belly with intestines”: Arab *waḡam-at*-.

Eg *wzmw* “unidentified body-part” (pyr).

Anomalous z < *ž.

Related or identical to *wažan-/wažin- “heart, intestines”.

2539 *wažan-/*wažin- “heart, intestines”

Berb *wažan- “intestines”: Sus *wadan*.

CCh *wyanži- < *wažin- “intestines”: Daba *wenži*.

Metathesis.

Agaw *wažan- “belly, heart”: Bil *wodän*.

SA *wažan- “belly”: Saho *wazano*, *wadano*, Afar *wadanaa*.

LEC *wažin- “heart”: Som *wadna*, Gel *wodimi*.

HEC *wažan- “heart”: Sid *wadana*, *wodana*, Had *wodano*, Ala *wozana*, Bmb *wodena*, Kmb *wožana*, Tmb *wazano*.

Omot *wazen- “heart”: Ome *wazena*.

Cf. WCh *hažin- < *ha-[wa]žin- “intestines” (Hs *hanži*, Krk *azi*, Bol *azin*, Ngm *hazi*, Krf *ažžo*, Gln *aši*, Gera *haza*, Sha *ʔaʔži*) and Dhl *ʔdzone* “spleen”, the latter, probably, reflecting a metathesis of *wažan- > *žawan-.

2540 *wiled- “give birth”

Sem *wVlVd- “give birth”: Akk *walādu*, *alādu*, Ug *yld*, Hbr *yld*, Aram (Syr) *ʔiled*, Arab *wld* [-i-], Gz *wld*.

ECh *yidyāl- < *widyal- “give birth”: Smr *yidele*.
Metathesis.

2541 *wisan- “sleep”

Sem *wVsan- “sleep”: Hbr *yšn*, Arab *wsn* [-a-].

CCh *wisan-H- “sleep”: Log *wisan*, Msg *huissej*.
Suffix *-H-. Log may be an Arab loanword.

2542 *wiyy- “tree”

Eg *lwy* “kind of tree” (gr).

CCh *wiyy- “bush”: Nza *wiye*.

ECh *wuy- < *wiyy- “acacia”: Sok *wui*.

2543 *wuč- “urine”

Eg *wzš.t*, *wšš.t* “urine” (pyr).

-zš and -šš are graphic symbols for the Eg reflex of *-č-.

ECh *wuč- “urine”: Smr *ʔužo*, Ngam *wūžo*, Tum *wuž*, Mobu *uže*, Ndam *wužo*.

2544 *wug- “move quickly”

Sem *wug- “be fast, be quick”: Arab *wgg* [-u-].

ECh *wug- “run”: Ndam *wuga*.

2545 *wul- “rope”

Eg *wn.t* “rope” (pyr).

WCh *wul- “rope”: Gln *wula*, Gera *wula*.

2546 *wuleh- “be green”

Eg *wly* “be green” (pyr).

WCh *wVl- “green”: Dera *wəli-wəli*.

Reduplication.

CCh *wulyaH- “green”: Boka *wexa*, Hwo *wuley-an*.
Contraction in Boka.

2547 *wulig- “enter, pass”

Sem *wVlig- “enter”: Arab *wlg* [-i-].

WCh *wulVg- “pass by”: Hs *wulga*.

2548 *wur- “pit, hole”

Sem *warr- “pit”: Arab *warr-at*.

*u > a after a labial.

WCh *wur- “pit, furrow”: Ngz *wuriya*.

Cf. Tng *wure* “dig (a hole)”.

CCh *wur- “hole”: HNk *wure*.

2549 *wur- “water”

Eg *wrw* “pond” (pyr).

WCh *wur- “stream”¹, “lake”²: Hs *wuriya*¹, Miya *wər*².

Contraction.

2550 *wurVm- “roof”

Eg *wrm* “pavilion” (pyr), “roof” (n).

WCh *wurVm- “cover, thatch”: Tng *wurme*.
Denominative verb?

2551 *wül- “vessel”

Eg *wnw* “beer-mug” (gr).

CCh **wul*- “bowl, calabash”: Msg *ulai*, Mnj *wula*.

LEC **wil*- “gourd”: Or *willee*.

2552 *wüç- “send, order”

Sem **wVçVç*- “order” (v.): Arab *wçy*.

Based on **wVç*-.

Eg *wçy* “send” (XVIII), *wç* “order” (BD).

WCh **wuç*- “send”: Tng *wude*.

2553 *wüp- “open”

Eg *wpy* “open” (pyr).

Vocalic -y. Cf. *wp* “door” (OK).

WCh **wup*- “open”: Dwot *wup*.

2554 *wVçar- “be hostile”

Sem **šūr*- “be hostile, persecute”: Hbr *šwr*.

Metathesis.

Berb **wVçar*- “torture” (v.): Ayr *uçar*, Twl *uçar*.

Derived from **çir*- id.

2555 *wVgab- “cut, pierce”

Sem **gūb*- “cut, pierce”: Arab *gwb* [-u-].

Metathesis.

WCh **[w]Vgab*- “cut”: Ang *gap*, Chip *gəp*, Mnt *gap*, Ank *gup*, Bol *guw*, Tng *kab*-.

2556 *wVgVm- “strike, grind”

Sem **wVgVm*- “strike (with fist)”: Arab *wgm*.

Eg *wgm* “grind” (OK).

2557 *wVgVr- “dig; cavern”

Sem **wagr*- “cavern, hole”: Arab *wagr*-.

Apparently, a deverbative. Cf. *wigār*- id.

WCh **wugVr*- “hollow out, groove”: Tng *wugre*.

2558 *wVhup- “grass, flower”

Sem **wVhip*- “be covered with leaves”: Arab *whf* [-i-].

Derived from a nominal stem.

WCh **wVp*- “grass”: Wnd *wəp*.

ECh **hVwuf*- “flower”: Kera *huufi*.

Metathesis.

2559 *wVIVm- “eat; food”

Sem **wVIVm*- “give a meal, feed”¹, “prepare a meal”²: Arab *wlm*¹, Hss *awlōm*², Mhr *awōlem*², Shh *ulm*².

Eg *wnm* “eat” (pyr).

ECh **wVIVm*- “food”: Kbl *wəlmə*.

Derived from **lam*-/**lum*- “eat”.

2560 *wVriḳ- “be green”

Sem **wVriḳ*- “be greenish”: Akk *warāqu*, arāqu, Hbr *yṛq*, Arab *wṛq* [-i-].

Eg *wṣḳ* “green color” (BD).

Palatalization of **k* > *ḳ*.

2561 *wVšVm- “slaughter” (v.)

Sem **wVšVm*-/**yVšVm*- “tattoo” (v.): Arab *wšm*, *yšm*.

Eg *wšm* “slaughter” (v.) (gr).

2562 *wVṭen- “dwell, stay”

Sem **wVṭin*- “dwell, stay”: Arab *wṭn* [-i-].

WCh **ṭyan*- “sit”: Tala *ten*.

Loss of initial **wV*-.

**wV*- may be a prefix.

2563 *wVtVf- “rain, pour”

Sem *wVtVf- “rain” (v.): Arab *wtf*.

Berb *wVtVf- “ritual ablution”: Ahg *ūdūf*.

Derived from *tj- “drop, rain”.

*y

2564 *ya- “call, speak”

Eg *ly* “saying” (BD).

WCh *ya- “call”: Pero *yo*.

CCh *ya- “call”: Gudu *ya*, Bnn *ya-mu*.

Cf. *yiw- “ask” (FKi *yiwa*-, HNk *yuwe*, Chb *yuwe*).

ECh *ya(y)- “call”: Gbr *ye*.

Agaw *yV- “say”: Xmr *yi*-, *y*-, Xmt *y*-, Kwr *y*-, Dmb *y*-, Kem *y*-.
SA *ya-/ *yi- “say”: Saho *ya*-, *ii*-, Afar *ii*-, *iiy*-.
LEC *ya- “say”¹, “shout”²: Som *ii*-¹, Or *iyya*², Gel *y*-¹.
HEC *yV- “say”: Sid *i*-, *y*-, Had *yi*-, *y*-, Ala *i*-, *yii*-, Bmb *i*-, *y*-, Kmb *yi*-, *y*-.
Omot *yV- “say”: Ome *y*-, Kaf *y*-.

2565 *ya²- “place, house”

Eg *ly.t* “place” (pyr).

CCh *yay- < *yaH- “building”: Muk *yay*.

Cf. Gude *ya* “door”.

ECh *ya²- “house”: Gbr *iā*, Kbl *ya*.

2566 *ya²- “go, come, run”

Berb *yaH- “come”: Izy *iya*, Kby *ayya* (imper.).

WCh *ya²-/ *yaw- “go”¹, “run”², “come”³: Grk *ya*¹, Dera *ya*¹,
Krf *yow*-¹, Bgh *yuway*², DB *yo*¹, Ngz *ya*³.

CCh *ya²- “come”: Daba *ya*.

ECh *ya²- “go”: Tum *ye*, Gbr *yə*, Tob *yə*.

LEC *ya²- “go”: Tum *ye*, Gbr *yə*, Tob *yə*.

LEC *ya²- “run away”: Som *yaa²*-.

Cf. Or *yaa²a* “flow”.

Omot *ya²- “come”¹, “run away”²: Ome *ya*-¹, Hozo *yəi*², Sezo *yə*².

2567 *ya²-/ *yaw- “water, river”

CCh *yaw- “water”: Mnd *yewe*, Zgh *yawe*, Glv *iywa*.

*-i- is secondary. Cf. also a partial reduplication in Mafa *yayaw*- “water used for diluting beer”.

Rift *ya²- “river” (Irq *ya²e*).

Connected with *yaw- “pour, flow”. Consonantal alternation *-j- ~ *-w-.

2568 *ya²-/ *yaw- “foot, leg”

WCh *yaw- “foot”: Dera *yo*, Tng *yo*.

Rift *ya²- “foot, leg”: Irq *ya²e*, Alg *ya²e*, Bur *ya²e*, Kwz *ya²o*.

Connected with *ya²-/ *yaw- “go, come, run”. Consonantal alternation *-j- ~ *-w-.

2569 *yab-/ *yib- “thirst”

WCh *yab-/ *yib- “thirst”: Bgh *yip*, Kir *yap*.

ECh *yib-in- “thirst”: Jegu *yibin*-.

Derivative in *-in-.

Bed *yawa* “thirst”, *yiwai* “thirst”.

Intervocalic *-b- > -w-.

Consonantal alternation *-j- ~ *y- in the anlaut.

2570 *yabil- “bull, ram”

Sem *yabil- “ram”: Hbr *yōbēl*.

Eg *ibj.w* “ovis tragelaphus” (OK).

-j < HS *-l-.

CCh *bVl- “kind of ram”: Mafa *bəlaw*.

ECh *bilVj- “buffalo”: Mkk *bilyo*.

Metathesis.

2571 *yaĉ-/wa-yaĉ- “dog”

Eg *iš* pl. “dogs pulling the ship of the Sun-god” (n).

Bed *yaas* “dog”.

HEC *wis- “dog”: Had *wiša*.

Contraction from *wVys-.

Omot *wayVs- “dogs”: Ome *wayše*.

A derivative from this root is found in Berb *wVs[i]n “jackal”:
Ghd *weššin*, Sml *uššen*, Nfs *uššen*, Qbl *uššen*. Note prefix *wa- in
HEC and Omot.

2572 *yad- “bird”

Eg *idw* “kind of bird” (med).

Suffix -w.

WCh *yadi- “bird”: Grk *yad*, Dera *yidəyo*, Tng *ʔidi*, Maha *widi*,
Fyer *yadu*, Klr *yidi*.

2573 *yadaĉ- “know, think”

Sem *wVdVĉ- “know”: Akk *edû*, Ug *ydĉ*, Hbr *ydĉ*, Aram *ydĉ*, Hss
ṣōda, Mhr *wēda*, Shh *edaĉ*, Soq *edaĉ*.

Eg *idĉ* “clever” (n).

Borrowed from Sem?

LEC *yaHad- “think”: Or *yaada*.

2574 *yal- “stick, branch”

Eg *iʔʔ.t* “branch, scepter” (MK).

WCh *yal- “stick”: Tng *ala*, Bks *yal*.

2575 *yam- “water, sea”

Sem *yamm- “sea”: Hbr *yām*, Ug *ym*, Arab *yamm*-.

CCh *yami- “water”: Gbn *yeme*, Chb *yimi*, HNk *yemi*, FKl *yamu*,
FG *yimu*, Gis *ʔiyam*, Daba *yim*, Msg *yem*, Bld *yam*, Mofu *yam*.

Eg *ym* “sea” (XVIII) is a Sem loanword.

2576 *yam- “day”

Sem *yawm- “day”: Akk *ūmu*, Ug *ym*, Hbr *yōm*, Aram (Syr) *yawmō*,
Arab *yawm*-, Soq *yom*.

Cf. Jib *yum* “sun, light”, Gz *yom* “today”. Based on bicon-
sonantal *yam-?

ECh *yam- “day”: Jegu *yom*.

Note LEC *yawan- “(this) time” (Or *yoowana*)?

2577 *yama²- “wood, tree”

Eg *imʔ* “fruit-tree; wood” (pyr).

WCh *yaHam- “wood, firewood”: Ang *yōm*, Sura *yoyom*.

2578 *yamin- “right (side)”

Sem *yamīn- “right (hand)”: Akk *imnu*, Ug *ymn*, Hbr *yāmīn*, Aram
(Syr) *yāmināy*, Arab *yamīn*-, Gz *yammān*.

Berb *(y)VmVn- “direct”: Izy *mni*, *imna*.

Eg *imn* “right (side)” (pyr).

2579 *yar- “fire; burn”

Eg *ir.t* “flame” (gr).

The meaning is not quite definite.

WCh *yar- “burn”: Bgh *yar*.

CCh *yVr- “heat”: Bud *yir-ow*.

ECh *yar- “burn”: Dng *yere*.

2580 *yar-/yarah²- “cereal”

Sem *yarah²- “kind of barley”: Akk *yarah²hu*.

Eg *iry.t* “corn (as donation)” (XVIII).

ECh *yar- “corn”: Sok *yere*.

2581 *yara²-/*yaraw- “reed”

Sem *yara²- “reed not used for writing”: Arab *yara²*-.

Eg *iʔrw* “reed, rush” (pyr), *iʔr* “kind of plant” (med).

WCh *yVraw- “reed”: Tng *yiro*.

Consonantal alternation *-ɔ- ~ *-w-.

2582 *yasar- “straight”

Sem *yašār- “straight”: Akk *išaru*, Hbr *yāšār*, Aram *yašrā*.

Cf. also Arab *yasar*- “easy, tractable”.

LEC *sir- < *sVyVr- “straight”: Or *sirri*.

Metathesis.

HEC *sayar- “straight”: Sid *sēra*.

2583 *yatin- “day, sun”

Eg *ltu* “sun” (MK).

ECh *yatin-H- “day”: Jegu *yetiq*, ²*etiq*.

2584 *yaw- “pour, flow”

Eg *lwy* “pour out” (MK).

WCh *yaw- “leak, drip”: Ngz *yau*.

2585 *yawan-/yawin- “silt, clay”

Sem *yawīn- “silt, dirt”: Hbr *yāwēn*.

WCh *wan- < *yawan- “clay”: Ang *uan*, *wān*, Ank *uan*, Sura *wān*.

2586 *yawin- “water”

Eg *lwny* “waters” (gr).

Vocalic -y.

CCh *yawin- “water”: Bnn *yowino*.

Derived from *ya²-/*yaw- “water, river”.

2587 *yawir- “neck, throat”

Eg *twy.t* “throat” (gr).

WCh *ha-yawir- “neck, throat”: Grk *arreu*, Dera *wura*, Wrj *yyir-na*,

Kry *rwir*, *wir*, Mbu *rwiro*, *wiro*, Miya *wir*, Cagu *wire*, Siri *yiri*,

Brm *wiyer*, Dwot ²*yār*, Say *yər*, Pol *yuar*, Klr *wir*.

Prefix *ha-.

CCh *wur- “neck”: FG *wūri*, FMch *wura*, FBw *uura*, Gude *wuro*, FK *wura*.

Secondary *-u-.

ECh *wVr- “neck”: Jegu *were*.

2588 *yayVh- “grass, plant”

Eg *lyh* “water plant” (XVIII).

WCh *yay- < *yayVH- “grass”: Hs *yāyē*.

2589 *yi²- “back”

Eg *ly.t* “back” (OK).

CCh *ya²-/*yi²- “back”: Mrg *yi*, Log *ya-hə*, Mnd *yi-ga*.

Agaw *yiw- “small of the back, waist”: Kwr *yewi*.

2590 *yi²-/*yiw- “house”

Eg *lwy.t* “house, town block” (MK).

WCh *yi²- “place”: Kry *iyu*, Cagu *yī*, Mbu *yī*.

Consonantal alternation *-ɔ- ~ *-w-.

2591 *yil- “earth, field”

Eg *lyr* “field” (l).

WCh *yila- “earth”: Sura *yil*, Ang *yil*, Mnt *ka-il*, Ank *yil*, Grk *ril*,

Krk *yali*, Tng *yelli*, Pero *illiy*, Ngm ²*eli*, Gln *yil*, Grn *yil*.

2592 *yipa^c- “shine”

Sem *yVpV^c- “shine”: Hbr *yp^c*.

CCh *pay- < *paH- “dawn” ¹, “sun” ²: Daba *pay* ¹, Gid *pāya* ².

LEC [y]if- “shine”: Or *ifa*.

2593 *yubil- “flow”

Sem *wVbil- “rain abundantly (of the sky)”: Arab *wbl* [-i-].

WCh *yubVl- “dip, dive”: Yng *yuble*.

Related to *bol- “flow, be wet”.

2594 *yubVs- “be dry”

Sem *yVbVš- “be dry”: Hbr *ybs̄*, Arab *ybs*, SAr *ybs*, Gz *ybs*.

WCh *bu[y]Vs- “dry up”: Hs *būše*.

Metathesis.

2595 *yuw- “cow, bull”

Eg *iw* “bull” (pyr).

Bed *yuwe* “cow”.

*3

2596 *3a- “man”

Eg *z* “man” (OK).

WCh *3a-f/*3i-f- “man”: Cagu *zafu*, *žufu*, Wrj *žifa*.

Suffix -f-. Other forms have an additional prefix: Diri *nžovu*, Paa *nžuu*.

CCh *3a-/3u- “man”: Kap *za*, HNk *za*, HF *zu*, HBt *zu*.

ECh *nV-ža(w)- < *nV-3a(w) “man”: Jegu *ža*, Mubi *nžō*, Brg *ža*.

*-ž- < *-3- in contact with the prefix. In Jegu and Brg the initial sonant is lost.

Some of the forms are contaminated with *3a-/3i- “body, meat”.

2597 *3a-/3i- “body, meat”

Eg *d.t* “body” (pyr).

d- < *-3- before a front vowel?

WCh *3i-/3u- “body”: Bol *zuwo*, Krk *zu*, Krf *ži*, Gera *zuwi*, Glm *ži*, Grm *žii*.

CCh *3a- “body”: Bura *3a*, Chb *3a*, Ngw *3a*, Klb *3a*, Hld *3aw*, Wmd *ižaw*, Mrg *u3u*, Mrg *wu3u*.

ECh *3i- “body”: Dng *zi-r*, Mig *zi*, Jegu *zii-to*, Mubi *jo-c*, Bid *zii-te*, Brg *zi*.

Agaw *3iy- “body, meat”: Xmr *ziyaa*, Xmt *siya*, Kwr *zeyaa*, Dmb *zeyaa*, Kem *siyaa*.

Contaminated with *3a- “man”. Alternation *a ~ *i.

2598 *3a²-/*3aw- “go, come”

Eg *z3w* “go slowly, crawl” (OK).

WCh *3a²- “come”¹, “enter”²: Hs *zō*¹, Wrj *zau*², Kry *zau*²,

Paa *za*², Mbu *za-*², Jmb *za-*².

CCh *3aw-/*3ay- “walk”¹, “enter”²: Log *zuwa*¹, LPe *ze*².

ECh *nV-žaw- < *nV-3aw- “go”: Jegu *žawo*, Mubi *nžaa*, *nžau*.

*-ž- < *-3- in contact with the prefix.

Consonantal alternation *-3- ~ *-w-.

2599 *3a²- “son”

Eg *z3* “son” (pyr).

CCh *3a²-/*3ay- “son”: FG *ža*, Gis *za*, Gude *nzu*, Gudu *nži*, Nza *nžay*, Bch *nze*.

2600 *3a²ar- “plant”

Eg *z3r.t* “garden plant” (sarc).

WCh *mu-3aHar- “grass”: Bks *muzaar*.

Prefix *mu-.

ECh *3a-3VHVr- “flower”: Bid *3ozooro*.

Prefix *3a-.

2601 *3ab- “insect”

Eg *zb.t* “kind of insect, parasite” (MK).

Cf. *ddb.t* “scorpion” (l).

CCh *3ab- “termite”: Tera *zaḥa*.

Secondary emphatic.

2602 *3ab- “hair, wool”

Sem *zabab- “wool, down, thick hair”: Arab *zabab-*.

Partial reduplication.

Berb *3Vb- “hair, wool”: Zng *a²-zbi*.

Eg *zb.t* “hairlock” (RGr).

LEC *3ab- “hair”: Or *daabee*, *debb-esa*.

2603 *3agül- “monkey”

ECh *3ugul- “monkey”: Brg *zuguli*.

Assimilation of vowels from *3agul-.

Agaw *3agill- “monkey”: Bil *žaggira*, Xmt *ziägeraa*, Kwr *žägiraa*,
Kem *žegäraa*, Aun *zagree*, Dmt *zagree*.

2604 *3a‘ab-/3a‘ib- “cut; axe”

Sem *3V‘ab- “cut, chop”: Arab *z‘ab* [-a-].WCh *3aHib- “axe”: Hs *zābī*, Pero *žibi*.

2605 *3aḥaf- “drag oneself, crawl”

Sem *3VḥVp- “drag oneself, creep, crawl”: Arab *zhf*, Hss *zehāf*,
Mhr *zehāf*, Shh *zhaf*.LEC *3aHaf- “drag oneself, crawl”: Kon *taaf*-, Glb *zaaf*-.

2606 *3ak-/3ik- “go, come”

Sem *3ik- “march (in small steps)”: Arab *zkk* [-i-].WCh *3Vk- “come”: Tum *žek*.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2607 *3am- “think, remember”

Sem *3Vm- “think”: Hbr *zmm*.WCh *3um- < *3amu- “remember”: Pol *zum*.CCh *3am- “think”: Glv *dzam*.

2608 *3amVn- “dwell, stay”

Eg *zmn* “stay, dwell” (pyr).WCh *3amVn- “stay”: Hs *zamna*, *zauna*.An original root may be represented in Dhl *jem*- “stay in a place”.

2609 *3an- “pour, flow”

Sem *3Vn- “rain” (v.): Akk *zanānu*.WCh *3an- “pour out”: Diri *zan*.ECh *3yan- “flow, ooze”: Bid *zenyzeny*.

Reduplication.

2610 *3ariḵ-/3aruḵ- “throw, push”

Sem *3VrVḵ- “throw”¹, “dart” (v.)²: Hbr *zrq*¹, Aram *zrq*¹,
Arab *zrq*¹, Hss *zerōq*², Mhr *zerōq*², Shh *zoroq*².SA *3Vrig- “stir”: Saho *-izrig-*, *-idrig-*.LEC *3arug-/3aruk- “shift, push”: Som *durk-*, *durug-*, Arb *zarug-*,
Arb *zurg-*, *zurug-*.

-g-/-k- in SA and LEC seem to continue emphatic *-ḵ-.

2611 *3aw- “stick”

Eg *zaw* “twig” (BD).WCh *3aw- “stick”: Ngz *zawa*.CCh *3aw- “stick”: Log *zawa*.Cf. Chb *zuwa*, Mrg *əzuwa* that may also go back to *3uwal-.

2612 *3aw-/3ay- “rope”

Eg *lzy* “rope” (NK).WCh *3aw-/3ay- “rope”: Miya *žowu*, Ngz *zayi*, Bade *zayi*.CCh *3aw-/3aʔu- “rope”: Tera *zo*, HGh *zuwi*, HB *zuwo*, Kap
zuwe, Mnd *zāwa*, Gude *zuʔwa*, Nza *zoʔo*, FMch *zuʔu*, Lame *zeo*,
Mafa *zaya*.ECh *3a- “rope”: Tum *hā*, Ndam *ha*.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2613 *3aw-/3ay- “fly” (v.)

ECh *3aw-/3ay- “fly” (v.): Kwn *sayi*, Tob *say*, Lele *se*, Bid *zew*,
Mkk *zaawo*.Rift *3Vʔ- “fly, jump”: Asa *jiʔ-it-*.Cf. Alg *coʔ-ot-* id. Rift *3- may be a regular reflex of HS *3-.

Consonantal alternation *-w- ~ *-y-.

2614 *3aw-/3uw- "rain"

Eg *zwzw* "kind of pool" (pyr).

WCh *3aw-/3a²- "water, rain": Cagu *zāw*, Geji *ziye*, Say *ža*, Dwot *ža*.

Geji reflects *3ay-/3iy-.

ECh *3Vw- "rain" (v.): Tum *həw*.

Agaw *3uw- "rain": Bil *zuwaa*, Xmr *zoowaa*, Xmt *suwaa*, Kwr *suwaa*, Dmb *suwaa*, Kem *suwaa*.

From *3aw-.

2615 *3i²Vp- "cut"

Sem *zV²Vp- "be cut off": Arab *zʾf*.

Berb *3Vf- "plane, shave": Ayr *zaf-at*.

Eg *izp* "chop with axe" (OK).

Metathesis. Initial *i*- continues *²- before a HS front vowel.

2616 *3ib- "go, walk"

Eg *zby* "walk, pass" (pyr).

Infinitive in -y.

WCh *3ib- "follow": Diri *žibu*.

CCh *3ib- "go out" ¹, "follow" ²: WMrg *zuba* ¹, Mrg *ziḅu* ², Log *zbi* ².

Cf. ECh *žwab- < *žab- "follow": Bid *žob*.

2617 *3ib- "plaiting"

Berb *3ib- "net (for hairdressing)": Ghd *ta-zība*.

WCh *3ib-/3ub- "basket" ¹, "mat" ²: Hs *zūbā* ¹, Glm *žiba* ².

2618 *3iban- "plaiting"

Sem *zibn- "reed mat": Akk *zibnu*.

Berb *3Vban- "palm bast": Ghd *a-zbān*.

Derived from *3ib- id.

2619 *3id- "increase"

Sem *zayad- "increase": Arab *zyd* [-i-], Hss *zōd*, Mhr *zeyōd*, Shh *zed*, Soq *zed*.

Based on the original *zid-.

ECh *3id- "increase": Kbl *židə*, Dng *ziddiye*, Mok *ziid*- (< Arab?).

2620 *3if- "goat, sheep"

Sem *zīp- "sheep": Akk *zīpu*.

CCh *3if-/3uf- "he-goat": HF *žifa*, Kap *žufa*.

2621 *3ik- "shoulder"

ECh *3ik- "arm, shoulder": Ndam *žik-am*, Kwn *žigi-d*.

Agaw *3ikk- "shoulder" ¹, "back" ²: Bil *zeeg*, *zäg* ¹, Xmr *ziig* ¹, Xmt *siig* ².

Omot *zikk- "back": Ome *zikkoo*.

2622 *3ik- "body, meat"

WCh *3ik- "body": Hs *žiki*, Sura *šik*, Ang *šeuk*, Grk *tək*, Dera *yik*,

Tng *ʾik*, Pero *šik*, Ngm *zugo*, Bele *hiko*, Bgh *šok*, Sha *šok*, Klr *zigy*.

ECh *3i/k/- "body": Tum *hig*, Ndam *hag*², Mubi *již*.

Agaw *3ik- "meat": Bil *zegaa*, (pl.) *zik*.

Derived from *3a-/3i- id.

2623 *3il- "go, come"

Sem *zil- "walk fast": Arab *zll* [-i-].

Berb *zVl- "run": Kby *azzəl*.

Eg *zny* "come" (MK).

CCh *3ul- "follow": HNk *zulu*.

2624 *3imol- "darkness"

Eg *zməw* "darkness" (XVIII).

ECh *zimwal- "darkness": Mig *zimolo*.

2625 *3in- ‘hide, leather’

WCh *3in- ‘hide’: Bol *zino*.Cf. Siri *zənu* ‘skin’ (v.).Omot *3en- ‘hide’: Gll *zeena*.

2626 *3in- ‘blood’

Eg *znf* ‘blood’ (pyr).Suffix *-f*?WCh *3in- ‘blood’: Hs *žinī*.2627 *3ina³- ‘urine’Sem *zVna³- ‘keep from urinating’: Arab *zn³* [-a-].

Denominative formation.

WCh *kV-3in-H- ‘urine’: Sura *kə-3iŋ*, Ang *ngəzəŋ*, Chip *kəzəŋ*,Ank *kəsəŋ*.

Prefix *kV-.

2628 *3inb- ‘gourd vessel’

Eg *znb.t* ‘bottle’ (gr).WCh *3imb- ‘gourd’: Glm *žimbu*.

Assimilation *-nb- > *-mb-.

2629 *3ir- ‘vessel’

Sem *zīr- ‘big vessel’: Arab *zīr*.Eg *idr.t* ‘kind of vessel’ (n).*d-* < *3- before a front vowel?CCh *3ir- ‘pot’: Tera *žira*.

2630 *3or- ‘bird’

Eg *zwrw.t* ‘kind of bird’ (MK).Suffix *-w*.WCh *3ar- ‘crow’: Kry *zarazar*.

Reduplication.

CCh *3war- ‘vulture’: Gis *zorozoro*.

Reduplication.

ECh *3ar- ‘kind of bird’: Bid *zarzari*.

Reduplication.

Cf. Sem *zur-zur-, *zar-zir- ‘kind of bird’ and HS *3uray(V)k- ‘raven’. Secondary *-a- in WCh and ECh.

2631 *3ub- ‘pour’

Sem *zub- ‘fill (wine skin)’: Arab *zbb* [-u-].Cf. Sem *zūb- ‘flow’: Akk *zābu*, Hbr *zwb*, Aram *zwb*, Arab *zwb*.WCh *3ub- ‘pour’: Hs *zuba*.

2632 *3um- ‘rob’

Sem *zVm- ‘be robbed’: Akk *zummū*.*D* stirpes in Akk.CCh *3um- ‘rob’: Log *zum*.

2633 *3unaḥ- ‘smell, stink’

Sem *zVnaḥ- ‘be rotten’: Arab *znḥ* [-a-].CCh *3unaH- ‘smell’ (n.)¹, ‘smell’ (v.)²: Kam *zuḡwi*¹, FG *zunayi*¹, Nza *zən*², FM *zunu-ft*².

2634 *3ur- ‘ram’

Eg *zr* ‘ram’ (pyr).CCh *3ur- ‘ram’: FKl *žūrā*.

2635 *3uray(V)k- ‘raven’

Sem *zurayk- ‘raven’: Arab *zurayq*.WCh *nV-3arak- ‘raven’: Krk *nzaraku*, Miya *žarakə*.Assimilation of vowels. Prefix *n-* in Krk.

Connected with *3or- ‘bird’?

2636 *3uwV^c- ‘be afraid’Sem *zū^c- ‘tremble of fear’: Hbr *zw^c*.

WCh *3uw- “be afraid”: Bol zuw.

2637 *3ük- “dig”

Sem *^cVzi^k- “dig”: Hbr ^cz^k, Arab ^cz^k [-i-].

Prefix *^cV-. Irregular *-^k-.

Eg ^cz^k “dig (a pond)” (pyr).

WCh *3uk- “dig, scratch”: Bol zuk-, Tng suke.

2638 *3Vb- “carry, bring”

Sem *^czVbV^y- “carry (load)”: Arab ^czby [-i-].

Based on *^czVb-.

Eg ^czby “bring” (pyr).

CCh *3Vb- “take, lift”: Gis ^czeb, ^czūb, ^czoh.

Secondary emphatic.

2639 *3Vg- “marry, join”

Sem *^czūg- “marry, join”: Hbr ^czūg, Arab ^czūg.

Generally believed to be a Gk loanword.

Berb *3Vg- “copulate”: Izy zeg.

2640 *3Vrab- “flow”

Sem *^czVrab- “flow”: Arab ^czrb [-a-].

Eg ^czrb “flow” (pyr).

*3

2641 *3a³ar- “insect”

Eg ^cḏr.t “scorpion” (OK).

WCh *ⁿV-3ar- “termite”: Sura n3ar.

Prefix *ⁿV-.

CCh *3aray-/3ayar- < *3aHar- “locust”: Gis 3aray, Msm ḏ3ēr.

ECh *3aHar- “locust”: Bid 3aariyo.

2642 *3a³ar- “cook, boil”

Eg ^cḏr “cook” (gr).

CCh *3ar- “boil”: Msm 3ar.

ECh *³a3Vr- “boil”: Tum ³a3ēr.

Metathesis.

2643 *3a³ir- “feline, viverra”

WCh *3ar- “lion”: Wrj 3ara-waš.

CCh *3ar- “lion”: Bch 3ara.

LEC *³a3ur- “viverra”: Or adurree.

Metathesis.

Wrz *³atur- “wild cat”: Dob aturre, Gll aturre.

Metathesis.

Omot *3aHer- “viverra”: Kaf yeeroo, 3äro.

Rift *3e³ir- “viverra”: Alg 3e³ira, Bur 3i³erare.

An alternative reconstruction is *³a3ir-.

2644 *3ab- “breast”

WCh *3ab- “breast”: Krk 3aba.

Bed daba, daaba “forehead, breast”.

Agaw *3ab- “front”: Bil 3aab, Kwr 3aab, Dmb 3aab, Kem 3aab.

SA *3abV^c- “armpit”: Afar dab^ce.

Secondary laryngeal.

Rift *da³ab- “breast”: Irq da³awe, Alg da³awi, Bur da³eo.

Laryngeal infix.

2645 *3ab- “gather”

Eg ḏdb “gather” (MK).

ḏd- stands for *3-.

CCh *ⁿV-3Vb- “gather, collect”: Mofu n3ab.

Prefix *ⁿV-.

ECh *3ab- “gather”: Tum 3aab.

2646 *3abaḥ-/3ibiḥ- “make sacrifice”

Sem *^cḏVbVḥ- “make sacrifice”: Ug dbḥ, Phn zbḥ, Hbr zbḥ, Aram (Bibl) dbḥ, Arab ḏbḥ, Gz zbḥ.

ECh *žiHib- ‘‘make sacrifice’’: Bid ziib.
Metathesis.

LEC *žabaḥ- ‘‘slaughter’’: Som dabaah-.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2647 *žabi²- ‘‘clothes’’

Eg ḍbḥ ‘‘kind of clothes’’ (NK), ḍbḥy (sarc).

CCh *žabiH- ‘‘loin-cloth’’: Bura žaḥi, Chb zaḥi, Mrg žeḥi.

2648 *žafor-/žifor- ‘‘temple’’

Sem *ḍipr- ‘‘temple’’: Arab ḍifra(y)-.

Derivative in -ay-.

LEC */ž/afor- ‘‘temple’’: Som ḍafoor, Or ḍaffora.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2649 *žah- ‘‘back’’

Eg ḍd ‘‘backbone’’ (gr).

WCh *žah- ‘‘lower back’’: Bks žaha.

CCh *žax- ‘‘back’’: Suk dzhaḥ.

Omot *zaH- ‘‘back’’: Ome zaḥi.

2650 *žakun-/žikun- ‘‘beard, chin’’

Sem *ḍakn-/ḍikn- ‘‘beard’’¹, ‘‘bearded chin’’²: Akk ziqnu¹, Ug ḍqn¹, Hbr zāqān^{1,2}, Aram ḍiqn-¹, Arab ḍaq(a)n-¹, Soq ḍiqehon¹.

WCh *žakVn-/žikVn- ‘‘chin’’: Grm žang-umu, Ngz žigəna.

ECh *žikum- ‘‘chin, jaw’’: Tum žigəm, Mkk zukimo, Mig zukumo, sukumo.

*-m- < *-n- after a velar?

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2651 *žam- ‘‘ask’’

Eg ḍdm ‘‘interrogate’’ (OK).

Causative in s-.

CCh *žam- ‘‘ask’’: Log zāma, Tera zəmi.

2652 *žam(b)- ‘‘fly’’ (n.)

Sem *ḍumb- ‘‘fly’’: Akk zumbu, Tgr zəmbi, Amh zəmb, Arg zəmb, Gaf zəmbā, Hrr zəmbi, Gur zəmb, Mhr ḍebb-et, Hrs ḍebb-et, Jib ḍabb-ət.

Secondary *-u- before a labial.

Berb *žVb- ‘‘fly’’: Ghat a-zəb, Ayr e-zəb, Ahg a-həb, Twl i-zəbb, Tsl i-zəbb, Izy i-zəb.

WCh *žamb- ‘‘fly’’: Tng šombo.

CCh *žabi²- ‘‘fly’’: FG žiḥi, FBw žebi.

Suffix *-i²-.

2653 *žam(b)ib- ‘‘fly’’ (n.)

Sem *ḍVbVb- ‘‘fly’’: Hbr zəbūb, Aram ḍabbōb, Arab ḍubāb-, ḍibbāb-at-, Soq dbib-oh.

Berb *žVbib- ‘‘species of coleoptera’’: Ahg a-zəbibibər.

HEC *žVmbib- ‘‘gnat, mosquito’’: Kmb zəmbib-uite.

Derived from *žam(b)- id.

2654 *žan-/žin- ‘‘child’’

Eg ḍjn.w ‘‘young people’’ (pyr).

Vocalic -j-.

WCh *žin- ‘‘son, child’’: Hs žinžiri, Wrj žina, Kry žin, Mbu žin.

Hs reflects a reduplication with dissimilation of sonants.

Agaw *žan-/žin- ‘‘brother’’: Bil dan, Xmr zin, Xmt izzän, Kwr zän, Dmb zän, Kem zän.

Alternation *a ~ *i.

2655 *žar-/žur- ‘‘throw’’

Sem *ḍur- ‘‘scatter’’: Arab ḍrr [-u-].

ECh *žar- ‘‘throw’’: Smr žar, Dng zere.

Irregular correspondence of vowels.

2656 *že²-/*žew- ‘‘shout, ask’’

Eg ḍwy ‘‘call’’ (pyr).

CCh *ʒyaw- ‘ask’: Mrg ʒo, Wmd ʒewe.

Rift *ʒe²- ‘shout, ask’: Irq tse²-, Asa je²-em-it, Kwz tsa²-am-.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w-.

2657 *ʒef- ‘throw’

Sem *hVdip- ‘throw’: Arab ḥdf [-i-].

Prefix *hV-.

Eg dʒy ‘sink’ (med).

Infinitive in -y.

WCh *ʒyaf- ‘throw’: Hs ʒēfa.

2658 *ʒeHun- ‘elephant’

WCh *ʒun-H- ‘rhinoceros’: Paa ʒungwa, Diri ʒungwa, Siri ʒəŋwa.
Metathesis.

CCh *čuHwan- ‘elephant’: Tera ojuwan, Gbn čuwene, Hwn čuwāna,
FJ ʒu²wuni, Gude čona, FK čuwuna.

Irregular *č-.

ECh *ʒun- ‘elephant’: Gbr ʒenu, Kbl ʒuno, Dor ʒunu, Ndam čun.
Irregular anlaut in Ndam.

Agaw *ʒiHun- ‘elephant’: Bil ʒaanaa, Xmr zehon, Kwr ʒaanaa,
Dmb ʒaanaa, Aun zigoni.

Cf. WCh *yaHun- ‘elephant’: Bol yauno, Krk uwan, Nga yawan, Krf yuuni, Gln yuwun, Gera üwuni, Mbu yawən, Miya yəwun, Siri yiwani, Jmb yawan. Maybe, *yaHun- < *ʒyaHun-. Apparently, this is a cultural word with a complicated history of borrowings from one group to another.

2659 *ʒi²-/ʒuw- ‘insect’

Berb *ʒVj- ‘fly’: Kby izi.

Eg dw.t ‘kind of insect’ (n).

CCh *ʒi²-/ʒuw- ‘fly’: FK i ʒu, FJ wʒi²yu, Gude ʒi²-in, Log zū, HF ʒuwi, FMch ji²i, Nak juya, Mafa zuway, Gava njuwa, Glv njuya, Zgh nzuwe.

Rift *ʒu²- ‘gnat’: Irq tsu²a.

Consonantal alternation *-²- ~ *-w-. In WCh the root appears in a reduplicated form, cf. Klr ʒajjuwaw ‘fly’.

2660 *ʒi²ib- ‘beast of prey’

Sem *di²b- ‘jackal’¹, ‘wolf’², ‘hyaena’³: Akk zību¹, Hbr zə²ēb², Aram (Syr) di²b-², Arab di²b-², Gz zə²b³.

Berb *dib- ‘jackal’: Izy benḍibbun.

Initial *d- reflects a HS alternation of *ʒ- ~ *d-?

Eg zʒb ‘jackal’ (pyr).

Irregular z-.

WCh *ʒib- ‘viverra’: Ngz ʒib-da.

ECh *ʒabiy- ‘hyaena’: Mig ʒabiya, Bid ʒebey-gi.

Bed diib ‘wolf’.

2661 *ʒiba^c- ‘bull’

Eg dḅ^c ‘bull’ (math).

CCh *ʒibay- < *ʒibaH- ‘cattle tax’: Log ʒibaya.

LEC *ʒib- ‘young bull’: Or dib-icca.

2662 *ʒibar- ‘bee, fly’

Sem *dVbār- ‘bee’: Hbr d̄bōrā, Mhr debēr, Shh edbōr, Hss debēr,
Soq edbehir.

Note irregular Hbr d-.

WCh *ma-ʒibar- ‘kind of fly’: Hs māʒiḥāri.

Secondary emphatic. Prefix *ma-.

Derived from *ʒa(m)b- ‘fly’?

2663 *ʒigal- ‘bird’

WCh *ʒigal- ‘griffon-vulture’: Hs ʒigal.

Agaw *ʒigal- ‘bird’: Bil ʒagalaa, Kwr ʒäkel (pl.), Dmb ʒeelaa, Kem ʒeelaa.

Assimilation of vowels in Bil.

2664 *ʒikan- ‘old man’

Sem *diqn- ‘old man’: Arab diqn-.

A different pattern in Hbr zāqēn id.

WCh *ma-ʒikan- ‘old’: Krk māčigan.

Prefix *ma-.

Agaw **žV_kVn-* “old man”: Bil *dəχna*.

Related to **žakun-/žikun-* “beard, chin”?

2665 **žinab-* “tail”

Sem **danab-/dinab-* “tail”: Akk *zibbatu*, Ug *dnbt*, Hbr *zānāb*, Aram (Syr) *dunbō*, Arab *danab-*, Gz *zanab*, Hss *denēb*, Mhr *denōb*, Shh *dunub*, Soq *denob*.

Omot **žiban-/žuban-* “tail”: Baa *doobanna*, Hmr *dubaana*, Kar *dibini*.

Metathesis.

2666 **žo-* “penis”

Eg *d.t* “penis” (BD).

ECh **žwa-* “penis”: Ndam *žo*.

2667 **žor-* “sand, dust”

Sem **durw-* “dust”: Arab *durw-*.

Based on biconsonantal **dur-*.

WCh **žwar-* “sand”: DB *žoor*.

2668 **žu²-* “go”

Eg *wḏṣ* “go” (MK).

w- reflects a rounded root vowel. Cf. also causitive *sḏṣ* (pyr), *swḏṣ* (BD).

WCh **žu²-* “go”: Ngz *žu*.

2669 **žub-* “flow, pour”

Sem **dūb-* “flow”¹, “pour”², “melt”³: Akk *zābu*¹, Hbr *zwb*², Aram *dwb*², Arab *dwb* [-u-]³, Hss *deyōb*³, Mhr *deyōb*³, Shh *deb*³.

Based on **dVb-*. Cf. also Arab *d^cb* id.

Eg *dbb* “waters” (n).

Partial reduplication.

WCh **žub-* “pour”: Bol *žubb-*.

CCh **žub-* “be wet”: Mofu *žəb*, Daba *žup*.

2670 **žug-* “drink, swallow”

Sem **dV²ag-* “drink”: Arab *d²g* [-a-].

Based on **dug-*.

LEC **žug-* “swallowing”: Som *žug-*.

2671 **žVHVž-* “divide”

Sem **dVHVd-* “divide”: Akk *zāzu*.

ECh **žVž-* “divide”: Tum *žəž*.

2672 **žVhab-* “go, trot”

Sem **dVhab-* “go away”: Arab *dhb* [-a-].

WCh **žVHVb-* “trot”: Ang *žōp*.

Regular Ang unvoicing in the auslaut.

INDEX OF MEANINGS

The present index includes English translations of Hamito-Semitic forms adduced in the Dictionary. Numbers refer to Hamito-Semitic reconstructions.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>able 184 530 622 2327
 absorb 558
 abundant 1028
 acacia 654 2269 2542
 accompany 157 239 1607 1782
 ache (v.) 1068 1109
 act 1097 2167
 add 1032
 adder 438
 adult 386
 advance 2418
 adze 541
 afraid 568 1288 2500 2508 2517 2636
 age 1033
 air 1448 2169
 all 2105
 allow 2327
 aloe 1270
 altar 1308
 analyze 1721
 ancestor 1065
 anger 270 283 835 897 1442 1481
 angry 92 121 175 263 270 283 576 835
 897 1223 1382 1442 1481 2052 2231
 animal 603 1122 1257
 announce 361 761
 annoyed 121
 anoint 1992
 answer 242 724 732 998 1307 1788 1854
 2535
 ant 708 939 941 1034 1457 1587 1609
 1679 1775 2119 2187
 antelope 217 742 898 903 1017 1765
 2505
 anus 1617
 aorta 2401
 appear 498 1069
 apple 2422
 approach 1396 2219
 apron 236 1975
 arch 873
 area 809 1214
 arid soil 779
 arm 33 211 859 916 954 1040 1238 1242</p> | <p>1246 1622 1933 1974 2034 2091 2621
 armpit 167 2644
 army 577 1006
 arrive 59 597 910 1250 2203 2345
 arrow 228 259 475 665 788 855 1294
 1560 1768 1823 1962 2241
 ascarid 741
 ascend 1102
 ash 353 986 1797 2131 2135 2344 2417
 ask 417 427 461 494 1520 1590 1788
 1854 1893 2277 2362 2410 2442 2651
 2656
 ass 1480 2175
 assemble 1947 2024
 attach 422
 attached 1062
 attack 578 1024
 attire 21
 audacious 897
 aunt 20
 aversion 847
 axe 259 872 976 1290 1318 1503 1644
 1812 1915 1956 1979 2212 2241 2317
 2604
 baboon 335 945 1092
 baby 589 1764
 back (n.) 167 251 691 731 955 1036
 1159 1437 2265 2589 2621 2649
 back of a house 358 955
 backbone 2649
 bad 92 160 263 270 355 820 1013 1382
 1705 1848 2085 2139
 bag 623 1035 2448 2449 2479
 bake 1244
 baking form 404
 bald 198 950
 bald spot 198 950
 baldness 198 950
 balk 276
 ball 980 1481
 bamboo pole 2361
 band 193 249 2293
 bandage 2293</p> |
|--|--|

bang 752
 bank 855 862 1216 2095 2253
 baobab 1750
 bark 834 838 840 942 1576 1585 1603
 1608 1935 1990
 barley 344 544 1247 1272 1477 2235
 2270 2580
 barn 2200 2266
 barque 1716
 basin 2208 2213
 basket 78 670 712 901 967 1360 1417
 1454 1463 1475 1526 1579 1588 1713
 2191 2368 2415 2473 2617
 bast rope 2160
 bat 2173
 be 28 117 238 932 1069 1148 1795 2077
 beach 855 871
 beak 1340
 beam 325 429 2305
 bean 621 653 933 1043 1280 1514 1652
 1724
 bear 603
 beard 251 863 866 990 1805 2650
 beast 56 490
 beast of prey 221 232 1258 1760 2501
 2660
 beat 194 605 633 635 642 674 719 725
 733 753 804 940 1014 1051 1192 1204
 1309 1516 1613 1682 1802 2040 2051
 2289 2416 2416 2421 2436
 beautiful 191 806
 become 28 117 1148 2077
 bee 609 693 1146 2662
 bee larva 1616
 beer 922 1317 1702 1849 1997
 beer-gourd 140
 beer-mug 2551
 beer-pot 2010
 beget 238
 begin 172 526
 behave badly 2145
 behead 1938
 believe 37
 bellow 2044
 belly 144 350 841 870 877 907 991 995
 1251 1435 1577 1668 1708 2356 2538
 2539
 belt 193 1612 2228
 bench 632
 bend 893 938 994 1269 1379 1466 1658
 1837 2439
 bent 746 938 1908
 benumbed 1324
 best 806
 bifurcate 1919
 big 489 919 920 1025 1028 1410 1467
 1692 1704 2529 2531
 big animal 603
 bile 2171
 bind 12 286 586 1058 1132 1292 1518
 1730 2312 2321
 bird 10 289 293 301 330 356 374 397
 410 432 443 465 500 512 683 687 702
 714 735 736 748 965 1037 1053 1088
 1095 1261 1283 1361 1505 1539 1593
 1598 1680 1685 1793 1874 1971 2072
 2090 2130 2151 2157 2162 2190 2291
 2326 2443 2492 2572 2630 2663
 bird of prey 500
 birth 1168
 bite 32 1039 1453 1611 1623 1687 2039
 bitter 580 1050 1734
 black 511 738 999 1232 1496 2515
 blade 1979 2317
 bleed 2357
 blind 204
 block 1589 2590
 blood 258 639 2626
 blow 135 789 797 813 814 821 1165
 1610 2132 2254 2310
 boar 495 1161 1374
 boat 336 895 1501 1691 1716 2057 2239
 body 8 128 517 907 909 1828 2356 2597
 2622
 boil 338 816 846 2338 2642
 bolt 2445
 bone 773 778 1036 1530 1557
 bore 276 830
 boredom 847
 born 195 1168
 borough 709
 borrow 1183
 bosom 360 1094 1815
 bottle 203 349 1304 1475 1567 1579
 1995 2263 2628
 bottle-gourd 750
 bottom (of a vessel) 351
 bow 228 754 855 1560 1944
 bow-string 754
 bowl 94 712 887 979 1035 1313 1401
 1423 1534 1922 1995 2208 2551
 box 601 894 967 989 1463 1588 1713
 2010 2161 2369 2448
 boy 73 145 234 613 961 1218 1287 1740
 1764 2520
 bracelet 744 1416

braid 579
 brain 1583 1800 2393
 branch 371 1807 2574
 bread 224 265 271 559 1111 1364 1561
 1642 2390
 break 235 373 408 536 605 635 642 756
 794 795 799 804 812 1186 1193 1282
 1351 1386 1516 1565 1566 1592 1595
 1610 1613 1866 1898 1899 1912 1916
 1929 1937 1951 1959 1985 1986 1998
 1999 2004 2005 2016 2030 2053 2114
 2170 2181 2307 2372 2376 2384 2394
 2399 2421 2509
 break off 170 240 1351 1999
 break through 830 1929
 breast 144 251 360 462 826 1071 1072
 1094 1251 1530 1577 2644
 breath 151 1677 1828 1830 2132 2196
 breathe 151 814 821 1853 1865 1882
 2199
 breech 332
 breed 1254
 bride 1419
 bridegroom 659 1831
 bright 231 515 1670
 bring 99 157 937 2166 2638
 broken 2399
 bronze vessel 1754
 brother 23 145 288 613 1182 1888 2193
 2363 2520 2654
 brother-in-law 437
 brow 858
 brown 307 686
 bubble 449
 bucket 668 1945
 buffalo 883 905 1409 1479 2570
 bug 88 197 2357
 build 252 261 342 703 912 929 1137
 building 264 359 1166 1430 1488
 2404 2565
 bulge 1123
 bulky 1005
 bull 67 183 227 310 477 896 905 1077
 1399 1409 1432 1479 1508 1632 1635
 1728 1832 1950 2323 2527 2570 2595
 2661
 bull-fight 1950
 burn 62 72 129 137 189 282 353 459 818
 819 931 971 1078 1118 1184 1404
 1441 1553 1572 1584 1606 1670 2001
 2062 2125 2152 2172 2271 2328 2337
 2417 2487 2507 2528 2579
 burning 2328
 bury 159 365 739 875 1517 1781 1864
 1910
 bush 31 155 1052 1873 2246 2318 2428
 2542
 butcher (v.) 1248
 butter 2232
 butterfly 286 2190
 buttock 636 691 731
 buy 254 543 2281
 buzz 745 2485
 cabbage 395 722 2335
 cabin 2058
 cacare 2478
 calabash 156 349 404 663 670 734 853
 878 989 1121 1407 1417 1464 1473
 1476 1579 1588 2448 2551
 calf 57 173 227 340 896 1100 1728 2458
 calf (anat.) 11 396 1390 1696
 call 417 427 696 724 800 911 998 1107
 1295 1400 1519 1541 1555 1788 1814
 1822 1825 1893 1969 2044 2244 2382
 2485 2523 2534 2564 2656
 calm 1321
 camel 90 183 310 1462 1678
 camp 1214 2058
 can 184 530 2327 cane 228
 canopy 1308
 capture 1147
 card 1918
 care 1120
 carry 787 937 1153 2638
 carpenter 2180
 carve 799 981 1248 1556 1938 2168
 cassawa 2129
 cast 1863 2526
 castrate 2168 2230
 cat 751 1171
 catarrh 690
 catch 35 96 181 463 473 496 957 1147
 1744 2032 2447 2512
 caterpillar 316 1771 1846
 cattle 57 227 310 1098 1479 1632 1635
 1647 1809 1832 1950 2323 2527
 cattle-pen 973
 cauldron 734
 cave 1414
 cavern 1414 2557
 caviar 113
 cavity 987 1239
 cedar 1766 2428
 centipede 2216
 cereal 224 559 720 1167 1210 1247 1272

1364 1372 1443 1477 1499 1634 1706
 1817 2129 2235 2270 2580
 certain 37
 chaff 840
 chameleon 1274 2360
 champ 32
 channel 1774
 charcoal 1311 1421
 chase 426 2115
 chat 242 483 1638 1825
 cheek 866 914 1322 1932
 cheetah 751
 chest 127 1071 1072 1651 1668
 chew 32 147 1063 1064 1157 1687 1790
 chick 435
 chicken 1088 1593 2291
 chief 19 250 386 389 595 692 1253 1330
 1791 1831 2438
 child 73 97 145 166 213 589 1105 1180
 1182 1195 1218 1287 1450 1764 1769
 2520 2654
 chin 863 866 914 990 1805 2650
 chip 2030
 chisel 2047
 choose 187
 chop 366 561 611 1920 1998 2604 2615
 chop off 240
 chopping tool 1318
 circle 1416
 circumcise 1531 1558
 clan 131 647 906 1038 1256 1413
 clap 2350 2416 2483
 claw 972 1559 1667
 clay 634 779 857 1054 1641 2121 2249
 2386 2472 2585
 clay plate 2448
 clean 216 423 842 1016 1226 2411
 clear 327 418
 cleft 1083
 clever 1134 1350 2573
 climb 781 1060 1164 2108 2147 2495
 cling 1011
 clitoris 393
 close (adj.) 1142 1759
 close (v.) 407 493 1237 1387 1393 1402
 1926 1991 2467
 closeness 1142
 cloth 453 823 839 1327 1684 1940 1975
 2262 2346 2440
 clothes 476 604 694 969 1023 1327 1489
 2038 2331 2440 2647
 cloud 206 314 645 678 711 737 925 947
 1550 1578 1675 1690 2296
 club 29
 coagulate 640
 coal 168 986 1797
 coast 2095 2253
 coat 21
 cobra 2127
 cockroach 197
 cold (adj.) 1554
 cold (n.) 509 690 1281 1299 1527 1554
 1591
 coldness 1299
 coleoptera 2653
 collar-bone 167
 collect 5 146 215 380 446 471 1011 1486
 2315 2371 2645
 comb (v.) 585 1917 1918 1938
 come 1 41 59 63 65 118 157 237 313 593
 597 619 648 783 892 910 934 1189
 1250 1431 1746 1752 1782 1826 1903
 2102 2103 2153 2207 2219 2225 2264
 2301 2345 2440 2489 2504 2516 2533
 2566 2598 2606 2623
 come back 63
 come close 619
 commerce 2023
 compare 767
 complain 1520
 compound 5 480 1166 1188 1326 1455
 1564 2266
 conifer 2503
 considerable 489 867
 contain liquid 199
 container 78 623 894 901 967 989 1035
 1454 1463 1475 1588 1945 2161 2368
 2369 2415 2448 2449
 cook 816 818 1614 1670 2497 2642
 cooked 2497
 copper 55 290
 copper pot 2110
 copulate 2639
 cord 106 1612
 corn 269 344 620 720 727 933 1111 1167
 1210 1634 1652 1706 1817 1983 2235
 2270 2580
 corpse 907
 correct 1135
 cost 402
 cotton 2302
 cough 1538 2223 2412
 count 767 1119 1212 1301 1459 1721
 1822
 courtier 2396
 cover (v.) 407 409 758 1019 1237 1402

1671 1991 2477 2550
 covered with leaves 2558
 cow 310 1100 1479 1632 1635 1728
 1773 1832 2323 2527 2595
 co-wife 1513 1700
 crack 1899 1985
 crane 1053 1505 2090
 crawl 333
 crawl 2598 2605
 cream 491
 create 172 342 1328 2022
 creep 2605
 cresse 379
 cricket 88
 crockery 755
 crocodile 1495 1757 2367 2431
 crooked 1379
 crop 1983
 cross 1102 1143 1276 1965
 cross over 1042 1127
 crossbeam 2383
 crossroad 1686
 crotch 396
 croupe 323
 crow 1003 1015 1020 2072 2630
 crowd 131 1066 2444
 crumble 2056
 crush 408 536 635 1339 1937 1986 2004
 cry 368 392 483 800 1104 1492 1541
 1555 1648 1834 1883 2044 2050 2284
 2519
 cub 917
 cuckoo 1539
 cultivate 188 2025
 cup 94
 cupola 1599
 cure 357 1120
 current 2213
 curse 121 283 324 376
 curved 994 1269
 cut 143 171 188 235 240 241 266 366
 373 408 414 478 525 538 541 561 569
 611 677 698 792 795 799 868 872 900
 940 981 1000 1106 1151 1155 1248
 1305 1347 1352 1368 1391 1392 1411
 1485 1531 1556 1558 1592 1600 1601
 1611 1621 1703 1767 1896 1898 1925
 1938 1957 1959 1985 1994 1998 1999
 2009 2014 2025 2026 2027 2030 2039
 2168 2170 2180 2181 2215 2230 2237
 2268 2287 2313 2320 2372 2416 2446
 2530 2555 2604 2615
 cut down 266
 cut into two 240
 cut off 235 240 266 762 868 872 981
 1392 2615
 dagger 1956 1979 2159
 dam 53
 damage 804 940 1902
 damp 1799
 dance (n.) 1316
 dance (v.) 391 1316 2490
 dangerous animal 246
 dark 511 738 1145 1320 1323 1509 2515
 dark-colored 675
 darkness 38 552 737 738 1008 1323
 1445 1446 2261 2624
 darn 2312
 dart 665 2610
 date 295
 date palm 1079
 daughter-in-law 20 1419
 dawn 223 2206 2592
 dawn (v.) 207
 day 64 105 136 223 268 664 1128 1141
 1173 1472 1660 2336 2525 2576 2583
 day heat 1433
 death 2100 2509
 deceive 150 624 769 1009 2074
 decide 782
 decline 2537
 deer 66 1017
 defecate 1336
 delivery 367
 deny 1840
 depart 230 908 1127
 descend 4 1163 1215 2102
 descendant 1413
 desert 16 420 874 1358 1719
 deserted 874
 desire 782
 despise 1223
 destroy 194 635 740 795 812 1204 1657
 1916 1986 2053 2114 2416 2421 2468
 destroyed 740
 dew 243 925 1699 1770 1877 2079 2459
 diaphragm 2316
 diarrhoea 2078
 dictate 1825
 die 1751 2509
 dig 159 276 319 365 771 784 794 844
 875 1022 1106 1201 1341 1365 1368
 1375 1379 1517 1602 1739 1864 1910
 1924 1925 2557 2637
 dig out 365 1864

dill 2335
 dip 2593
 dipper 299
 direct 2578
 direction 1942
 dirt 179 486 1116 1630 2078 2112 2267
 2472 2585
 dirty 999 1630 2078 2267
 disappear 87
 disapprove 1840
 discipline (v.) 1014
 disease 899
 disengage 1447 2013
 disgust 1481
 disgusted 1481
 dish 2465
 disk 1416
 disperse 171
 dissolve 1799
 distance 1942
 distribute 2019
 ditch 218 1414
 dive 2593
 divide 241 274 717 791 794 845 977
 1155 1392 1532 1558 1601 1938 1980
 2019 2039 2671
 divorce 626 1532
 do 912 1097 1137 1140 1355 2022 2167
 2327
 dog 119 876 917 1425 1434 1498 1511
 1521 2571
 dominate 2391
 donkey 90 667 1081 1480 1961 2064
 door 287 358 1465 1723
 doubt 1720
 dove 330 683 1283 1505 1680 1793 1874
 1923 2151
 down (n.) 2602
 drag 2274
 drag oneself 2605
 draw 1977 2274 2322 2354 2373
 draw water 403 1312 2214
 dream 2100 2226
 dress (n.) 21 1684
 dress (v.) 682 1661
 drill 276
 drink 303 403 413 1027 1063 1300 1790
 2205 2220 2670
 drip 449 450 454 747 766 2463 2476
 2584
 dripping 2463
 drive 7 30 157 783 902 1207 1286 1359
 1470 1941 2115 2153 2345 2405
 drive away 626 660 1470 2288
 drizzle 2459 2470
 drop (n.) 248 450 1733 2459 2470
 drop (v.) 1540
 drum (n.) 710 1401 1813 2450
 drum (v.) 1051
 drunk 1702
 dry (adj.) 451 564 1265 1356 1487 1626
 2224 2594
 dry (v.) 1265 1626 2224
 dry up 451 1356 1487
 duck 10 301 1593
 dune 337
 dung 1116
 dung beetle 2357
 dust 337 634 816 1002 1048 2426 2667
 dwarf 715
 dwell 153 643 681 2240 2402 2562 2608
 dwelling 658 709 850 854 956 1166 1568
 1695 2086 2146
 eagle 52 1646
 ear 126 2245 2452
 eardrum 2452
 earth 16 54 321 337 385 522 779 809 857
 871 1048 1054 1222 1429 1452 1537
 1735 1939 2055 2121 2249 2386 2426
 2472 2591
 earth worm 2367
 earthenware 1582 1618 2415
 Earth-god 70 857
 earth-worm 609
 eat 83 148 208 315 472 1039 1064 1157
 1623 1673 1687 2343 2454 2559
 eat greedily 1697
 edge 996
 eel 741
 egg 354 881 1458 1471 1580 2210
 ejaculate 591
 elbow 33 954 2046
 elder 386 692 867
 elephant 232 650 652 1662 2658
 elite 806
 emerge 2391
 emigrate 649
 emmer 1499
 empty 874 1517 2036
 empty place 337
 enclosure 244 608 662 854 984 1181
 1188 1214 1564 1586 1949
 end 1551 1562 1597 2080
 enemy 583 1331
 enlarge 1987

enraged 897
 ensate tree 2246
 enter 41 65 157 237 550 669 676 697 700
 701 707 879 910 1178 1189 1207 1228
 1289 1359 1373 1418 1752 2065 2103
 2197 2207 2264 2345 2440 2516 2547
 2598
 entrance 854
 envelop 1292 1671
 equid 641 667 780 1961 2064
 erase 822
 escape 230 619
 estimate 767
 evening 38 64 552 1008 1145 1320 1342
 2117 2261
 evident 498
 evil 270 355 1848 1902 2145 2155
 examine 201 1590
 excel 2391
 exchange 2023
 excrement 1175 1334
 exhausted 149 861 1683
 exhaustion 149
 exist 238 932 1069 1148
 expectorate 169
 explain 483
 extinguish 87
 extract oil 499
 eye 93 110 112 204 851 1084 1101 2299
 eyebrow 2158
 eyelash 204
 eyelid 204 2299
 face 817 851 863 914 1340 1943
 faeces 390 486 546 1116 1175 1275 1630
 falcon 356 2162 2326
 fall 4 456 562 625 655 793 1152 1163
 1436 1540 1930 1936 2484 2518
 family 2 647 906 1038 1256 1801
 family member 49 97
 famine 885
 fang 1235
 far 2536
 farm (n.) 5 1483 1735
 farm (v.) 1739
 farmer 70 860
 fast 2544
 fat (adj.) 1005 2529
 fat (n.) 27 726 1099 1490 1784 1836
 2247 2498
 fat tail 27
 fatigue 174
 father 2 154 165 2438
 father-in-law 182 1330 2493
 favorable 1394
 fear 178 833 2499 2500
 feather 205 2324
 feed 472 565 1614 1804 2559
 feline 751 1171 2643
 female 141
 female in-law 1419 1513
 female relative 20
 fence 22 100 608 671 852 1188 1214
 1455 2404
 ferocious animal 56
 fertile land 48
 fertile soil 871 975 2386
 fertilize 871
 fester 308
 fetish 571
 fetters 1948
 fever 14
 feverous 575
 field 16 48 210 337 385 421 522 857 890
 1054 1222 1348 1483 1633 1735 1741
 1927 2096 2249 2591
 fierce animal 186
 fig tree 1126 2392
 fight 578 753 1672 1802 2063
 figure 863
 fill 161 888 1263 1704 2481 2631
 fill up 161
 filter (v.) 2176
 find 926 974 1259 1954
 fine 704
 finger 211 292 434 513 1861 1953
 fingernail 292 513 972 1559 1667 1861
 finish 1551 1562 1597 2080
 finished 2080
 fire 24 82 819 928 930 1055 1187 1310
 1553 2125 2507 2579
 firewood 1767 2269 2503
 first-born 1831
 fish 138 317 963 968 1044 1085 1117
 1211 1494 1663 2061 2430
 fish (v.) 463 473 2512
 fish roe 113
 fit 1815
 flame 282 2125 2135 2337 2528 2579
 flat 2029
 flatten 2029
 flea 345 1457 1587 1771 1966 1978 2187
 flee 202 1981
 flesh 13 128 825
 flight 1981

flint 428 514 610
 flint knife 610
 flock 448 1098
 flog 1802
 flour 224 271 344 607 1016 1545 2390
 flow 107 199 256 260 312 331 334 431
 588 614 747 766 798 934 1303 1863
 1869 1909 2176 2214 2285 2354 2437
 2460 2584 2593 2609 2640 2669
 flow (n.) 614 1381
 flow out 256
 flower 43 436 1983 1984 2012 2325 2558
 2600
 flute 139 539 2319
 fly (n.) 693 721 1325 1536 2357 2443
 2652 2653 2659 2662
 fly (v.) 130 219 291 296 685 781 787
 1260 1523 1911 1981 2451 2613
 flying ant 316
 foal 1480 2064
 fog 479 645 1690
 fold 1658 2439
 folded 2439
 foliage 1049 1059
 follow 157 313 593 596 600 648 697 777
 879 910 1042 1206 1405 1439 1607
 1934 2103 2345 2348 2351 2418 2616
 food 148 951 1252 1424 1561 1804 2559
 fool 2165
 foot 11 519 773 2083 2113 2290 2347
 2568
 footprint 2083
 foot trace 2113
 forbid 1972
 force out 719
 foregod 1842
 forehead 817 858 1943 2644
 foreskin 1021 1461 1585
 forest 2136 2283
 foretell 769
 forge 725 1610 1629 2029 2455
 forget 617 811 1711 1720 2379 2537
 forgetful 1711
 fortified place 359
 fortified site 1190 2292
 fortress 359
 fowl 289 1478
 fox 464 490 2501
 francolin 1505
 free (v.) 827
 free man 2099
 freeze 1627
 friable 2056
 friend 182 584 906 959 1038 1065 2116
 fright 178 1288 2499
 frighten 2517
 frightened 2499
 frog 581 1574
 front 858 2644
 fruit 1983 2122
 fruit tree 2204 2577
 fry 1441 2062
 full 888 1217 2437 2481
 funeral song 2519
 fur 838 1007
 furrow 158 484 1920 2548
 gall bladder 2171
 gallop 65 130 656 2301
 game 1398 2124
 garden 890
 graden plant 2600
 garment 21
 gate 287 1465 2342
 gather 5 146 380 446 471 688 952 1011
 1688 1947 2024 2043 2645
 gaze 622
 gazelle 66 217 381 742 1017 1203 1765
 2505
 generation 867
 genitals 8 949 1021 1082 1461 1617
 get 215 926 1497
 get up 1543
 girl 34 2306
 give 233 882 1076 1129 1183 1798 2483
 give back 688 1080
 give birth 306 1168 1328 1786 1993
 2457 2540
 give name 2244
 give water 2220
 glad 2196 2488
 glade 1939
 glow 445 1670
 glut 565
 gnat 2653 2659
 go 1 41 59 65 118 157 230 284 485 550
 593 619 638 648 669 676 707 783 879
 892 908 934 997 1042 1127 1143 1158
 1178 1206 1207 1228 1240 1250 1276
 1289 1362 1373 1396 1405 1418 1420
 1431 1439 1746 1752 1782 1826 1843
 1894 1934 1965 2020 2065 2081 2084
 2103 2153 2197 2203 2207 2225 2264
 2301 2345 2351 2353 2440 2489 2504
 2516 2566 2598 2606 2623 2668 2672
 go across 1843

go and stay 65
 go around 669 934 948 1474 1607 1731
 1843
 go away 157 237 239 648 783 908 1143
 1206 1431 1607 1731 1826 2103 2418
 2672
 go fast 1819
 go out 157 230 676 707 783 829 879 892
 1042 1127 1158 1289 1359 1885 1955
 1965 2065 2153 2197 2207 2351 2616
 go slowly 619 2516
 go up 787 829
 goat 42 50 134 173 227 278 309 341 381
 495 517 1070 1077 1112 1172 1643
 1647 1729 2385 2620
 goblet 1526 1875
 god 326 1842 2088
 goitre 333
 gold 1440 1967
 good 104 191 806 1394 1815
 goose 2072
 gossip (v.) 1884
 gourd 177 203 299 349 695 710 1205
 1313 1407 1473 1476 1534 2551 2628
 gourd bottle 156 203 349 1205
 gourd vessel 710 1407 2628
 grain 224 344 727 1016 1111 1210 1272
 1652 1706
 granary 658
 granate 2122
 grandfather 165
 grandmother 34
 grandparent 692
 granite 1758
 grasp 58 96 215 688 1153 2032 2033
 2388 2483
 grass 109 297 322 347 379 383 395 405
 488 722 749 958 1030 1046 1197 1236
 1272 1337 1338 1767 1879 2012 2279
 2300 2318 2558 2588 2600
 grave 1371 1376
 gravel 2055
 graze graze
 grease 726 1099 1490 1784 1836 2247
 2498
 green 1384 1385 2546 2560
 green plant 2335
 greenish 2560
 greens 51
 greet 2382
 grey 307
 grey crane 2492
 griffon-vulture 2663
 grill 358
 grind 412 607 725 759 927 1186 1309
 1610 1657 1871 1986 2017 2040 2170
 2222 2307 2364 2394 2455 2556
 groan 2044
 groats 224 383
 groove 2557
 ground 385 857 975 1048 1452
 group 1829
 grow 516 532 555 1271 1889 2126
 gruel 224
 grumble 2435
 guard 506
 guest 584 1065
 guinea corn 1477
 guinea fowl 432 714 943 1478 2157 2190
 2291
 gullet 333
 gulp 1027
 gurgling 303
 gut 127 1170 1243 1577 1845
 hail 537
 hair 415 452 528 529 2123 2150 2156
 2158 2211 2280 2602
 hairdo 579
 hairdress 2280
 hairlock 529 2123 2156 2602
 hair disease 198
 hand 33 859 916 1040 1242 1246 1428
 1861 1933 1974 2091 2349
 hang 1062 2420
 hangar 1949
 happy 2491
 hard 1383
 hardness 1383
 hare 646
 haricot 621 1280
 harm (v.) 587 1902
 harpune 1768
 harrow 566 2177
 hartebeest 66
 harvest (v.) 146 1096 1267
 hasten 202 1240 1439 2225 2405
 hate (v.) 324
 have 215 1497 2033
 hawk 397 439 1598 2162
 hay 395
 head 251 1179 1208 1548 1583 1780
 heal 357 1120
 health 1047
 healthy 1737
 hear 1753 2245

heart 127 909 1071 1170 1529 1651
1668 1794 1862 2016 2539
heat (n.) 62 282 615 1184 1285 1563
2579
heat (v.) 1670 2338
heavy 455 729 1005
heel 519 1696 2347
heifer 1632
height 992 1061
hem 2293
hen 301 356 683 748 943 965 988 1088
1478 1539 1593 1598 1685 2352 2443
2494
herb 395
herd 377 1098 1632
herd (v.) graze
heron 1053 2130
hew 1898
hide (n.) 15 17 101 604 699 831 1007
1744 2474 2625
hide (v.) 758 1402 2467
hiding place 592
high 294 532 555 849 1102 1467 1523
1704 2120 2186
highland 992
hill 69 428 992 1057 1123 1504 1552
2429
hip 636 1224 1449 1696 1931 2060 2378
hit 770 1610 2006 2289 2384 2416
hobble 12
hoe (n.) 514 872 976 1365 1738 1979
2049
hoe (v.) 26 159 1106 1365 1739 2177
2380
hold 96 215 1497 1725 2032 2033
hole 158 164 185 287 332 803 830 836
970 987 1083 1239 1363 1375 1376
1414 1602 2272 2374 2548 2557
hollow out 2557
honey 36 693 1146
hoof 2066
hook 401 1738
horn 192 730 1548
horned viper 2431
horror 178
horse 229 641 667 780 1081 1678 1961
2064
horse hair 2211
hostile 587 2554
hot 72 137 189 270 616 931 1055 1285
1441 1584 1606 2062 2143 2152 2172
2328 2337 2487
hot ash 424 986 2131 2135 2143
hot wind 220
hotness 1584
house 5 53 244 253 264 480 592 658 956
973 984 1012 1326 1415 1430 1488
1564 1568 1586 1589 1599 1695 1723
1732 1749 1949 2058 2059 2146 2200
2266 2342 2404 2565 2590
howl 752
hull 1016
humble 1321
humid 2476
hump 251 1437
hunger 885 2381
hunt 426 760 904
hunting 760
hurry 59 202 485 1240 1439 2225 2405
hurt 666
husband 49 182 1174 1253 1740 1888
2116
husk 792 831 838 1935
hut 244 253 264 328 348 359 973 1415
1430 1586 1589 1599 1695 2058 2059
2086 2146 2342
hyaena 56 221 246 751 1258 1636 1886
2660
hyppopotamus 603 2128
ibex 66 2505
ibis 374
ichneumon fly 2357
idea 466
ignore 847 1840
ill 575 666 1068 1109 1353 1736 1751
2355
illness 14 666 1353 2509
ill-tempered 1442
imagine 466 1350 2295
imbue 431
immigrant 1710
imperfect 637
implement 299
incapable 149
incline 1466
increase 849 1271 1889 2619
indicate 1814
infant 166 1803
infatuated 2521
inferior 637
inflamed 1285 2172
inflated 1271
inheritance 1413
inform 1295
inhale 1853 1892

injure 940
in-law 108 437
inquire 2410
insatiable 1157
insect 88 197 316 345 606 609 679 708
776 807 978 1034 1124 1422 1457
1587 1609 1616 1679 1775 1978 2119
2187 2217 2601 2641 2659
insert 673
inside 2356
instruct 387
insufficient 1013
insult 121 2231
intention 466
interior 909
interrogate 2651
interval 1942
intestine 346 991 995 1170 1243 1251
1577 1845 2137 2356 2538 2539
invite 2523
iron 55 60 290 419 1412 1440 1785 1967
2159
iron weapon 1785
irrigation ditch 158
isolate 2039
ivory 1456
jackal 119 464 1521 1891 2501 2660
jar 94 349 705 1582 1718
javeline 2241
jaw 866 990 1932 2650
jerboa 507
join 12 422 471 586 2043 2639
joint 859
jubba 969
jug 663 894 979 1313 1473 1582
juice 1997
jump 130 142 219 284 291 296 411 810
1060 1276 1279 1911 1952 2007 2109
2164 2451 2482 2613
jump at 411
juniper 654
just 1045
keep 1011 1389
kerchief 1327 2346
kick 2051 2370 2453
kid 196
kidney 44 870 1493 2403
kill 194 1004 1024 1566 1672 1920 2031
2468
king 250 311 386 1791 1801
kinsfolk 1256
kitchen 2342
kite 52 410 439 443 736 1108 1261 1593
1646 2257
knead 642 1676 2315
knee 396 828 962 983 993 1573 2018
2060 2133
knife 259 457 514 535 567 570 610 644
665 1041 1293 1503 1644 1785 1812
1867 1956 1979 2047 2159 2201 2212
2241 2256 2389
knock 1595 1868 2364 2434
knot 1058 1486
know 37 75 201 222 275 378 387 504
505 618 622 1056 1074 1089 1103
1444 1721 1753 2198 2294 2295 2573
knowledge 1444
lacerate 786
lady 20 2306
lake 243 305 329 523 869 884 1335 1491
1502 2549
lamb 173 196 341 381 1432 1729 2093
lame 1125
lame person 1125
lamentation 2519
land 53 321 421 522 871 975 1633 1939
2096
language 79 2142
lap 396 1697
large 919 1811 2529
larva 2119
larva of mosquito 1679
larynx 1234
last 643
lawlessness 1314
lay 1369
lay down 2511
lay eggs 881 1458
lay off 929 2432
lazy 1664
lead 313 593
leaf 540 958 1030 1049 1059 1319 1337
2318
leak 2082 2584
learn 222 378 618 718 1056 1444 1820
leather 699 1327 2625
leather sack 71 249
leather shield 661
leather strap 2255 2474
leave 230 593
leech 1110
left 1821
leg 11 190 396 470 773 778 828 891 1031

1449 1557 1696 1928 1931 2060 2113
 2179 2290 2506 2568
 lend 1080 1183
 lentil 1043 1724
 leopard 56 232 372 751 1171 1886 2134
 lepra 899
 let out 1934
 lettuce 358
 lick 413 1640 1697 1872
 lie (n.) 1009
 lie (v.) 150 263 624 643 1649 1884 2155
 lift 787 1164 1219 1512 1523 1543 1604
 2186 2425
 lifted 1164
 light (adj.) 231 1345 1542 2340
 light (n.) 364 481 1128 1264 1388 1472
 1895 1906 2336 2341 2525
 lightning 226 364 2341
 like 530 1796 2314
 lily 2300
 limb 859
 limestone 209
 linger 153 1669
 link (n.) 249
 link up 471
 lion 56 186 232 246 490 860 1636 1760
 1810 2134 2501 2643
 lip 572 1427
 liquid (adj.) 334
 liquid (n.) 1699 1881
 lit up 2528
 little 1198
 live 238 643 932 1148
 liver 44 775 1227 1651 1708 1794 1845
 2387 2403
 lizard 581 716 1268 1792 2216 2360
 load (v.) 455
 lock (n.) 1982 2445
 lock (v.) 1387 1926
 locust 88 502 606 708 1010 2641
 locust-bean 1766
 log 1963
 loin 1224
 loin-cloth 193 823 2474 2647
 long 555 1467 1704
 look 201 275 430 506 618 622 757 918
 1089 1090 1522 1581 1761 1954 2454
 look after 622
 look for 201 362 777 1245 1954 2514
 loosen 1284 2513
 lord 19
 lose 87 617
 lost 87 617

lotus 2300
 louse 111 316 345 708 1034 1124 1422
 1587 2217
 love 1796 1835 2314 2496 2521
 lung 775 826 841 909 1651 1668 2016
 2137 2196
 magic 571
 magic word 774
 mahogany 1052 1766 2392
 maid 34 1131
 maize 224 265 1477
 majestic 19
 make 912 1097 1140 1355 2022 2167
 2327
 make holes 1924 1959
 male 860 1722 1888 2106
 male relative 288 1330 1801
 malicious 1382
 man 108 145 182 214 288 595 613 659
 860 906 1018 1105 1174 1195 1253
 1450 1656 1722 1740 1787 1803 1805
 1829 1831 1841 1878 1888 2099 2106
 2493 2596
 mane 2150 2158
 manger 5 1749
 many 919 1467 1692 1704 1811
 mare 229 2064
 marble 209
 march 707 1362 1418 1746 2020 2301
 2453 2606
 mark (v.) 946
 marrow 1800 2393
 marry 582 2639
 marsh 2183
 martingale 1221
 masculine 1740
 massive 1467
 master 19 154 165 182 659 1740
 mat 1975 2015 2309 2440 2617
 maternal aunt 20
 mead 36
 meadow 48 385 1348 1741
 meager 637 1596 2094 2138
 measure 2161
 meat 13 128 133 517 603 825 1435 1479
 1508 1642 2597 2622
 medicinal herb 1338 1844
 medicine 482 571 1277
 meet 952 974 2242
 meeting 2444
 melt 2669
 memory 2198

metal 55 290 419 1412 1440 1967
 midday 136
 middle 127 304 909 1529
 midget 197
 migrate 593 1359
 milk 1230 2238
 milk (v.) 1709
 milk skin 491
 millet 224 271 559 621 727 933 1167
 1247 1364 1652 1706 1724 1817 2235
 millstone 9
 mind 1721
 mix 524 1113 1138 1329 1676 2041
 2092 2315 2371
 moan (n.) 706
 moan (v.) 151 761 936 2233
 moat 970
 moisten 312 431 557 766 1851 1970
 2082 2107 2140 2460
 molar 1484 2456
 moment 64 1665
 monarch 2438
 monkey 281 335 651 805 945 1092 1569
 1570 2603
 month 64
 moon 531 1176 1571
 moon-disc 2329
 morning 136 223 664 2163 2206
 mosquito 316 345 807 1775 1968 2653
 moth 1034 2357
 mother 34 612
 mount 829 2495
 mountain 3 69 935 992 1001 1061 1358
 1504 1552
 mouse 45 267 507 824 1291 1913
 mouth 46 803 817 1427 1698 1701
 move 239 485 593 597 707 783 902 910
 997 1286 1359 1431 1439 1782 1826
 1903 2065 2103 2351
 move quickly 2544
 move upwards 516 1219 1523 2432
 mow 188 266 1896
 much 919 1467 1704 1811
 mud 179 321 1334
 mud house 348
 mug 399 574 1205 1526 1582 1850 1995
 2221 2473
 mule 641 1961 2064
 multiply 1254 2126
 murmur 745
 muscle 924 2401
 mush 1424
 mutilate 940

muzzle 802 1427
 nail 1953
 name 1822 2304
 name (v.) 1528
 nape 468 982 1583
 narrow 1914
 navel 144 350 352 1071 2400
 navigate 1756
 near 1142 1759 1824
 neck 363 508 924 960 982 1583 1639
 2398 2587
 neighborhood 1166
 nephew 1878 2193
 nerve 924
 net 152 469 1694 2462
 new 1306 1778
 niche 632
 night 38 737 1320 1323 1445 1446 2261
 night bird 439 687
 nipple 360 1071 1094
 nobleman 1174 1805
 noise 1343 2050
 noon 1173
 nose 46 441 802 832 1340 1839 2194
 nostrils 158 802 1839
 notch 2384
 notice 201 275
 number 1212
 numerous 919 1704
 nursing mother 612
 oak 31
 oath 98
 observe 201 430 1397
 obtain 1497
 occiput 251 982 1208 1548 1583 2398
 occupied 1137
 ocean 723
 odor 442
 offal 913
 offer 1798
 official 386
 oil 27 822 1784 1836 2232 2247
 old 84 713 867
 old man 867
 old woman 966
 omen 774
 onager 780
 one-eyed 204
 onion 295 322
 ooze 766 2354 2609
 open 212 272 772 827 1921 1954 1987

1989 2030 2334 2513 2524 2553
 open mouth 47 2334
 open space 210 1927
 opening 803
 oppress 627
 oppression 1314
 order 2552
 ore 290
 oryx 183 898
 ostracize 587
 ostrich 1261 2130
 overflow 334
 overturn 880
 owner 154 165
 ox 183 1809

 pack 455 2032
 pail 967
 pain 62 1631
 painful 62
 paint 1385
 palace 359 480 854
 palate 1234
 palm (anat.) 916 1933 1974 2091 2349
 palm bast 2618
 palm tree 560 1052 1079 1377 1750
 pan 623 1813
 pant 707
 panther 221
 parakeet 443
 paralysed 1353
 parasite 2601
 pare 1917
 parent 2
 parrot 748
 part (n.) 241 717 977
 part (v.) 1532
 particolored 343
 partridge 2443
 pass 63 783 908 934 2547 2616
 pass by 1042 1731 1885 2020 2264 2516
 pastry 344
 pasture 1735
 path 122 545
 paunch 913
 pavilion 2550
 pay 402 1076 1080 1302
 pay bridewealth 582
 peace 1185
 peanut 1477
 peck 1595
 pedere 2478
 peel (n.) 838

peel (v.) 698 792 801 1349 1468 1938
 1996
 peeled 257
 peer 1761
 pelican 2190
 pen 671
 penetrate 2042
 penis 8 300 320 323 339 1262 1617 2067
 2666
 people 131 595 613 647 906 1066 1256
 1656 1722 1740 1787 1878
 pepper 269
 perfidious 1902
 perish 87 2468 2510
 persecute 2554
 person 214 288 863 1195 1656
 perspiration 591
 perspire 591 616
 phoenix 330
 pick together 1947
 pierce 170 176 241 272 373 400 406 408
 474 478 569 743 771 772 784 830 844
 845 921 1199 1347 1352 1391 1485
 1595 1600 1802 1838 1900 1912 2026
 2039 2042 2181 2230 2311 2384 2395
 2419 2446 2480 2555
 pierced 812
 pig 1374
 pile of stones 428
 pile up 446 1032
 pinch 188 2480
 pit 158 164 185 276 332 521 1239 1363
 1376 2272 2374 2548
 place (n.) 16 53 244 592 709 973 984
 1166 1415 1589 1723 2096 2146 2565
 2590
 place (v.) 2240
 placenta 1935
 plain 210 992 1939
 plait (n.) 452
 plait (v.) 12 152 467 585 1058 1315 1546
 2178 2293 2312 2406 2439 2461
 plaiting 579 2038 2617 2618
 plan 466 2514
 plane 398 1531 2268 2615
 plant 6 43 109 295 347 395 405 488 722
 958 1046 1049 1067 1236 1270 1319
 1844 1879 2183 2279 2318 2325 2581
 2588 2600
 plant (v.) 2377
 plaster 796
 plate 177 501 1091 1313
 plateau 890

play 2124
 plot of land 421
 plough 566 1106 2177
 plougher 70
 pluck 688 790 808 1601 1958 1977 2397
 plug 2445
 plunder 1024 2447
 ply 902
 podex 323
 point (v.) 1556
 pointed tool 457
 poison 1277 2185
 pole 325 371 2305 2375 2383
 pole-cat 267
 polish 843
 polishing stone 1057
 pond 260 305 1502 1774 2140 2549
 pool 1774 2614
 poor 160
 porcupine 1374
 possess 2033 2391
 possible 2327
 pot 18 124 156 162 177 318 349 399 404
 501 527 563 663 668 670 695 705 712
 734 755 878 887 894 967 1091 1121
 1209 1304 1313 1333 1360 1423 1464
 1473 1534 1567 1579 1618 1813 1850
 1945 1995 2010 2048 2073 2110 2161
 2221 2263 2368 2415 2473 2629
 potency 339
 poultry 953 988 2494
 pound (v.) 194 412 607 633 635 674 733
 759 927 1339 1507 1613 2358 2366
 2414 2455
 pour 180 199 256 303 331 454 594 747
 1156 1659 1726 1882 1909 2082 2107
 2176 2214 2220 2285 2339 2423 2460
 2563 2584 2609 2631 2669
 pour out 199 865 1881 2107 2423 2584
 2609
 powerful 19
 prairie 385
 pray 782 1788
 precipice 185
 predict 466
 pregnancy 2118
 pregnant 195 367 1200 2118
 preserve 1389
 press 30 455 499 554 627 631 642 719
 756 1213 1703 1755 1789 2364 2416
 2455
 press together 455
 priest 2099

prick 1838 1868
 prince 389 2438
 procure 882
 produce 1140
 prominent 2391
 pronounce 761 2362
 prune 1985
 pubic hair 529 579 2150 2275 2280
 pudenda 279 323 393
 pull 116 848 985 1776 1890 1904 2218
 2274 2278 2288 2322 2373
 pull by 786
 pull up 2432
 pumpkin 1205
 punch 478
 punish 1014 1857 2231
 puppy 917
 purify 398
 push 625 655 674 719 733 753 763 921
 1144 1204 1470 2288 2395 2416 2424
 2469 2610
 put 673 912 1369 2511
 put a seal 2469
 put on 476 682 1451 1661
 pyramid 1732
 python 68 277 458 741 1757 1808 1870

 quail 293 748 1923 1971
 quartz 428
 quiet 447 2273
 quiver 1401 2448

 raft 2057
 rags 785 1327 2331
 raid (n.) 1006
 raid (v.) 1024
 rain (n.) 285 312 314 326 479 518 678
 711 723 1156 1733 1747 1973 2079
 2140 2470 2614
 rain (v.) 180 199 588 594 766 1303 1851
 2354 2563 2593 2609
 rain cloud 260
 rainy season 518 678 1973 2470
 raise 516 1219 1512 1523 1604
 raise dust 2254
 raise high 781
 rake up 398
 ram 50 67 173 183 227 883 1070 1172
 1432 1643 1729 2570 2634
 rat 45 267 507 558 824 1291 1913
 raven 1003 1020 2635
 ravine 185
 razor 1785

read 1822
 reap 1267 1896
 rebellion 1331 2155
 receive 926 2330
 receptacle 1360 1579
 recite 2362
 reconnoitre 596
 recover 225 1737
 red 307 382 686 1298 1717 1859
 reed 43 139 1046 2319 2383 2581
 reed flute 2319
 reed mat 2618
 refine 398
 refuse 1840 1972
 region 337 809
 register (n.) 2234
 register (v.) 767
 rejoice 2488
 relative 49 97 182 1065 1801 1878
 remain 681 1628 1795
 remain still 2189
 remember 222 387 505 718 2198 2607
 remind 387
 rend 2037
 reprimand 2231
 request 1520
 respectable 867
 rest (n.) 1185
 rest (v.) 153 797 814 1907 2240
 retell 732
 retire 1420
 return 7 41 157 230 239 597 700 910 934
 1080 1158 1163 1240 1250 1362 1420
 1474 1752 1965 2000 2153 2203 2207
 2225 2345 2489 2504
 reverberation 752
 rhinoceros 2128 2658
 rib 2316
 rice 492
 rich 311
 ride 63 910 1782
 right 1135 1742 2408 2522 2578
 right hand 2578
 right side 2522 2578
 ring 744 1416 2035
 rinse out 1799
 rip 785 1958 2397 2446
 rise 294 516 849 1060 1102 1217 1512
 1523 1543 1604 1981 2108 2120 2186
 ritual ablution 2563
 river 123 329 523 869 884 1087 1093
 1160 1335 1381 1491 1502 1637 1674
 1699 1770 1774 2054 2068 2253 2260
 2276 2567
 river-bank 869
 river-bed 869 1381 2054 2253
 rivulet 260 305 1087 1502 2068 2253
 2260
 road 53 122 545 657 662 1686
 roar 2050 2098
 roast 189 573 818 928 971 1078 1244
 1297 1404 1441 1584 2001 2062 2271
 2487 2497 2528
 rob 1153 1744 2632
 robbed 2632
 rock 514 1001 1073 1358
 roll (n.) 2234
 roll (v.) 948
 roll up 1730 2532
 roof 852 873 1599 1749 2466 2550
 room 658 850 1150 1695 1723 2086
 rooster 683 702 953 988 1539 1593
 root 551
 rope 249 388 422 1221 1612 2228 2255
 2298 2474 2545 2612
 rot 308 1344 2085 2139
 rotate 764
 rotten 160 308 1344 2085 2139 2633
 round 948 1481
 round object 980
 roundworm 741
 row 2174
 rub 801 1114 1249 1278 1339 1507 1925
 2040
 rule 184
 ruler 1831
 rumble 2050
 run 1 7 65 130 202 230 284 313 550 593
 656 707 783 879 934 997 1042 1127
 1359 1418 1439 1474 1731 1782 1819
 1885 2007 2081 2084 2103 2197 2207
 2219 2345 2353 2405 2418 2489 2504
 2544 2566 2623
 run away 7 202 230 284 648 649 700 910
 2219 2353 2418 2482 2504 2566
 run back 7
 run back and forth 1607
 run quickly 646
 rush (n.) 1046 2581
 rush at 411
 sabre 1041 1290
 sack 901 1354 1454 1945 2448
 sacrifice 2646

sad 92
 saliva 102 1856
 salt 1050 1231
 sand 321 337 385 420 547 634 816 1002
 1048 1537 1858 2055 2249 2386 2426
 2667
 sandal 1406 1408
 sandpiper 432
 sardine 1085
 satisfied 2195
 sauce 951 1997
 saw 541 2530
 say 40 696 911 1169 1400 1528 1541
 1547 1648 1814 1893 2044 2534 2564
 scabies 899
 scarabeus 776 978
 scatter 1992 2366 2655
 scent 802
 scepter 2361 2574
 scold 121
 scoop 1312
 scorn 355
 scorpion 197 1609 2028 2641
 scrape 843 1278 1349 1531 1917 1925
 scratch 525 561 792 822 843 946 1022
 1278 1379 1988 2372 2637
 scream 2050
 scroll 2234
 scrub 843 1917
 sea 305 329 884 1674 2575
 seal 2035 2234
 sea-eagle 52
 search 1245
 season 64 1841
 see 37 75 201 222 506 618 622 757 1056
 1074 1089 1103 1397 1444 1522 1581
 1761 1820 2104
 seed 269 492 1043 1364 1443 1652 1706
 1983 2235
 seek 777 782 923 974 1245 1259 1954
 seize 35 58 96 215 496 957 1153 2032
 2388 2447 2483
 sell 254 543 2023 2281
 send 61 626 1183 2552
 separate 171 274 414 444 791 812 1918
 1938 1987 1994 2014 2027 2030 2039
 serf 1727
 serpent 277 2367
 serval 1760
 servant 273 298 959 1515 1803 1888
 sesame 395
 set fire 137 424 1441 1572 2337
 set up 929
 sew 80 586 1136 1292 1395 2178 2312
 2406 2409 2461
 shade 503
 shadow 38 503 552 1446 2261
 shake 921
 shallow 2138
 shame 323
 shameful object 323
 sharp 535 1556 1824 1868
 sharp instrument 457
 sharp knife 535
 sharp object 440 1305
 sharp point 440 1824
 sharp stick 2297
 sharp tool 1956
 sharp weapon 570 1041 2241
 sharpen 400 743
 shave 541 677 1155 2009 2215 2236
 2615
 sheanut tree 1500 2428
 shed 852 956
 shed tears 1177
 sheep 42 50 67 134 167 173 278 341 517
 1077 1172 1432 1643 1729 1832 2093
 2620
 shell 831 838 840 1996 2071
 shelter 253
 shield 661 1594
 shift 2610
 shimmer 418
 shin-bone 1036
 shine 207 231 327 364 481 515 1128
 1388 1472 1660 1895 2340 2592
 shining 418
 ship 336 895 1691 1716 2057 2239
 shirt 694
 shoe 1406 1408
 shoot (n.) 295
 shoot (v.) 474 487 1294 2097
 short 964 1506 1615
 shoulder 468 954 1622 2034 2621
 shout 392 417 425 427 433 461 483 494
 800 1107 1169 1400 1492 1510 1528
 1541 1547 1555 1648 1762 1814 1834
 1854 1969 2044 2284 2365 2382 2656
 show 498
 shower 248 518
 shroud 1975
 shut 1019 1402
 sick 684 1149 1353 1631
 sickle 1867 1957 2047
 sickness 174 684 1631
 side 855 862 977 996 1577 1942

sigh 151
 silent 447 1321
 silt 1630 2585
 silver 290 1412
 sin 2155
 sing 417 745 936 2075 2258 2442
 sink 2657
 sip 1681 1790
 sister 20 34 612 1513 1887 2306
 sit 153 643 681 2189 2240 2402 2407
 2562
 skewer 569
 skim (v.) 398
 skin (n.) 15 17 101 604 628 699 834 838
 942 1007 1533 1603 1608 1655 1744
 1935 1964
 skin bucket 1744
 skin bucket 1473
 skin disease 838
 skin (v.) 255 698 801 946 1565 1996
 2184 2446
 skin bottle 71
 skip along 1276
 sky 206 314 326 925 1241 1578 1675
 2101 2188 2296
 sky waters 326 1973
 slap 1192 2364
 slaughter 235 366 538 569 795 1657
 2237 2287 2313 2561 2646
 slave 273 298 961 1018 1029 1515 1710
 1727 1783
 sleep 89 681 1191 1324 2100 2226 2541
 sling 855
 slope 2374
 slow 619 1631
 small 637 704 964 1198 1438 1506 1542
 1596 1615
 smash 770 1951
 smear 1992
 smell (v.) 442 549 802 813 1865 2199
 2251 2282 2310 2633
 smith 725
 smoke (n.) 630 675
 smoke (v.) 1118
 smoked 675
 smooth 1229
 smoulder 1404
 snack 1424
 snake 68 95 277 438 458 497 590 741
 765 1110 1202 1273 1620 1757 1808
 1833 1846 1870 2127 2209 2216 2227
 2308 2367 2431
 snap 1411
 snare 376 469 2149 2462
 sneak 597
 sneeze 690 1115 1853
 sniff 797 2282
 snuff 797
 snore 534 1357 1901
 soak 199 431 594 798 1196 1799 2082
 2107 2476
 soar 1981 2164
 sob 2519
 soft 1650 1664 1669
 soften 861 1664
 soil 321 421 975
 soldier 577 1710
 sole 2347
 son 23 166 213 288 589 1218 1287 1740
 1764 1769 1831 2599 2654
 son-in-law 437
 song 706
 sorcerer 247 571
 sorghum 224 727 1210 1499 2235
 soul 151 1529 1677 1828 1830 2132
 sound 752 1343 1370
 soup 951
 sour 1296 1734
 source 329 1160
 sow 269 1266 2303 2377
 spade 1738 2380
 sparkle 207
 sparrow 432
 spacious 2531
 speak 40 242 392 425 433 461 483 556
 696 724 732 800 911 1169 1307 1492
 1528 1541 1590 1638 1648 1762 1788
 1814 1822 1825 1893 1969 2098 2142
 2233 2244 2277 2362 2365 2382 2410
 2442 2485 2534 2564
 speak indistinctly 2435
 spear 475 599 864 1305 1644 1763 1768
 1785 1823 1868 1962 2286 2297 2389
 speech 79 392 1370 2142
 sperm 1764
 spew 1976
 spice 36 383
 spider 88 679 776
 spin 467 1058 1624 2312 2332 2439
 spine 1036
 spirit 2132
 spit 256 280 369 401 1524 1625 1855
 1905 1976 2412 2413 2433
 spit out 1905
 spleen 1227 1651 2387
 splinter 115 1963

split 171 241 414 444 536 538 674 743
 791 794 812 845 868 1151 1411 1565
 1600 1657 1912 1920 1929 1946 1957
 1980 1985 1994 1998 1999 2005 2014
 2025 2026 2030 2181 2320 2384 2419
 spoiled 160 820 2085
 spread 1919 1992 2285 2366
 spring (n.) 329 1160 1491 2260 2272
 spring (v.) 810
 sprinkle 256 450 798 1863 1905 1970
 2107 2111 2412 2460 2463
 sprout 295 1984
 spy (v.) 596
 squat 746
 squeeze 194 375 499 548 554 627 631
 756 763 1213 1703 1755 2366 2394
 stab 2230 2320
 stair 632 1743
 staircase 632 1743
 stake 114
 stammer 2435
 stamp 2035 2234
 stand 2120
 stand up 516 728 1102 1219 1543 2147
 2495
 star 531 1264
 start 1903
 stay 1148 2240 2402 2562 2608
 steal 1378 1460 1744
 stela 264
 step on 2416
 stepfather 2438
 sternum 1530
 stick 29 114 228 325 371 416 429 944
 1544 1654 1715 1777 1807 1963 2361
 2383 2389 2574 2611
 still 1907
 stink 160 813 2633
 stir 2610
 stomach 144 346 350 870 877 991 995
 1251 1435 1529 1577 1668 1708
 stone 39 209 428 629 680 935 1001 1073
 1123 1220 1367 1758
 stoop 938
 stop up 407 1393
 storage place 1389
 store 1389
 stork 714
 storm 1714 2089 2333
 straddle 1919
 straight 2582
 stranger 584 595 1791
 straw 343 1197
 straw bottle 979
 straw hut 1488
 stream 869 1312 1381
 street 662 2549
 strength 489 729 2529
 stretch 1776 1977
 stretch hand 2483
 stretched 2373
 strike 135 194 474 633 635 674 770 900
 921 1051 1192 1282 1516 1535 1595
 1610 1657 1682 1802 1899 1920 1938
 2006 2051 2215 2311 2364 2370 2384
 2395 2399 2414 2416 2436 2556
 string 2228 2255
 strip 2011
 strong 163 489 729 920 1704 1737 2529
 stub 2039
 suck 403 413 1709 1790 1815 1872 2243
 suck blood 2359
 suet 1490
 suffer 1736
 suggest 2514
 summer 1563
 summit 992 1552
 sun 105 268 302 664 1086 1128 1433
 2088 2329 2583 2592
 Sun-god 105 268 302 2088
 sunlight 268
 sunset 1008
 sunshine 1141
 support (n.) 2305
 suppurate 308
 surpass 2529
 suspended 1060 1062
 swallow (n.) 397
 swallow (v.) 208 565 1027 1064 1673
 1697 1827 2670
 swallow mucus 1892
 swamp bird 1874
 swamp lynx 1258
 sway 184
 swear 98 761 1194 2365 2523
 sweat 615 2259
 sweep 398 566 796 842 1249 1605 1917
 2411
 sweet 1146 1225 1818
 sweet potato 653
 swell 2531
 swim 1756 1852
 sword 644 1867 1956 2047 2201 2212
 2317
 syphilis 899

table-cloth 839
 tail 394 510 731 2211 2665
 take 25 96 181 215 688 848 1147 1153
 1497 1725 1744 2021 2045 2388 2447
 2483 2638
 take away 58 171 2021 2486
 take back 688
 take off 682
 take out 688 848
 talk 2233 2410
 tall 555
 tamarind 1075 1766 2229 2464
 tan 725
 tap 756
 tapeworm 438 1771
 tarry 1669
 taste 472 2454
 tattoo 561 2561
 teach 378 387 1103 1134
 tear (n.) 1177
 tear (v.) 188 194 772 785 786 790 808
 1411 1468 1601 1779 1912 1946 1958
 1986 2002 2011 2181 2372 2376 2397
 2446
 tear off 170 255 786 808 844 1779 1958
 1960 2037
 tear out 844 1890 2184
 tell 40 911 1295 1400 2098 2244 2365
 2382
 temple 2058 2404
 temple (anat.) 125 1943 2648
 temple roof 2466
 tempt 1009
 tend 2514
 tender 1650
 tendon 388 924 2401
 tent 264 328 1150 2058 2059
 tenuous 704
 termite 39 606 609 978 1616 1693 1966
 2119 2601 2641
 terrible 1848
 test 472 1721
 testicles 279 1021 1082 1262 1617 2067
 thatch 1402
 thatching grass 405 749
 thick 1005 1025 1028 1410 2247
 thickness 1410
 thigh 190 470 520 828 1224 1449 1696
 1928 1931 2133 2290 2378
 thin 704 1013 1345 1542 1615 1914
 2094 2138
 think 504 505 618 1103 1301 1350 1541
 1645 2573 2607
 thirst 86 2569
 thirsty 413 1681 2205
 thorn 401 440 1154
 thorny bush 2246
 thorny plant 1270
 thousand 1692
 thread 152 193
 threaten 576
 thresh 607 631 1951 2040 2394 2414
 throat 333 960 1234 1639 2069 2587
 throne 1308
 throw 456 474 753 880 1369 1897 1900
 1930 2097 2484 2526 2610 2655 2657
 throw down 562 1204 1930
 throw into the mouth 47
 thrush 736
 thrust 2480
 thunder (n.) 886 2089
 thunder (v.) 417
 thymian 1338
 tick 1422
 tide 123
 tie 12 80 106 262 422 586 1062 1132
 1315 1395 1447 1546 1712 1730 1880
 2312 2321 2332 2409 2461
 till (v.) 26 566 1266 1365 1368 2025
 2177
 timber 1332
 time 64 85 1033 1665
 tinkle 2485
 tired 174 637 912 1068 1130 1469 1631
 1664 1683 1847 1876 2355
 tiredness 174 1683
 tobacco flower 436 2012
 today 132
 tomb 1239 1371 1376 1781
 tomorrow 38
 tongue 74 81 1666 2248 2252
 tooth 91 103 440 1235 1484 2070 2250
 2456
 top 1061
 torn 257 1960 2376
 torture 2554
 tower 709
 town 22 53 328 359 592 709 973 1012
 1166 1568 1589 1695
 trace 2083
 trade 254
 trample 237 598 602 633 674 697 719
 756 2051 2358 2416 2434 2453
 trap (n.) 608 1221 2462
 trap (v.) 463
 travel 879 1420

tray 2449
 tread 63 697 1042 2084
 treat badly 355
 tree 31 155 370 542 560 654 672 1026
 1052 1075 1126 1332 1500 1750 1766
 1873 2136 2148 2182 2204 2229 2246
 2269 2283 2375 2392 2428 2464 2542
 2577
 tremble 77 2087 2636
 tribe 906 2444
 trot 2197 2672
 true 1045 1135 1403 1742 2408
 trunk 652
 truth 1045 1403
 try 1721 2454
 tsetse 606
 tumor 913 1233
 turbulence 1714
 turn 764 768 1133 1139 1658 1730 1908
 2000 2427 2439
 turn over 1436
 turtle 581
 turtle dove 330 1037 1793 1923
 twig 114 371 416 1049 1544 1654 1777
 2611
 twist 467 1136 1546 1658 1730 2178
 2312 2439
 udder 1815
 umbilical cord 2298
 unable 149 1130
 uncle 2 19 23 613 1065 1330 1740 1801
 uncover 212 772 2513
 understand 622 718 1074 1721
 undress 476
 unfold 2532
 unhappy 1481
 unite 1486
 unjust 897
 unripe 1384
 untic 80 827 1058 1062 1284 1395 1447
 2013 2409
 upper part 1061
 upper story 264
 upset 655
 urinate 245 533 591 2171
 urine 533 2003 2171 2543 2627
 uterus 2118
 utter 1194
 vagina 300 323 393 949 1082
 valley 54 337 2054 2253
 vase 2073
 vault 1414
 vegetable 51
 vein 258 2403
 vessel 18 78 94 124 140 156 177 299 318
 349 351 384 404 501 527 553 574 601
 623 663 668 670 695 712 734 750 878
 887 979 1035 1091 1121 1209 1304
 1313 1333 1366 1401 1407 1423 1464
 1473 1475 1476 1526 1534 1567 1579
 1618 1718 1754 1813 1850 1875 1922
 2010 2073 2110 2263 2479 2551 2629
 vestibule 854
 vicinity 671
 village 53 244 328 658 709 1012 1568
 1589 1695 2058
 vinegar 1296
 viper 2431
 viverra 2643 2660
 voice 706 752 1343 1370 2050
 vomit 120 837
 votive phallus 320
 vulture 356 374 687 1020 1108 1361
 1646 2090 2630
 vulva 279 323 393 836 1082 1617
 wadi 2054
 wag 510
 wage war 578
 waist 2589
 wait 643 889 1090 1346 1628
 walk 1 41 63 237 593 638 648 783 908
 934 1127 1158 1731 1746 1826 1843
 1934 2056 2081 2084 2103 2153 2219
 2440 2533 2598 2616 2623
 walk day and night 1178
 walk slowly 638 648 2153
 wall 22 100 852 854 956 984 2154 2292
 want 1162 1772 1835 2496 2514
 war 1672 2063
 warehouse 5
 warm (adj.) 616 2172 2259
 warm (v.) 424 445 573 1285
 warm up 282
 warmth 615
 warrior 2396
 wash 216 398 423 842 1226 1748 2502
 wasp 609 693
 watch 622 777 1090 1761 1954
 water 123 243 723 947 1087 1093 1156
 1312 1659 1674 1699 1747 1770 1860
 1877 1881 2140 2276 2437 2549 2575
 2586 2614 2669
 water-buck 183

- watercourse 1335
 water flow 2213 2463
 water fowl 1478
 water insect 316
 water-jar 1360
 water-level 2076
 water-line 2076
 water-lily 6
 water plant 2588
 water snake 741
 way 122 657
 weak 575 637 666 713 861 915 1130
 1149 1438 1669 1736 1847 2094
 weaken 1314
 weakness 861 1314
 weapon 259 475 855 1290 2159 2241
 2389
 weariness 174
 weave 12 152 1132 1136 1546 2178 2309
 2321 2332 2439 2461
 weep 368 431 2519
 welcome (v.) 2244
 well (n.) 164 185 276 332 521 970 1239
 west 503
 wet 107 256 260 312 334 369 557 594
 614 798 865 1196 1653 1659 1674
 1689 1726 1799 1970 2082 2285 2354
 2476 2669
 wheat 224 2270
 whetstone 680
 whip 2051
 whisk 605
 whiskers 452
 whisper 2244 2435
 white 418 1619
 wife 34 1700
 wild animal 186 1161
 wild cat 119 372 1636 1760 2643
 wild dog 1891
 wild sheep 278
 wind 220 509 1165 1281 1299 1448 1707
 1714 2169 2202 2333
 window 287
 wine 1317 1849
 wine vessel 162
 wing 205 460 954 1238 1426 1933 2324
- winnow 2008
 wipe 822
 wish 362 530 782 1162 2195 2314
 witch-doctor 247
 wolf 221 464 876 1521 1891 2660
 woman 34 76 141 966 1419 1513 1700
 1887 2306
 womb 352 1461
 wood 155 370 1332 1963 2148 2204
 2269 2503 2577
 wooden bar 115
 wooden vase 894
 wool 528 2302 2602
 wool cloth 2302
 word 79
 work 912 1097 1140 1469
 worm 497 590 679 741 765 1124 1273
 1495 1616 1771 1775 1833 1846 2119
 2209 2227 2367
 wound (n.) 640
 wound (v.) 478 799 1575 1998 2320
 wounded 235
 wrap 409 455 1402 1991 2439
 wrath 263 576 1481
 wring 1730
- yard 244 328 852 984 1190 1214 1732
 yawn 47
 year 64 85 1033 1255 2192
 yellow 307 343 382 1619
 yesterday 1342
 yield 233
 young 1306
 young animal 196 2458
 young antelope 217
 young camel 196
 young girl 213
 young man 108 961 1018 2520
 young one 1105
 young people 2654
 young person 2475
 younger sibling 2475
- zebra 641 780
 zorylla 232

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